November 11, 1960

Professor Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Don:

Could you send me a newspaper clipping--or other report--giving the county by county vote in North Carolina last Tuesday. I would be most grateful.

'Twas a mighty victory--in North Carolina. Has there ever been another election with so many interesting twists!

Sorry we missed saying goodbye. It was awfully good to have seen you and Maggie.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 19, 1961

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, Calif.

Dear Bill:

The welcome mat is out and the glass is ready.

You say in your letter to Harold that you may reach Atlanta in early February. This presents a couple of complications, which I hope you can steer around. February 2nd is the date of our Executive Committee meeting; this usually presents no problems for the night time but does tie us up all day. February 7th I have to be at Earlham College. I haven't yet checked the flight schedules, but I shall probably leave here the evening of the 6th and return sometime on the 8th.

One final thing: we find that we have a little extra money in the kitty for the Executive Powers project, and we would like to reimburse you for the San Francisco to Chicago leg of your flight. This desire is strengthened by the several ways in which you have helped us since then on the document. We have checked with the local airline office and have found that the round trip second-class ticket from San Francisco to Washington is $234.41. The enclosed check should make up the difference between that amount and what we earlier repaid you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: check, $140.99

January 24, 1961

Professor James Prothro
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear James:

I have raised your question regarding East Carroll and Walthall with others here and find that they have no more ideas than have I as to which might be safer for the life and limb and peace of mind for your investigators. As you say, East Carroll is presently under federal attack and it is a reasonable assumption that this would increase the suspicion of the people there against any other outside studies. On the other hand, Walthall is adjacent to Washington Parish, La., which is also embroiled in a federal voting suit, is close to East Feliciana Parish, La., whose voting records have been subpoenaed, and close to Pearl River County, Miss., of Poplarville fame. On the positive side for both, I notice that there are Negro colleges fairly close to each county and these might give you some resources for interviewers: Grambling College in Louisiana and Alcorn A. & M. in Mississippi.

Although I am sure you will have done this thoroughly, I did take a quick look at 1950 census data and the preliminary 1960 returns. In most respects the two counties look pretty similar. I do notice three variations, however, which might affect your choice, though they are rather perplexing patterns. In 1950 East Carroll was 25% urban, Walkhall zero. The former also had a substantially higher proportion of Negroes in the population, and a significantly lower median school grade completed.

I talked yesterday with Dean Brazeal at Morehouse College, and he thinks he may be of some help in recruiting interviewers.

Send me the full list of counties as soon as you can, together with information about desirable qualifications for interviewers, work schedule, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 25, 1961

Dr. Tillman Cothran
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Tillman:

I believe the enclosed letter is self-explanitory. You probably will remember the occasion last year when I brought Donald Matthews out to meet with you, Dean Brazeal, and a few others for a briefing on the University of North Carolina's study of Negro political behavior. They are now ready to start their interviewing and need help in finding interviewers and consultants. Any suggestions you may have I shall send on to Chapel Hill.

John Reid today told me about the death of your Mother. You have my sincere sympathy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

U. of North Carolina

January 25, 1961

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
223 Chestnut Street S.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.

Dear Dean Brazeal:

I am enclosing a letter from Prothro which gives the full list of 27 counties to be covered in the University of North Carolina study of Negro political behavior. I wish you would let me know as soon as possible any suggestions you may have or may elicit from others regarding potential interviwers. I shall pass them on to Chapel Hill. Incidentally, I would infer from the list that either one interviewer for the two Georgia Counties or two part-time interviewers would be sufficient.

Prothro's letter leaves some questions unanswered and some important details unclear, but it may give you enough to go on.

If I see Tilman Cothran at the Hungry Club today, I plan to pass on to him another copy of the list.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: verifax copy, letter and list

February 9, 1961

Professor James W. Prothro
Department of Political Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

I am sorry not to have replied sooner, but I hope this may still help. I expect to have some other information next week and shall write again.

May I say first off that I think you are going to have trouble getting people--most of whom will perforce be connected with schools--who will have the time you need from March to June.

In Alabama, you might seek help from Professor James E. Pierce, Political Science, Alabama State College. I am to be in Montgomery February 16 and will make further inquiries.

In Arkansas, Dr. William Phillips, Jr., Sociology, Agricultural, Mechanical, & Normal College, Pine Bluff, has been recommended to me, either as a possible researcher or as an adviser on recruitment; all of your counties are in the Pine Bluff-Little Rock vicinity. I believe Mr. Nat Griswold, Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1220 West Capitol, Little Rook could also be helpful with names.

Georgia. Dr. Tillman Cothran, Sociology, Atlanta University, suggests that either he or Dr. John Reid, Sociology, AU. or another man in their department might be available, under the right conditions, to do the two counties, or at least Gwinnett.

Louisiana. Dr. Daniel Thompson, Sociology, Dillard University, New Orleans is an able and expesienced researcher.

Mississippi. Professor Ernst Borinski (white), Sociology, Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo is something of an institution. All hands advise that you ought to consult him.

North Carolina. Dr. ? Himes, Sociology, North Carolina College, Durham has been recommended to me. Never overlook the range of information and acquaintances of John Wheeler, Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Durham.

Tennessee. Hickman being just outside Nashville, suggest you write to Dr. John Hope, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Churches, Fisk University, Nashville.

Texas. Dr. W. Astor Kirk, Political Science, Houston-Tillotson College, Austin is an impressive guy and widely acquainted in the state; doesn't answer letters promptly.

Virginia. Professor Kenneth Moreland, Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg probably has a good acquaintance among Negro academic people in western Virginia, and would be a thoroughly reliable adviser.

Will write again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

January 23, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I'm enclosing, as promised, the list of counties in which we will be trying to recruit Negro interviewers. As I indicated in our telephone conversation, we doubt if we can find a local interviewer in every case; hence, if you know of any good prospects, don't hesitate to pass their names along even though they are not in one of the counties listed. If you know a name who could supply a name, this too would be helpful. Another reminder from our conversation: the interviewing would involve about two months of full-time work in the March - June period. But we would not rule out the possibility of some part-time interviewers.

Unless we hear that Walthall County, Mississippi, is a hopeless prospect, we will probably select it as the third community study site (with Leon, Florida, and Pitt, N.C., as the other two). For these three, we hope to employ a Negro consultant (at $300 to $500) to prepare a research memorandum on the Negro political community and to interview Negro leaders. If you know of any social scientist near any of these sites who might be interested and qualified, we would be most happy to have his name.

Many thanks for your continuing help.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James W. Prothro

JWP/bb
Enc.

COUNTIES INCLUDED IN SRC'S PRIMARY SAMPLING UNITS

Alabama	1	Elmore
	2	Lowndes
	3	Montgomery**
Arkansas	4	Clark
	5	Lonoke
	6	Pulaski
	7	Saline
Florida	8	Leon**
	9	Manatee
	10	Sarasota
Georgia	11	Gwinnett*
	12	Jeff Davis*
Louisiana	13	East Carroll**
Mississippi	14	Walthall
North Carolina	15	Forsyth**
	16	Stokes
	17	Pitt**
	18	Watauga*
South Carolina	19	Lexington
	20	Richland
Tennessee	21	Hickman
Texas	22	Erath*
	23	Harris
	24	Waller
	25	Jones
	26	Taylor*
Virginia	27	Pulaski*

* In counties marked with a single asterisk, fewer Negro interviews will be conducted; for some of them a traveling interviewer would be most economical.

** In these counties, two Negro interviewers will be needed.

and is pending reargument next fall. It involves a policy of voluntary segregation—not required by state statute — adopted by the proprietors of the Glen Echo amusement park in Maryland.

18-State Racial Measures Used as Pattern for U.S. Bill

By PAUL MARTIN
North American Newspaper Alliance

WASHINGTON, June 20 — Eighteen states have enacted state "public accommodations" laws that prohibit racial discrimination against customers by privately owned business establishments catering to the public.

Sen. Richard Russell

The states are Alaska, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island and South Dakota.

The laws cover such establishments as hotels and motels, theaters, bars, restaurants, bowling alleys, amusement parks, drug stores, barbershops and beauty parlors, and all kinds of retail stores.

The White House now wants similar legislation from Congress on a nationwide basis.

However, Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., told reporters that the Supreme Court in 1883 ruled invalid a federal public accommodations law under the 14th Amendment passed by Congress in 1875 during the Reconstruction era following the Civil War.

RUSSELL said government restrictions proposed in the federal law on the use and control of private property were held to be unconstitutional by the high court. "That is still the law of the land," he declared.

The question now arises as to why — if the federal law was unconstitutional — these various state "public accommodations" laws are not invalid, too.

A check of the records fails to reveal any clear-cut legal test in the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of these state acts, although there have been two borderline cases.

In 1947 the court decided in a Michigan test case that a state law did not violate the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, but avoided any discussion of the 14th Amendment which requires "equal protection of the laws" for all citizens in every state.

And in 1944 the Supreme Court upheld a New York state law prohibiting discrimination in labor unions, more under FEPC type legislation than the "public accommodations" statute. Again, there was no judicial interpretation of the 14th Amendment.

Most of the state acts were adopted in recent years long after the 1883 Supreme Court decision on the federal law. For instance, the New York law was passed by the state legislature in 1952 when Thomas E. Dewey was governor.

MORE IMPORTANT, a Justice Department lawyer claimed that the "situations are not comparable," and that it is "immaterial" whether any case has been taken to the Supreme Court testing state "public accommodations" laws.

He said the state statutes were enacted under the "general police powers" of the states to protect the health, safety, and welfare of its citizens, whereas the federal government has "limited powers" under the Constitution.

A congressional authority on civil rights legislation added: "There is no question about the right of the states to enact this kind of law in the exercise of its police powers. There is a question as to whether the federal government has a right to do this."

THE QUESTION of how far the federal government has a legal right to go in prescribing statutory restrictions on the use of private property of businessmen, merchants and innkeepers is causing considerable behind-doors debate in the administration and on Capitol Hill.

Some authorities want to draft a bill under the federal regulatory powers based on the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution to avoid the "precedent" of the 1883 Supreme Court decision against a federal public accommodations law under the 14th Amendment.

Others claim that what is involved here is civil rights—not commerce—and that any new act should be based squarely on the "equal protection of the laws" provision of the 14th Amendment, coupled with the police powers of the states to license, tax, and regulate privately owned business establishments.

The Supreme Court has gone only this far in interpreting the 14th Amendment, which was ratified in 1868 during the Reconstruction era:

In several recent "sit-in" cases arising in Southern states, the high court held that the states could not enforce state laws or municipal ordinances requiring segregation in privately owned lunch counters or other business establishments catering to the public.

THE HIGH COURT has yet to determine whether a businessman or merchant, in the independent exercise of his own judgment, may refuse to do business with certain customers because of race or color, and be entitled to city or state police protection against trespass or disturbance of the peace.

What may become a landmark case has been filed with the court,

June 1963

KENTUCKY

STATE ACTION

Under a General Assembly Act of March, 1960, Kentucky established a Commission on Human Relations of 11 members, appointed by the Governor. On March 17, 1963 the Commission announced it was drafting a law for presentation to the legislature, and in May, 1963 it called for "additional laws with sanctions to achieve "the purpose of discouraging discrimination for which the Commission was created.

The State Commission on Human Relations has fostered local commissions in Louisville, Lexington, Henderson, Paducah, Hopkinsville, and Covington to work for racial progress.

Libraries, state parks and state public schools are desegregated. ~~with the exception of a few pockets of resistance in southern Kentucky.~~

In 1960 a state law was passed forbidding racial discrimination in the State's merit system of employment. In March, 1963 the Governor proclaimed the "Governor's Code of Fair Practice" forbidding job discrimination by state contractors.

In the first 28 months of Gov. Bert T. Combs' administration, the number of Negro state employees rose from 633 to 1,038. Mid-1962 figures showed more than 100 Negroes were in supervisory, clerical, technical, or semi-silled jobs.

The State Education Department has prodded ~~da~~ laggard school districts into desegregating; only about 15 school districts, in southern Kentucky, are still segregated.

Bert T Combs

~~The~~ Governor sent, last fall, personal appeals to 7,000 businessmen in Kentucky asking them to provide "equal service to all" He received 417 replies, 400 said the businesses were open to all.

From:

POLICE DEPARTMENT, CITY OF NEW YORK
Community Relations
240 Centre Street
New York 13, N. Y.
CA 6-3205

STEPHEN P. KENNEDY
Commissioner

WALTER ARM
Deputy Commissioner

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATE

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1955
NO. 81

REMARKS OF POLICE COMMISSIONER STEPHEN P. KENNEDY, AT HARLEM YMCA, TO PEOPLE'S CIVIC AND WELFARE ASSOCIATION, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1955 AT 12 NOON
****

I am honored that you invited me here today. It is a pleasure for me to be here for a number of reasons. First, to meet people who are genuinely interested in police procedure and civic betterment. Second, to have an opportunity to tell you what the police Department program is in relation to civil rights and the protection of all citizens and thirdly, just to get away, however briefly, from the welter of desk work at 240 Centre Street.

Article 29 of the Police Department's Manual of Procedure contains the theme of our approach to the civil rights question. It reads:

"In dealing with racial or religious problems, care will be exercised that no favoritism be shown any particular group. The Department policy of impartiality will be strictly followed, and fair and just treatment accorded to all."

That theme is hammered home daily to all members of the force. It is impressed on them at almost every roll call; emphasized in my speeches, underlined in articles and editorials in the police magazine, Spring 3100, and drilled into every police recruit at the Police Academy through a special course in human relations.

From the time the recruit first begins his four-month course of study at the Academy until he leaves, he is instructed in the rights of citizens and the vital need for courtesy and tact in police work. Every instructor aims at wiping away any conscious and unconscious prejudices the recruits may have. The stereotyped misconceptions of racial groups, the insulting "name tags" given various nationalities, are the targets the instructors shoot at. The recruit is told time and time again that - and this quote is taken from the Police Academy course in human relations - "There is no place in a democratic society for bigotry and prejudice - hatred and disunity: far less room is there in an efficient police department."

The introduction to one lesson states: "The modern policeman recognizes that we have come a long way from the ancient attitude of 'the public be damned.' He realizes that democratic principles of law enforcement-and indeed very practical considerations related to the everyday performance of his duty - demand that he seek the active co-operation of the public he serves."

It is my belief that the ultimate goal of all police training and activity is to provide the most efficient police service possible, and that to accomplish this we must gain the good will and confidence of the people we serve. For this reason we emphasize the need for courtesy and spell out its definition as "genuine and habitual politeness."

The relationship between police officer and public should be - must be - one of mutual respect.

We emphasize to our officers that such respect does not mean softness, which only begets contempt.

Genuine courtesy is the sign of a he-man, just as discourtesy, especially when coupled with authority, is the sign of a bully and a coward. Our instructors tell our men: "You don't have to be ornery to be a good policeman, just as you don't have to use foul language to be forceful."

RECEIVED OCT 28 1955

We have pointed out, and will continue to point out, the important role a free press plays in our society. We give the recruits a thorough grounding in all civil rights legislation and the Constitution, and we reiterate the principle stated by our Police Commissioner Emeritus Francis W. H. Adams that "the policeman...not only must believe in our democratic principles of justice and equality before the law, but he must act consistently by that belief..."

When a man enters the Police Department, he begins a public career. His oath of office implies many changes in his way of life, changes which require many adjustments. Up to the time he begins patrol, he may have lived in a somewhat limited world. But when he is cast in the role of protector of the life and property and the defender of the rights of every person in the city, his world becomes larger and so must his way of life. He finds himself in the homes of total strangers, at their death beds, concerned with the insane, and the helpless, and the vicious. He must risk his life in the service of people whose names he may not even know. Because of these vital considerations, he can have no room in his makeup for indifference and less for prejudice.

These things are instilled into every one of the 22,000 men and women in the Department and will continue to be taught to every recruit that joins the force.

Of course, we recognize we have not attained or even approached the optimum in human relations. We realize that the problem has not been solved and that there is still vestiges of prejudice in the ranks. Here again, as you must well know, the human factor is involved and - because each man is an individual - the problem must be attacked on an individual basis.

In such a large group as ours, there are bound to be persons who have not and cannot erase deep-rooted feelings imbedded in their minds since childhood. Occasionally these hatreds may be translated into actions that shock and arouse protest. We are well aware that there are such persons in our midst. Our prime objective is to reduce them to the absolute minimum as speedily as is humanly possible.

But while prejudice still persists among some members of the department against some segments of the public, there is also a great deal of prejudice among some members of the public against police. Both must be eliminated and the best method of doing this is by education and mutual understanding. The whole problem is a continuing one that must be met and dealt with from day to day.

We have given you an idea of our educational campaign in the department - a campaign which I can assure you is paying dividends in better police work and better public relations.

A similar campaign among civic organizations, trying to explain the patrolman to the ordinary citizen, would, I am certain, have a beneficial result and lead ultimately to a lessening of abuses on both sides. The policeman is a human being with human failings and emotions. There are days when he may get up on the wrong side of the bed and view the world darkly. When he lets these factors cloud his work, he is immediately disciplined, and rightly so. On the other hand, the ordinary citizen also has his bad days, but when he sounds off it is generally overlooked.

We reorganized the civilian complaint review board last May 17 to investigate all civilian complaints against police officers. The board is under the chairmanship of the Deputy Commissioner in Charge of Community Relations and also consists of another Deputy Commissioner - Robert J. Mangum - and the Assistant to the Police Commissioner - Joseph Martin.

The board handles complaints involving alleged unlawful use of force and abuse of police authority. Such complaints are completely investigated and a hearing is held at which the complainant and the respondent officer are represented by counsel and may bring any witnesses they choose. The hearing is conducted by the police inspector of the area in which the alleged abuse occurred. When it is completed, the minutes and a report of the investigation are forwarded directly to the review board. An inspector, directly representing the board, often sits in on these hearings.

His report and the minutes of each hearing are passed on to the Board with recommendations, either that departmental charges be brought or the case be dropped. The Board members either agree or disagree with the findings.

Since the reorganization of the Board, 127 complaints have been received. Of these, seventeen are still being investigated. In the other 110 cases, charges and specifications were brought against twelve policemen.

Under the old procedure, only those complaints recorded in the blotter of a command were designated as civilian complaints. Many persons objected that their complaints were never entertained and were lost in a maze of red tape.

Today every member of the Department must record a civilian complaint and prepare the necessary papers for the Review Board. Orders specify that all police units have a duty to pursue all complaints even if the persons who made the complaints are reluctant to do so. The complaint can be made direct to me, or to any Deputy Commissioner, as well.

The Board has had a healthful effect on police relations with the public. The fact that such a Board was established to hear civilian complaints has, I am sure, deterred many a patrolman from hasty and ill-considered action.

On the other hand, the Board also protects the patrolman against unfair accusation. There have been quite a number of far-fetched and even fantastic complaints against patrolmen.

The experiences of the Civilian Complaint Review Board reveal that justice is a two-way street; that while the civilian must be protected, the police officer also has civil rights.

When an officer is found guilty of civilian abuse he will be punished. When a patrolman is found to be innocent and the victim of an unfounded complaint, he will be cleared. He can never, of course, be compensated for the shame and embarrassment of such a false charge. The City and Department can never recover from the loss of public respect that is the result of such false accusations. It has been said, and I repeat it, that "there must be no wall of separation between the police and the community we serve." The police and the public have a joint responsibility in the matter of law enforcement. Mutual respect is the necessary foundation for a co-operative effort to insure a peaceful and democratic community.

It is in this regard that I call upon you, as leaders in your community, to try to understand our problems, as we shall try to understand yours, and to aid us in every way possible to make New York City the most law-abiding community in the country.

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GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 23, 1955

NOV 28 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a copy of my address to the Hungry Club. Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Harry V. Richardson

Harry V. Richardson
President

HVR:d
Enclosure

Nov. 29. '55

From page 9 thru the end This is heroic (with soft spots!). SRC advised w. HVR on it.
Useful? EVM

11/23/55

"THE NEW SOUTH--HOPES AND HAZARDS"

By Harry V. Richardson
President, Gammon Theological Seminary

In 1938 Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was then President of the United States, said that the South was the nation's "economic problem Number One." The statement made Southerners mad, but the statement unfortunately was true. A few brief figures will show it.

In 1938, a depression year, the per capita income for the nation as a whole was $527.00. In 11 Southern states the per capita income was $325.00, just a little more than half the national figure.

In 1938 Southern agriculture was dominated by the one-crop system--cotton. It was a vicious system that wasted the land and impoverished the people. It made a few rich, but it made many others poor, and it raised a lot of evils in Southern living. For example, in 1935 in the 16 Southern states, 54 per cent of all farmers were tenants. In Mississippi 70 per cent of all farmers were tenants. Among Negroes, however, the rate of tenancy was much higher, for 82 per cent of all Negro farmers were tenants.

Tenancy varied from those who paid cash rents, to those who shared the crop, "sharecroppers," but for all tenants the annual income was low. In 1935, the annual per capita net income for the Southern tenant was only $110 a year. On some Mississippi plantations, among Negroes, it was only $46 per year. These figures may seem incredible to us now, but these figures are true, and some of us may have known these conditions by painful experience.

There were other economic problems. In 1938 commercially and industrially, the South was much like an American colonial possession. Southern labor was underpaid and unorganized, Southern natural resources were largely undeveloped or were exploited by commercial interests of other sections. The South was the victim of discriminatory freight rates and other practices which made it hard for Southern business to compete on a national scale. We may not have been problem No. 1, but we certainly were well up on the list.

In 1938 we had our problems in education. In that year the rate of illiteracy in the nation was 3 per cent. In the South it was 6 per cent, twice as high. In that year the national average amount spent on a grade school student was $114.28. In the South it was $50.79, less than half. On Negroes it was much less than this. One Southern state, in 1941, was spending $68.04 per year on each white child, but only $26.59 per year on a Negro child.

Teachers' salaries were woefully disproportionate in the South. In 1939 the average annual teacher's salary for the nation was $1,441. In the South it was less than one thousand dollars, and in Mississippi it was less than $600 for white and $285 for Negro teachers. In short, here in the South we had one-third of the nation's children, but we spent only about one-tenth of the total amount spent in the nation for education.

As to school buildings, it will suffice just to say that in 1938 the value of Negro school properties was less than one-tenth that of white. Or to be more concrete, I know of one county in Georgia which did not have a single school building for colored children. The children were taught, some are still taught, in frame church houses and in lodge halls. Yet Negroes are a large part of the population of that particular county.

In human relations we had our problems. Far worse than the financial poverty caused by cotton were the social evils that came along with it. Because cotton tended to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few, it often happened that whole communities would be under the domination of one or a few landlords. They controlled everything, the law, the courts, the schools, the church, the politics and politicians of the area, with the sheriff often serving as a mere enforcer of their wills. Sometimes these lords were kindly, benevolent men, and when they were, wholesome conditions would prevail in a town or in a county. Often, however, they were selfish, brutal men, and when they were, corruption prevailed in Southern communities on a scale seldom equalled in American life. Schools would be closed or children kept out at the landlord's pleasure for the purpose of harvesting crops. Preachers would have to vacate their pulpits if the lords decided that they must go. Crop settlements were often openly dishonest, and the tenant farmer, white or black, had little recourse against the landlords. To look to the courts was but to turn to an agency that made the exploitation legal.

In 1935 there were 19 lynchings in the South, in 1938 there were 6. Some of these killings were indescribably brutal. In several cases living men were dragged to death behind automobiles running openly through towns, some were hanged and shot in public places, such as a school yard or a public square. In several cases bodies were burned, in one case a dead victim's head was cut off and put on public display. In another the dead victim's teeth were distributed among the lynchers as souvenirs. Often these were community killings with people coming in from miles around to watch or to participate. In most cases the killings were done before the victims had been convicted or even tried.

Oddly enough most of the lynchings were not for the protection of Southern womanhood. Of all the lynchings since 1889, less than one-fourth, 24 per cent, were for rape or attempted rape. More than a third, 37 per cent, were for murder, and the rest, 39 per cent, were for various causes, some so trival as stealing a saddle or insulting women over the phone.

It is hard to believe now that such things happened in our Southland, but history, unfortunately, refuses to die.

There were other problems besides lynching. In 1938, those were the days of the Klan, the white primary, the one party domination of political life, the open disfranchisement of large numbers of the Southern population, and political campaigns based deliberately on group hate. Those were the days when hate peddlers and irresponsible politicians played on our passions and inflamed our hatreds, and led us into deeds of which we afterward are ashamed, all so that they might corral a few votes or collect a fee which Southerners paid for the privilege of joining a movement that picked on somebody else.

II.

Here in the South we have come a long way since then. Indeed, we have come so far so fast, that as we look back now, it is hard to believe that these things are part of our recent history. It seems sometimes as if we are now awakening from a bad, painful dream. But we have come, thank God, and a new day, a new South is with us.

Instead of being regarded as "Economic Problem No. 1," we are now commonly thought of as the nation's Economic Opportunity Number One. I don't want to weary you with figures, but I must mention that the Southern per capita income is climbing

rapidly. In 1938 it was just a little more than half of the national figure. Today in the Southeast, it is nearly three-fourths of the national figure, $1,233 as compared with $1,770, and in the Southwest it is higher than that.

We are no longer victims of the one-crop system. King Cotton's back is broken, and he has now gone West for recuperation. May he there remain and live long! In his place we now have a diversified, profitable agriculture which includes beef cattle production and the growing of pine trees. Soon the family forest will be as familiar as the family farm. Then to cap the climax, Georgia is now the leading broiler producer in the nation. All of this has brought to the Southern farmer new wealth, better living conditions than he hardly dared to dream of twenty years ago.

The biggest single factor in Southern development has been, of course, the coming of industry. Now every major national corporation has manufacturing or assembling or distributing branches in the South. This industry has come not to exploit our labor or resources, but it has come because the South is a ready and a growing market, a market that insists on having a hand in the production of the goods that it consumes.

The new industries have found Southern labor intelligent, efficient, cooperative. Through the patient, self-sacrificial efforts of its leaders, Southern labor is being increasingly organized and respected, and like labor in other sections is being paid in keeping with its worth.

The Negro, too, is coming slowly into a brighter economic day in the new South. Although still on the fringes, although still restricted largely to unskilled jobs, some Southern industries are beginning to use his skills, and to give

him work for which he is prepared. Also, the Negro is coming to be recognized as a vital part of the Southern market. His national income is now fifteen billions, an amount equal to the total income of the Dominion of Canada. Here is a market that needs to be cultivated and strengthened. At last business is beginning to see that nobody makes anything when the Negro is kept back and poor.

In no area has progress been more rapid than in education. Southern States are now among the highest in their per capita tax rate for education and in the proportion of State income that is spent on education. Southern school properties have been tremendously improved, and because they are so recent, they are among the finest in the nation. In curricula and in quality of teaching personnel, Southern schools are rapidly approaching highest national standards.

In the past twenty years, tremendous progress has been made in the area of human relations. And this, it seems to me, is most encouraging of all. Nothing shows this better than our conquest of lynching. See it by decades. In the forty years from 1913 to 1952, there were 896 lynchings.

From 1913 to 1922 there were 597 lynchings, 66%.

From 1923 to 1932 there were 175 lynchings, 19.5%.

From 1933 to 1942 there were 103 lynchings, 11.5%.

From 1943 to 1952 there were 21 lynchings, 2.3%.

1952, 1953, and 1954 were "lynchless" years.

This reduction in practice of lynching is largely due to the heroic efforts of Southern women, who in the face of criticism and severe opposition, waged an unceasing campaign of education and public sentiment against the practice. It is one of the noblest social achievements that I know of. To be sure, all killing has not ceased, but at least it has been greatly reduced in its old form of lynching.

There is progress in other ways. The idea of more than one political party is gaining wider acceptance; the race issue as the basis of political campaigns is more and more being rejected. In many places Negroes are permitted to vote and in some places encouraged to do so. Today more than a million are registered in the South. Negroes now have representatives in 5 Southern city governments. They have representatives on several Southern boards of education. Negroes are on the police forces in 143 Southern cities, and in 22 counties they serve as deputy sheriffs; in one Southern city a Negro serves as judge. This indicates a welcome trend toward fairer law enforcement, and toward giving the Negro at least a share in the government under which he lives.

One vestige of the past, however, still hangs over us like a dark cloud, casting its shadow on all that we do, and making life dark and difficult for some in the South. This is the practice of the segregation of Negroes. In the bright new South it is an anachronism. It makes us look like India with its systems of caste and "Untouchability"; we look like Germany under Hitler when Jews had to wear badges and arm bands as signs of their inferiority; it makes us look like Russia mistreating the Poles or the Letts or any other groups they decided to persecute.

In the face of Southern progress, segregation is becoming more and more ridiculous and irrational. We know now that we do not believe in the separation of the races. We simply practice the suppression and humiliation of one race, one group, to satisy the distorted conceptions that some of us hold regarding our own superiority. Today in the colleges and schools of the South there are Chinese, Japanese, Phillipine, Indian and other students, all members of different races. Only one group are barred, and the members of that group are native Americans who have shed their blood in every war for the freedom and independence of their homeland.

Let us be clear. Here in the South we do not want Chinese colleges or Japanese colleges or Phillipine colleges or schools or any of that. What we want is schools, good schools, to which every person who desires to learn may be able to go and have open access to the wisdom of mankind.

We have made astounding progress in the past two decades, but we still have much to do. The millenium is not yet. We still have to fight the rabble rouser and irresponsible politicians who at every point have tried to hold progress back and who still are ready to sell the new South short. They are the ones who make it difficult for real statesmen to arise and survive in the South. They are the ones who tie politics to hatreds, who ride into office on the Negro's back and then turn around and kick him. They are the ones who play on our hatreds and lead us into acts of national disgrace. They are the ones who sell out Southern labor, who try to keep it divided into warring racial and class groups, and thus weak and ineffective against exploitation. These are the ones who distort issues and purposes, who try to mix up the normal economic and civic interests of people with a lot of sordid sexual mess. These, the irresponsible hate peddlers, demagogues and politicians, these are the real hazards to the new South.

Now there come certain latter day demagogues who try to identify their prejudices with the will of God, and who try to show that segregation is wholesome. But they don't deceive us. We know what they are doing. They are trying to put old stinks in new pots, but they still stink. We know the truth. Whenever you segregate, you push somebody around. No American has the right to do that to any other American, and no American ought to try.

The great progress we have made in the past two decades has not been easy or automatic. It has come through the persistent labors of a long line of noble

people, white and black, who have fought and are determined to keep on fighting in spite of smears and threats and pressures, in a battle that does not end.

III

What of the Negro in the new South? On this I can only say just a word.

In the past twenty years, two sharp changes have occurred in the Southern Negro's thinking. First, he is coming to feel that he can be proud of the South and proud of his Southern heritage. There was a time when we were ashamed, ashamed of the discriminations and humiliations we had to undergo here. When we travelled into other sections of America people laughed at us or pitied us. They looked upon us as unfortunate victims who couldn't escape from a concentration camp.

This has changed. There are many reasons for it. The Negro has learned by experience that the South can be good, and by experience, too, that other sections can be bad. There isn't much need to run. Life involves struggle everywhere. The South has its problems, to be sure, but no one asks to be free from problems. All that we want is the certainty that solutions can be found, and that we have a chance to work toward solutions. That our problems can be solved is seen in the remarkable progress. ~~already mentioned in this paper.~~ Believe it or not, despite the noise of the rabble rousers, in the effort to overcome its difficulties the South is one of the most progressive sections of America today. To live in a section which is honestly trying to master its difficulties is a thrilling opportunity of which we can be proud.

The Negro is coming to be proud, too, of the contribution he has made to the South. Never forget that Negroes have been part and parcel of the South from the very beginning, arriving at Jamestown a year before the Mayflower landed at Plymouth

Black hands grew the cotton that constituted so much of the South's basic wealth. Black labor built the railroad beds and the roadways; black skilled craftsmen erected many of the grand old structures that are show places in the South today. Negro music, sacred and secular, has greatly enriched Southern art. The Negro's patience and deep human understanding, his facility at domestic service, his genius for child care, all helped to create a delightful culture on which Southerners still look back with longing eyes. It doesn't matter that the fruit of his labor was taken from him and that he never had a chance to enjoy it, or that sometimes it was used to keep him down. He has made a rich contribution to the South of which he can be justly proud.

Secondly, the Negro is deciding to stay at home, that is to stay in the South. There was a time when his chief ambition was to buy a ticket North or West. That is changing now. He is coming to feel that the South is his, as Winston Churchill said, "by right of blood and sweat and tears." For an increasing number of Negroes, the days of flight are done. In spite of the activities of hate mongers and bigots, it is possible to build a good life here in his homeland, and he is determined to stay and to try.

I once heard of a Negro who was bitterly complaining about all the trouble he was having in Georgia. Someone asked him why he didn't leave and go somewhere else where things would be better. He had never thought of that. He scratched his head and finally said: "I'm not going anywhere. Georgia is hell, but it's home!"

As I close this paper, it seems well that we should set the record straight. What does the Negro want in his new Southland? In answer, I think it can be summed

up in these four simple forms:

1. He wants that every Southern child shall be able to live and grow and learn in the South, without having the stigma of inferiority stamped on his skin or burned into his soul.

2. He wants the right to secure any kind of work of which he is capable, without being denied because of his skin.

3. He wants access to every public privilege or service to which a citizen is entitled, without having to crawl in through back doors or to stand behind screens like an outcast or a dog.

4. He wants an American's participation in the processes of his government, receiving all rights and protections, and bearing all responsibilities.

This is what he wants, this is all that he wants, and he believes that under God this is fair.

For twelve years of my life, I worked beside a great Southerner. He was a great scientist, a great soul. His name was George Washington Carver. All of his ability, all of his funds he gave for the improvement of life in the South. He asked nothing in return. I was with him when he died, I buried him after he died. Not long before he died there was a particularly brutal lynching in a nearby Southern town. We were discussing it one day, when suddenly he said: "I know that a thing like this is almost enough to break your heart. But never mind, my young friend, these things won't always be. There are plenty of good people in the South, and someday they will make themselves heard. Someday our Southland will be a wonderful place for all of us to live in."

For the fulfillment of that prophecy, I am willing to wait and to work.

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Our research publications, by each year, were:

1959

Pamphlets:

Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis, published jointly by: Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee; Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; and the Southern Regional Council

If the Schools Are Closed: A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, by Warren Gauerke and Ross Green

The Negro and the Ballot in the South, by Margaret Price

Special Reports:

Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities

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Housing for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia, by Robert A. Thompson

L-Reports:

L-1 The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims

L-2 Excerpts from Speech of John P. Fishwick, Vice-president, Norfolk and Western Railway, to Rockingham Development Corporation, April 6, 1959

L-3 How Could Shut Schools Affect State Economy?

L-4 Public Schools and Southern Industrial Progress: Statements from Leaders in Business and Industry

L-5 Public Schools and the Economy of Virginia

L-6 The "Davis Report" and the Truth about the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C.

L-7 Governor Almond (Virginia) on the Importance of Public Schools

L-8 Race and Intelligence (statement by 18 leading psychologists and anthropologists, first released in 1956)

L-9-A If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan

L-9 The Private School Answer to the Desegregation Crisis--The Virginia Experience

L-Reports, continued:

L-10 Education and Income (from recent study by the Industrial Development Branch of Georgia Tech's Engineering Experiment Station)

L-11 Little Rock Report...What Has Happened Since the School Crisis?

L-12 Voluntary Desegregation in Some Southern School Districts (Six states, 1954-59)

L-13 "DId You Find That There Was Much Difference in the Ability of Negro Children to Receive and Prefit by Instruction?" (TV interview with Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of the Louisville Public Schools)

1960

Pamphlets

Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillan

Racial Crisis and the Press, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer

The South and the Nation, by LeRoy Collins

School Desegregation: The First Six Years

Special Reports

The Student Protest Movement

Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas, by Kenneth Morland

Toward A Solution of the Sit-In Controversy, by Margaret Price

A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61

Miscellaneous

Notable Address: The Church in Areas of Racial Tension, by the Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee

L-Reports

L-14 A Report from Virginia

L-15 Types of Desegregation Plans

L-16 Atlanta and Washington: Racial Differences in Academic Achievement, by Frank H. Stallings

L-17 Desegregation and Academic Achievement

L-18 Negro Buying Power

L-19 Integration and Industry: What Price Tag For 'Massive Resistance'? by Frank Trippett, St. Petersburg Times

L-20 Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees

L-21 Public Schools and Community Development (Speecy by H. McKinley Conway, Jr.)

L-22 To Florida Leaders in Civic, Religious, and Business Affairs: A Report by the Fowler Commission on Race Relations (Florida)

~~L-23 Desegregation in Higher Education (revised 1962 and 1963)~~

Book 1961 Virginia's Massive Resistance, by Benjamin Muse; published by Indiana University Press

Pamphlets

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Houston

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights

Special Reports

Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools, by Mary Ellen Goodman

The Freedom Ride

The Student Protest Movement: AlRecapitulation

Miscellaneous

Notable Address: This I Believe, Heywood N. Hill

The Case for Integration, Daniel C. Thompson

L-Reports

L-23 Desegregation in Higher Education (Revised in 1962 and 1963)

L-24 Excerpts from an address by Malcolm Bryan, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, January 23, 1961

L-25 New Census Look at Cities and Race (Washington Post, March 26, 1961)

L-26 Excerpts from an address by General Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company, Inc., before the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce in Atlanta, Georgia, May 22, 1961

L-27 The Hard or the Easy Way? (school desegregation)

L-28 Organizations Supporting the Student Protest Movement

L-29 Statement of Resolution Passed at the Recent Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Reaffirming Its Position on Race

L-30 A Positive Plan to Help Solve Our Racial Dilemma, by Oliver Emmerich; Court Ruling Means--Birmingham Faces A Hard Decision (Editorials from Mississippi State Times and Birmingham News)

L-31 Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in the South, by David Kelsey (Wall Street Journal)

L-32 Refutation of Race and Reason: A Yankee View by William P. Sullivan of Lake Charles, La.

L-33 A Statement of Recommended Police Policy Resulting from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on: "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive"

1962

Pamphlets

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PUBLICATIONS: 1963

SPECIAL REPORT:

PLANS FOR PROGRESS (mimeographed)

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS, TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND, by Professor J. Kenneth Morland

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY, by Robert Coles, M.D.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (mimeographed)

I. April-June 24, 1963
II. June 24-July 24, 1963
III. July 24-Aug. 28, 1963
IV. Aug. 28-Nov. 30, 1963

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES: IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH, by Vivian W. Henderson

MARCH ON WASHINGTON, special edition of New South, September 1963

DIRECT ACTION IN THE SOUTH, Special edition of New South, October-November 1963

1962

ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, by Howard Zinn

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: Atlanta
THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: Chattanooga

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER, by J. M. Dabbs, F. P. Graham, P. Green, B. E. Mays, J. Stokely, and M. A. Wright

THE UNEQUAL BADGE (a study of southern police employment policies), by Elliott M. Rudwick

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EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, a review of the current administration's first year of civil rights action. 1962, 52 pp. SC 50¢.

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. 1961. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

THE CITY AND THE NEGRO, by Charles E. Silberman. Migrations from South to North and rural to urban as reported in Fortune, March, 1962. Reprint, 9 pp. SC 20¢.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22-page report based on a survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, Univ. of Houston, Nov., 1961; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, Feb., 1962; and ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May, 1962. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. A refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. Reprint from New South, Dec., 1961. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959) Lofton pitts arguments from James McBride Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. of History & Social Science, Spelman College. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. (Mimeo.) 35 pp., 1962. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliott M. Rudwick,

Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois Univ. A 14-page survey of the number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. 1962. SC 10¢, Q 6¢.

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. In his article reprinted from the Autumn 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review, SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D. The eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. 1961. SCF, Q2¢.

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery. 1960. SC 25¢.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Myer. Racial news in the press. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) and THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959), both by Margaret Price. Statistics and specific local examples. SC -57 20¢, -59 25¢, together 40¢.

MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE FREEDOM RIDE - MAY 1961. A chronology of it and reactions to it. (Mimeo.) SC 25¢.

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4

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WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar. A 12-page legal analysis of the 1954 decision reprinted from Southern School News. SC 10¢

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida. "A picture of the material advance of the South in recent years ... and of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 1960. SC 10¢, Q 8¢.

THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION, by the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Assoc. Secy. for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1959. SC 5¢.

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED ... A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke & Donald Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE, by Marion A. Wright. A probing address by a former SRC President. SC 5¢.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS. Articles reprinted from the Washington Post. SC 10¢.

GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. A detailed report published by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities points to "separate but unequal." 56 pp., 1960. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

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~~ARE SOUTHERN MINISTERS FAILING THE SOUTH? by Robert Paul Sessions. An Arkansas pastor critically appraises his colleagues. Reprint from The Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 1961, SC 5¢.~~

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming. Reprinted from The New York Times (April 3, 1960), this is SRC's former Executive Director's view of southern change and its effect on our image abroad. SCF, Q 2¢.

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS, by Mary Ellen Goodman. What "massive resistance" does to education by a member of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. (Mimeo.) 27 pp., 1961, SC 10¢.

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. How a white father and son in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. 60 pp., 1960. SC 25¢.

THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James. Detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. 173 pp., 1957, Simon and Schuster. SCF, QCWC.

THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Three papers read before the Southern Historical Association, 1955. 29 pp. SCF, QCWC.

THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore. The story behind the Little Rock headlines reprinted from Harper's Magazine June, 1958. SCF, QCWC.

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, compiled by the Rev. John B. Morris. Short essays on race relations by South Carolina "moderates." 89 pp. SCF, QCWC.

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey. 276 pp., 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. SCF, QCWC.

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS. A 32-page report by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. SCF, QCWC.

WHEN A CITY CLOSES ITS SCHOOLS, by Ernest Q. Campbell. Study of Norfolk, Va., citizens at a time when schools were closed there conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the Univ. of North Carolina. 159 pp., 1960. SCF, QCWC.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. SCF.

NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH. Reprint from Business Week, Aug., 5, 1961. SCF

LEADERSHIP REPORTS (all mimeographed unless otherwise noted, SCF, QRR)

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

L-5 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, Gen. Mgr., Special Controls Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va., June 12, 1959.

L-12 VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. Statistics from six states, 1954-59.

L-14 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA. News reports of the Virginia Education Association's actions in the desegregation controversy. 1960.

L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, Frank H. Stallings, Assoc. Prof. of Education, Univ. of

Louisville, Jan. 26, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. The findings of some border and Southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960.

L-19 WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE RESISTANCE?' Two articles by Frank Trippett on the economic effects of Virginia's policy reprinted from the St. Petersburg Times, June 24 and 31, 1960.

L-20 PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES. Where and how this has been effective. 1960. Out

L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., stressing importance of leaving education to educators. Nov., 1960.

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial group appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply race relations leadership. Dec., 1960.

L-23 A DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet covering 1935 - ~~1961~~. 1963.

L-24 ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, concerning racial problems and economics. Feb., 1961.

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, March 22, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. July, 1961.

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of

Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. Oct., 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT. Nov., 1961.

L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists reject theories of Negro racial inferiority. Nov., 1961.

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA, reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, Nov. 3, 1961, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 25, 1961. Two editorials from centers of Deep South resistance.

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 1962.

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Prof. of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. 1962.

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." March, 1962.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. ~~May, 1962.~~ August, 1963

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A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. A refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. Reprint from New South, Dec., 1961. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

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1963 THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES: IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH, by Vivian W. Henderson, Prof. of Economics at Fisk University. "Unless unforeseeable, 'revolutionary' changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the 'forgotten man' in America's affluent society." 23 pp. Sept. 1963. 25¢

1963 BUSINESS--NEXT TARGET FOR INTEGRATION? by John Perry, reprinted from Harvard Business Review, March-April 1963. Mr. Perry's prediction that forces are gathering which may well develop into active conflict has been borne out by recent developments; employment is one of the major programs of the Negro action groups. SC 20¢.

LEADERSHIP REPORTS

(all mimeographed unless otherwise noted) SCF, QRR.

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

L-5 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA. Excerpts from talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, Gen. Mgr., Special Controls Dept., Gen. Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va., June 1959.

L-12 VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. Statistics from six states, 1954-59.

L-14 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA. News reports of the Virginia Education Association's actions in the desegregation controversy. 1960.

L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, Frank H. Stallings, Assoc. Prof. of Education, Univ of Louisville, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. Findings of some border and southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960.

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L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by an Atlanta Industrialist, H. McKinley Conway, Jr., stressing the importance of leaving education to educators. 1960.

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS. A biracial group appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply race relations leadership. 1960.

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L-24 ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, concerning racial problems and economics. February 1961.

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, March 22, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. July 1961.

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. October 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT. Nov. 1961.

L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists reject theories of Negro racial inferority. Nov. 1961.

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA. Reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times. Nov. 3, 1961, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 25, 1961. Two editorials from centers of Deep South resistance.

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from the Wall Street Journal, January 10, 1961.

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Prof. of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. 1962.

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for American Police Executive." 1962.

L-34A DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic Dioceses in 11 states. August 1963.

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS - in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia. 1962.

L-36 RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS. Reprint from the Washington Post. 1962.

L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS.

L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on economic hazards of University of Mississippi riots. 1962.

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L-42 SPEECH BY EDWARD J. MEEMAN, editor emeritus of Memphis Press-Scimitar, on the principles of good human relations. 1963

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L-45 PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MISSISSIPPI. Analysis of reports from Public Welfare and Department of Education of Mississippi noting gap in educational opportunities for whites and Negroes. 1963 ~~August 1963~~.

L-46 VOICE OF THE PEOPLE: 'AT THIS VERY LATE HOUR.' -- A letter co-authored by 2 citizens of Birmingham, James A. Head and Charles F. Zukoski, Jr. Reprinted from the Birmingham News, September 30, 1963.

L-47

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1964

THE OXFORD DISASTER...PRICE OF DEFIANCE, by Rep. Karl Wiesenburg, Jackson County, Miss. Reprint of articles appearing in The Chronicle (Pascagoula, Miss.) December 17-21, 1962.

MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY, by James W. Silver, University of Mississippi. Presidential Address before the Southern Historical Association, Asheville, North Carolina, November 7, 1963. 43 pp. SC 50¢, QRR.

Leo's speech?

New South - monthly magazine

SRC PUBLICATIONS

A listing of current materials relating to race relations and allied subjects available from

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 19[illegible]

Southern Regional Council

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August, 1964

Index to Price Code

SC - single copy
Q - price per copy in quantity
SCF - single copy free
QRR - quantity rates on request

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1964:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 1944-1964. How, why, and by whom the SRC was organized; statement of policy and aims; statement of views. SC 20¢, Q 15¢

SERIES OF SPECIAL REPORTS telling of progress in race relations in five Southern cities: what happened, how, why, and the outlook for the future. CHARLOTTE, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS available now @ 40¢ each city; others will be out later, same price. (Mimeo., 40 to 91 pp.)

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI. Special Report on Mississippi during the Summer of 1964, responsibilities of Mississippi and federal authorities as they relate to law enforcement and white reaction to the COFO program. SC 40¢

THE PRICE WE PAY. Samples the costs--chiefly money--incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Produced in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. SC 75¢ QRR

1963:

DIRECT ACTION IN THE SOUTH. A report on the Negro revolt, beginning with Feb. 1, 1960 and continuing through Summer, 1963. SC 35¢ QRR

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER. Comments by four outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial. SC 20¢

PLANS FOR PROGRESS. A study of their interpretation and implementation by 24 large corporations with Southern branch offices in Atlanta. SC 10¢ Mimeo.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES, by M. Hayes Mizell. Sponsored jointly by Penn Community Services and South Carolina Council on Human Relations. SC 10¢ Mimeo.

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND, by Prof. J. Kenneth Morland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, 27 pp., June 1963. Sponsored jointly by SRC and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. SC 50¢ QRR

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THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES: IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH, by Vivian W. Henderson, Prof. of Economics at Fisk University. "Unless unforeseeable, 'revolutionary' changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and

development, the Negro citizen will remain the 'forgotten man' in America's affluent society." 23pp. Sept. 1963. SC 25¢ QRR

BUSINESS--NEXT TARGET FOR INTEGRATION? by John Perry, reprinted from Harvard Business Review, March-April, 1963. SC 20¢

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. Brief description of federal agricultural programs for Negro farmers in the Deep South. SC 10¢

MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY, by James W. Silver, University of Mississippi. Presidential Address before the Southern Historical Association, Asheville, N.C., November 7, 1963. SC 50¢ QRR

1962:

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22p. report based on survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, University of Houston, Nov. 1961; ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May 1962; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, February 1962. SC each study 20¢, Q 15¢

ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. History & Social Science. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. Mimeo. SC 25¢

THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliott M. Rudwick, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois University. A 14 p. survey of number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. SC 10¢, Q 6¢

THE OXFORD DISASTER: PRICE OF DEFIANCE, by Rep. Karl Wiesenburg, Jackson County, Miss. Reprint of articles appearing in The Chronicle (Pascagoula, Miss.) December 17-21, 1962. SC 10¢

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSI RIOTS. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford. SC 5¢

1961:

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48p. report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. February 1961, SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. Article reprinted from Autumn 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review. SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D. Eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. SCF, Q 2¢.

THE FREEDOM RIDE, May 1961. Chronology and reactions. Mimeo. SC 25¢

THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION, by Daniel C. Thompson, Social Science chairman, Dillard University. Dr. Thompson's side of a debate on integration--a clear and explicit statement of Negro aims. SC 10¢ QRR

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. Refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. SC 5¢, Q 3¢

1960: (and later, as noted)

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. SCF

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery, 1960. SC 25¢

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer. Racial news in the press. SC 25¢, Q 20¢

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. SC 25¢

MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by LeRoy Collins, then Governor of Florida, dealing with fundamental issues in Southern life. SC 20, Q 15¢

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, by Warren E. Gauerke and Donald Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 15¢

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, reprints from The Washington Post in 1958 in reply to Davis Committee report.

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959), Lofton pits arguments from James M. Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH, by Margaret Price, 1959. Statistics and specific local examples. SC 25¢

LEADERSHIP REPORTS

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L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, by Frank H. Stallings, Associate Professor of Education, University of Louisville, 1960.

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L-47 THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE. Was the Easter Week outbreak of racial violence a portent of things to come as the great turning point of federal civil rights legislation is reached? SC 10¢ Mimeo.

SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. SCF

THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: THE EXPOSED NERVE, by Leslie W. Dunbar. Reprint from The Journal of Politics, Vol. 26, 1964. SC 20¢

NEW SOUTH, monthly magazine published by SRC, SC 20¢ each, subscription $2.50. Articles of general interest in copies of which we still have a supply:

QRR

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON, by Margaret Long. September, 1963.
THE MYTH, THE MOVEMENT, AND THE AMERICAN DREAM, by James M. Dabbs, retiring President of SRC. December 1963.
THE TURKS, by Ira Kaye; ACHIEVEMENT IN ALBANY, by Wyatt T. Walker. June, 1963.
BLACK MUSLIMS--MIRROR OF THE EXISTING ORDER, by Eric Lincoln. January, 1963.
MISSISSIPPI. October, 1962 (Violence and harrassment)
TWO BOYS OF CONSCIENCE AND COURAGE, by Robert Coles, M.D. September, 1962 (Atlanta school desegregation)
MARGINAL MAN AND THE NEW NEGRO IDENTITY, by Herman Long. April, 1962
A SEMANTIC JOURNEY IN THE SOUTH, by Lillian Smith. March, 1962. A psychological x-ray of Southerners.
THE DILIGENT KNITTERS, by Nedra Tyre (fears and falacies). February, 1962. and THE RIGHT TO PROTEST, by Marion Wright. (Rebels--past & present)
THE ONLY TRUE AMERICAN, by Louis E. Lomax. January, 1962. and THE WHITE FEATHER, by Will D. Campbell (human relations).
MINORITY SOUTH: "Some of My Best Friends Are Southerners," by George A. Gulette; "Police, Minorities and Mobs," by E. C. Hale, Chief of Police, Lexington, Ky.; a southern newspaper reader. September, 1961.
THE FREEDOM RIDES...their impact on one rider, the Deep South, national unity, and world opinion. July-August, 1961.

REPRINTS, SCF - QRR

New York Times, 9-27-59, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," by Ralph McGill
Washington Post, 10-7-62, "The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed," by George McMillan
Segregation vs. the Space Age, by Marion Wright, 4-9-48.
Harper's, June 1958, "The Easy Chair," by Harry S. Ashmore (Little Rock)
N. Y. Times, 4-1-60, "A Southern View of the South," by Harold Fleming.

BOOK, paperback, THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. (Little Rock) Negro history, useful to elementary and high school students. 25¢

"Perhaps the oldest and most consistently reliable source of information about the South's sociological and interracial problems is the Southern Regional Council.../it/ has been dedicated to research and to the principle that fair, open and well-informed discussion and dialogue are invaluable to advancement and understanding." --Ralph McGill, Atlanta Constitution, August 5, 1963.

"The ... publications of the Council since 1961, when I discovered it, have been a constant source of enlightenment and inspiration. I have seen published in New South, its lively little monthly periodical, statements of truths that the establishmentarian white liberal editors of the North wouldn't even understand."
--Howard N. Meyer, The Commonweal July 10, 1964.

Feb. 12, 1964

LWD MA

list of 1963 SRC publications

PLANS FOR PROGRESS. January, 1963. A study of their interpretation and implementation by 24 large corporations with southern branch offices in Atlanta.

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND, by Professor J. Kenneth Morland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College. 27 pp. June, 1963. Sponsored jointly by SRC and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY, by Robert Coles, M.D. A two-year research by child psychiatrist on the effects of school desegregation on children. 25 pp. July, 1963. Sponsored jointly by SRC and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

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SPECIAL ISSUES NEW SOUTH

March on Washington, September 1963.

Direct Action in the South, October-November 1963.

REPRINTS

BUSINESS--NEXT TARGET FOR INTEGRATION? by John Perry, reprinted from Harvard Business Review, March-April, 1963. distributed by SRC.

THE BUSINESSMAN AND THE NEGRO, by Charles E. Silberman, reprinted from Fortune, September, 1963. Distributed by SRC.

THE CITY AND MINORITY GROUPS, published by International City Managers Association, February, 1963. SRC cooperated in obtaining information for this publication and distributed it.

The Courier-Journal
LOUISVILLE, KY.
D. 223,511 SUN. 327,601

JUN 29 1964

Housing's Crucial Role In The Pattern Of Segregation

DESEGREGATION in the field of housing is perhaps the most complex and difficult problem in the entire spectrum of race relations. Yet it is critical to the whole pattern of prejudice and segregation. Moreover, it is evident that Negroes in this community and other communities in border states and to the north of us are more concerned about discrimination in housing than even in public accommodations.

In Louisville, a holding action has been under way for sometime in the West End to prevent the wholesale departure of white residents, which would convert the area into a Negro ghetto.

At one time the West End was almost entirely white. But after World War II, a a number of white residents moved to suburban homes and Negroes began moving into the vacated houses. Today, the West End is still predominately white, but the Negro influx has increased.

A recent special report of the Southern Regional Council had this to say about the situation in the West End:

> If the racial elements were distributed and the pattern were stabilized the situation would be wholesome. What gives cause for alarm is the continuing trend—whites moving away and Negroes moving in, and solid blocks of Negro homes developing. 'Blockbusting' tactics have been observed at times . . . but similar influences have operated in a subtler manner. . . . The problem is infinitely complex. For instance, many Negroes desire homes in the West End and many of them are unmindful of the danger of turning the area into a ghetto. . . . Negro realtors themselves feel obligated to satisfy the wishes of their customers.

But the overriding problem is that Negroes, despite their preferences, are severely restricted in where they can live. They are not welcome in many white residential areas. Various pressures are used to keep them contained. It is difficult for a Negro to get credit to purchase a home in a white neighborhood. Restrictions are still written into some deeds that state the owner cannot sell his house to a person of "African descent." Although these restrictions are unenforceable, they act as a deterrent. Some real-estate agents resort to various subterfuges to avoid showing property for rent or sale to potential Negro buyers.

Now the housing committee of the Louisville Human Relations Commission has drafted a fair-housing ordinance for the consideration of the full commission and the Board of Aldermen. Its purpose is to outlaw racial discrimination in the sale of housing and in most rental housing.

Legislation along this line is needed if we are to attack one of the root causes of segregation. The draft of the proposed ordinance may be imperfect but it should form the basis of action. Among other things, it would outlaw the refusal of a property loan—or discrimination in its terms—on account of race. It also would outlaw "block-busting" tactics. An example of this is when a real-estate speculator comes into a white neighborhood, says that a Negro is moving in and warns the whites that they should sell at a "reasonable" price right now. The speculator gets the houses at the price he wants, then turns around and sells them to Negroes at a nice profit to himself.

One of the first questions that must be answered before moving any further with the proposed fair-housing ordinance is whether the city has the legal authority, at this time, to legislate on a broad scale in the field. Marlin M. Volz, chairman of the Human Relations Commission, points out that the state has explicitly given the city authority to pass a public-accommodations ordinance—which it has done—but not a housing ordinance. This should be cleared up as soon as possible. Then there would remain enforcement problems that should be given close scrutiny before a final draft is approved.

These obstacles, however, are not insuperable. Other cities have enacted such ordinances, including Albuquerque, New Mexico; Schenectady, New York; Oberlin, Ohio; Duluth, Minnesota, and Madison, Wisconsin. And 11 states have laws prohibiting discrimination in private housing.

1964 PUBLICATIONS

MA thank you

Pamphlets

The Price We Pay — June, 1964

Special Reports

Series of what happened, why, and how in selected southern cities telling of progress in race relations and outlook for future.

Charlotte, by Pat Watters	May, 1964
Louisville, by Benjamin Muse	May, 1964
Memphis, by Benjamin Muse	August, 1964
Brunswick, by Pat Watters	September, 1964
Law Enforcement in Mississippi	July, 1964

Special Issues of New South that attracted notice

The Southern Regional Council, 1944-1964	January, 1964
Police Practice in Alabama	June, 1964
The American Middle Ground in St. Augustine	September, 1964

Also: a new release, produced in quantity because of demand for copies both in quantity and by many individuals who read about it:

What Happened in the South? — November 15, 1964

L-Reports;

L-47, The Question from Jacksonville	April 16, 1964
L-24-D, Desegregation in Higher Education updated,	Dec. 1964

Reprints distributed:

Mississippi: The Closed Society, by James W. Silver (The Journal of Southern History, February 1964)
and in addition, the mimeographed first version, distributed in great quantity and re-run several times.

The Changing Mind of the South: the Exposed Nerve, by Leslie W. Dunbar, reprinted from Journal of Politics Vol. 26, 1964.

Reprinted because of demand:

The Southern Regional Council, 1944-1964
Albany: A Study in National Responsibility
A Study of South Carolina Farmers
This I Believe, by Heywood Hill

on p. 1

Memphis Press Scimitar, 8-6-64 News story/and editorial

from editorial:

Rarely has a report on Memphis so kindled our enthusiasm as does ~~that~~ the Southern Regional Council's just-released report on the progress of race relations in our city (See story on Page One.)

...The Southern Regional Council is itself qualified as almost no other organization is, to pass on the performance in race relations not only of Southern cities but cities anywhere. It is an old and experienced organization, Southern in origin and leadership.

Its report on Memphis was written by Benjamin Muse, a mature man, a former diplomat, a candidate for governor of Virginia on the Republican ticket 20 years ago.

....The Chamber of Commerce, the City Commission, the County Commission, Furute Memphis--all these, collectively or separately--would be very well advised to digest and distribute the "Special Report" of the Southern Regional Council on Memphis' progress in race relations.

Satarday Review, May 30, 1964 by Calvin Kytle

...While there I went by the offices of the Southern Regional Council, an organization the Methodist Church helped found, an interracial organization that has done perhaps more than any in the South to ease the strain of desegregation.

QUOTES ON SRC FROM NEWS RELEASES OR EDITORIALS, OTHER

Commonweal, 7-10-64, by Howard N. Meyer

...The activities and publications of the Southern Regional Council since 1961, when I discovered it, have been a constant source of enlightenment and inspiration. I have seen published in New South its lively little monthly periodical, statements of truths that the establishmentarian white liberal editors of the North wouldn't even understand.

re Mr. Muse's book:

Mr. Muse, author of Ten Years of Prelude, is a former State Senator from Virginia.....His book is a useful and well-documented summary-narrative of the ten-year period that closed with such a painfully small proportion of Southern Negro pupils in token-integrated schools. ...

Commonweal, 9-4-64, editorial, "Hopes of Progress"

...If the American Negro has yet to achieve much progress in the area of educational and employment opportunities, and continues to be normally confined to the worst slums, his political power is growing--which provides ground for considerable hope. In several states the registration program of the Southern Regional Council has borne such fruit that the Negro vote this year could tip the balance.

Marshfield, Wis. News-Herald, 9-14-64, editorial

...But an official of the reliable Southern Regional Council speaks the obvious when he notes that if the presidential election is a close one within the Southern states, the increased Negro vote might have great significance. Negro registration in the 11 Southern States has passed the two-million mark, and the Council predicted on Aug. 2 that 250,000 more Southern Negroes will be registered before the November election.

Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln, Nebraska) 11-19-64 by Jack Hart, editorial page editor.

Among the many analyses being made of the Nov. 3 vote in the South, probably none is more significant than that compiled by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta-based organization which has attempted to record, objectively, the progress of civil rights south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Station WFTV (Orlando, Fla.) had a News Editorial on Aug. 13, 1964 on The Price We Pay.

...One of the most convincing aspects of the booklet is that it is not written by a social scientist in an ivory tower. The facts are compiled from published news stories in areas where the discrimination losses actually occurred.

The publication clearly demonstrates how communities lose when intolerance scares industry from their areas. ....What this pamphlet ...demonstrates overwhelmingly is that in any way, on any level, bigotry, discrimination and intolerance which blind man to his true worth as a human being are both damaging and damning. Discrimination is not only a backward step in human progress and the progress of our country, but it is very costly to each citizen, business, and local government.

The Christian Century, 9-9-64 , editorial, "Memphis Moves Toward Racial Justice"

Memphis, Tennessee, in the apex of the Mississippi delta, is no paradise of justice and equality for southern Negroes. Yet the progress of that city toward elimination of race discrimination has been so remarkable in recent years that the Southern Regional Council, not given to sentimentalities, has issued a laudatory report of that progress.

Newsweek, Nov. 23, 1964

Long before the first returns came in from Dixie on Election Night, it was plain that Ly don Johnson would profit mightily from a Southern Negro vote unprecedented in size and single-minded loyalty. Only last week, however, did a survey by Atlanta's respected, biracial Southern Regional Council reveal just how important that bloc vote was. With the Negroes, the President carried six of the eleven states of the Old Confederacy. Without them SRC's figures indicated, he might have taken only one--his native Texas.

The Detroit News, 12-6-64, (special to Detroit News by Reese Cleghorn) also in The Sunday Star, Washington, D. C.

The respected Southern Regional Council, a research organization based here in Atlanta, took these limitations of many rural law officers into consideration in analyzing more than 60 instances of violence and intimidation in Mississippi during the first six months of 1964.

It concluded that the offenses it cited "could not have been committed in this number and frequency without the indulgence and in too many cases the cooperation of local law enforcement authorities."

Stations (Channel 11) Somersworth, N.H. and WMEBTV Belfast, Maine both presented programs the first week in January on the Brunswick report.

Sen. Fulbright
Mr. Buchanan, Sec.
Cong. Record reprint
of March 25, 1964
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_____ L-21 -- PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., president of Conway Publications, Inc., publishers of industrial magazines and business guides, November 30, 1960.

_____ L-22 -- A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial commission appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership on issues of race relations, December 9, 1960.

_____ L-23 -- DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION, January 24, 1961.

_____ L-24 -- EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ATLANTA, CONCERNING RACIAL PROBLEMS AND ECONOMICS, February 16, 1961.

_____ ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey, 276 pages, 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

_____ THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, 173 pages, 1957, Simon and Schuster, detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

_____ SOUTHERNERS AND SCHOOLS, by Helen Fuller, reprinted from The New Republic, 1959. A series of seven articles concerning the South and desegregation. Single copy free; quantity requests considered.

_____ THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, by Erwin Knoll, 22 pages, 1958, reprinted from The Washington Post and Times Herald. Single copy free; quantity requests considered.

_____ THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore, 6 page leaflet, reprinted from Harper's Magazine, June 1958. Concerning the story behind the Little Rock headlines. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

_____ CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, 120 pages, Southern Regional Council. A collection of more than 40 articles from NEW SOUTH magazine, 1946-55, tracing the far-reaching trends in Southern race relations. It contains the story of new practices in voting, law enforcement, government, the press, libraries, travel, the armed forces, education and the public schools and other topics. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

_____ THREE VIEWS OF THE DESEGREGATION DECISIONS, 29 pages, 1956, Southern Regional Council. The pamphlet includes three papers presented before the 21st annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. The papers were presented by William Faulkner, Nobel prize winner for literature; Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College; and Cecil Sims, lawyer of Nashville, Tenn. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

_____ DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS, 32 pages, The Maryland Commission on Interracial problems and Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

_____ SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, 89 pages, compiled by the Reverend John B. Morris and others. A collection of short essays concerning race relations by South Carolina "moderates." Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

7/2/69

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ATLANTA CHURCHES IN CRISIS

The study which follows is reprinted and distributed by the Southern Regional Council with the special permission of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

The report is one of four nationwide studies of the church and crisis -- which were presented before The Convocation on the Church and Violence in the Nation at the Interdenominational Center in March, 1969.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Atlanta, Georgia 30314

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The Atlanta Committee on The Churches' Response to Violence is indebted to all of those churchmen of Atlanta who attended a conference in January where they shared their concerns and insights about what churches in our community had done and were doing in response to violence. The Committee is equally indebted to the students and faculty from Candler School of Theology, Columbia Theological Seminary, and Interdenominational Theological Center who served as discussion group convenors and recorders for the conference.

We are also indebted to the more than 25 persons who granted long personal interviews to the writer in order that the study could reflect as broad a spectrum as possible of existing data and viewpoint.

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The Atlanta Committee

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Paul Anthony - Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

(Mrs.) Mary Hoyt - President, Church Women United of Georgia

Harmon D. Moore - Executive Director, Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta

Dean Tucker - Regional Office, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

U. Z. McKinnon - Professor, Interdenominational Theological Center

PREFACE

The Committee did not approach its assignment with any foregone assumption about what churches in Atlanta had or had not done in response to violence. This study does not attempt to assess in any great depth the role which churches may have played in preventing violence in Atlanta. Instead, it has sought to find out what churches have done or are doing in response to the violence which has occurred and might yet develop.

In preparing this study, efforts have been made to involve as broad a scope of the Christian community as was feasible both within the length of the written document and the amount of time available for gathering and analyzing raw material.

It is the Committee's view that the illustrations in this study are, in the opinion of those who related them, responses to violence in Atlanta.

* * * * * *

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INTRODUCTION

On the afternoon of September 6, 1966, an Atlanta policeman in the predominantly Negro area of Summerhill shot a Negro youth who allegedly attempted to escape after being questioned in connection with an auto theft. The incident precipitated Atlanta's first violent racial clash since the riots of 1906.

Two days later, just when it seemed that the passions aroused by the first disturbance were cooling, a white motorist driving through the predominantly Negro Boulevard section of the city fired on a Negro youth. An evening of intermittent violence resulted.

Almost a year later in the neighborhood of Dixie Hills, Negroes clashed with police after a disturbance in a shopping center. During the course of a subsequent violence, a nine-year-old Negro child was shot to death in a still-controversial incident. Police blamed a "sniper." Negroes blamed the police.

Property damage was not extensive in any of the disturbances.

On April 10, 1968, thousands of people came into Atlanta to attend the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. As state troopers waited on stand-by alert in anticipation of major violence as had occurred elsewhere in the nation following the assassination, Atlanta passed through its potentially greatest crisis peacefully and with dignity.

Such are the barest facts about the four major events in Atlanta's recent history related to racial violence and its potential.

What could have happened did not.

What did happen could have been worse.

Yet no Atlantan, white or black, could be satisfied to let matters rest on such a note. Atlanta is a proud city with a heritage of "good race relations." Many forces are at work in the city to improve those relations, to build a sense of identity and pride among disaffected ghetto dwellers. This paper poses the basic question: What have the churches done and what are they now doing in direct or indirect response to the racial disturbances which have come to the city? The question obviously raises other, perhaps even more pertinent ones. What are the churches doing in relation to the silent, everyday violence to the spirit of man, both black and white? And, what of the underlying causes of violence -- such as those cited by the Kerner Commission Report -- poverty, racism, crowded housing, alienation from society?

In seeking to evaluate the response of Atlanta churches on these matters, the Atlanta Committee on The Churches' Response to Violence called a conference on January 19, 1969, of concerned laymen and clergy across a wide spectrum of denominational lines. The meeting, held at Central Presbyterian Church, heard talks from Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President Emeritus of the Interdenominational Theological Center, and Superintendent of Traffic, George Royal, of the Atlanta Police Department. It then divided into eight separate workshops. The thoughts, the discussion, which emerged from those groups provide the base for a major part of this report. Additionally, interviews were conducted with other lay people and

clergy who could not attend the conference but who, by the nature of their work and experience, were thought to have special and illuminating insights relevant to the subject at hand.

THE PEOPLE: HOW THEY FEEL

More than any other event in the city's recent history, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave Atlanta churches an opportunity for self-examination of where they are and where they have been in regard to racial attitudes. The event, the violence, the whole ritual of death and burial with overtones not only of one man's life having ended but seemingly all that he stood for, too, shattered at Memphis in a terrible split-moment of time had an emotional impact that brought to the surface responses courageous and compassionate and sometimes responses full of pathos and tragi-comedy, some by the nature of their expression seeming almost to contradict the spirit behind them. Thus one white southern lady, who had never before in her life taken a role in civil rights activities nor seen Dr. King at all except as a bellicose figure on television preaching down every preconceived notion that she had about race, told a friend that she just felt compelled "to do something." What she did was to drive arriving mourners from the airport to Ebenezer Baptist Church. "I helped the SCLC* the whole time," she said afterward, "drove niggers all over town and they were nice folks. I just want to keep on helping."

One young man out of a North Georgia Baptist background who

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*Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

was part of the volunteer SCLC logistical team which sought to find shelter and food for those arriving to attend the funeral put it this way: "The response of about five or six white churches was absolutely astonishing to us. They did everything we asked them to do and a lot more."

The fact was that within those churches referred to and almost unanimously within the black churches all other considerations came to a halt in the assassination's aftermath. One Chicago woman, writing to the editor of the Atlanta newspapers, told of how she came to Atlanta apprehensive over the sort of reception she would receive and was overwhelmed at the sight of an integrated group of Atlanta church women at the airport making arrangements for arriving mourners to have some place to spend the night. Special memorial services were held in churches throughout the city. One predominantly white Presbyterian church had something of a head start on other churches. The church's pastor explained why this turned out to be so. "It happened that our board met on the evening of the assassination and we voted right then to put our full facilities to the service of SCLC. When SCLC called us, no special meeting or vote was needed by the lay officials to authorize any action. We were geared for action." The church's staff went to work lining up homes for outside visitors to stay in during the time of the funeral. By the morning of the funeral, the church alone had fed more than a thousand out-of-state people. The record of other white churches was equally impressive to outside visitors.

It seemed, indeed, for the days of mourning and immediately thereafter, that Atlanta had been awarded a special grace. During the Easter weekend, following the funeral, a time in Atlanta when dogwood and springtime are more traditionally celebrated, an interdenominational, interracial sunrise service in Atlanta stadium drew more than 20,000 people who heard one of the city's most prominent ministers proclaim that Dr. King's assassination meant that "the hour has struck that the peoples of Atlanta . . . and the world must begin to take seriously what Jesus taught." He urged Christians to find solutions to poverty and other social ills. All that was lacking, he noted, was "the will to do so."

There were, however, reports of less charitable responses.

"One white preacher," an SCLC volunteer staffer said, "summed up the problems of some white churches, I guess, when he told me, 'I'd get in trouble if I had nigras in here.' At least, though, he was honest about it."

A layman was bitter in his summation of his conservative suburban church's response. "They stayed home and hid under the bed, scared to death that <u>they</u> were going to come out to their neighborhood and burn their houses down."

An official of one of the most powerful denominational groups in the city said he knew of no response at all among his denomination. "We weren't asked," he said.

A young white businessman who frequently has stood alone in attempts to involve his suburban church in social concerns told of his frustrating efforts with his local church leadership.

"I and about two or three others went to the preacher with the proposition that the church make its facilities available to people from SCLC who were coming to town, even if we didn't do anything other than just send some blankets or carry over some food. He turned us down -- cold. It would create 'needless budget problems,' he said. I knew the kind of budget problems he meant. You could look out on the parking lot on Sundays -- even back last spring -- at the number of Wallace bumber stickers on the cars. And they weren't poor white folks' cars, either. The people that drive them contribute a lot to the budget, a whale of a lot. That was the kind of budget problem he meant."

One black clergyman told of his experience at a white church the night of the assassination. "A program dealing with the ministry of military personnel had been planned and this program occurred with little recognition of anything really happening."

A white layman put it this way. "Our church was putting on a play of an amusing nature. The play went on the night of the assassination without any recognition of the tragedy -- the only concern was that the death of King had caused a possible lack of attendance. Otherwise the assassination was ignored."

But another attitude was described by a white woman long active in the social concerns of her church. "The pastor dropped his sermon plans and spoke to the situation and called the members to recognize the tragedy in a positive way. The congregation involved itself in the march and in helping those who had come to Atlanta for the funeral. The dominant feeling in the congregation

was 'a real sense of loss.'"

Another church woman noted that her church "made some new commitments immediately after the funeral. An interracial memorial service was held. The fellowship hall was opened up for use by visitors."

One white woman, living in a "changing" southside neighborhood, said that after the assassination the attitudes of blacks and whites toward each other (at least those who lived around her) softened "due to a sense of shared loss," which she felt would result in a "new and continuing openness to each other."

Spokesmen for some black congregations with long histories of involvement in civil rights issues say they welcome the efforts of their white colleagues to become involved in bi-racial activities. Some go out of their way to participate in such activities "just to keep lines of communication open." Others are more reserved in their enthusiasm for white involvement. "They have come into this, frankly, pretty late," one militant black leader said. He spoke with some bitterness of what he saw as the white church's failure to support Dr. King when he was alive. In a sense, he felt, "They helped kill him. Where were they when we needed them the most?"

"WHERE WERE THEY?"

"Until a few years ago," he said, "I thought that Negroes were pretty well off. It seemed to me there weren't any real problems that time and education wouldn't cure."

The speaker was an administrator for one of the most powerful denominational groups in Atlanta. His remarks probably sum up a large body of white church attitudes in the city.

So many were unaware of so much. And no one seemingly ever told them.

But the religious atmosphere of white Atlanta has not historically been one likely to make its memberships aware of much beyond foreign missions and the building of new church edifices. Uptown Protestant churches with long histories of personality-centered ministries and in some cases with socially conservative clergymen, who used to write homiletic little columns for the two Atlanta newspapers, for years dominated the white Atlanta religious scene. (Some recall now that it was due primarily to the influence of one such minister that a city rezoning effort was defeated some years ago in a vote that effectively delayed for several months inauguration of a major housing project.)

Their sermons probably represented to a degree an attempt to bridge their deep, evangelistic, revival-centered backgrounds with the "modernist" thought that had since the twenties increasingly been emerging in more sophisticated religious circles. Their preachers were powerful and eloquent; their messages often espoused a kind of man-in-the-street religious psychiatry which had an appeal to city dwellers, burdened by personal problems, by pressures of urban living. When the sermonizing tackled social issues, it was usually to point out the evils of strong drink, gambling, and promiscuous behavior. The heritage of those days still hangs on

in some of the city's more prominent white pulpits, and those pulpits still exert influence on the city's overall church atmosphere.

But for many years, white Atlanta has been migrating to the suburbs with the result that some inner city churches have been forced to close; new suburban middle class churches have been built. Generally, they reflect suburban values; in almost all of them, however, there are wide divergences of opinion on race and social issues. Sometimes there are bitter intra-church quarrels over such matters as the "liberal" direction that Sunday School literature seems to be taking. Classes might break up over the issue, re-group sometimes along more homogeneous lines. Yet rare is the suburban white church that sees itself as inextricably interwoven into the problems of the inner city. Geography separates them; higher incomes insulate them. There is dialogue among their memberships, some of it of late created by innovative resident inner-city ministries. But for the most part, those memberships have not taken the daring next step of becoming individually involved. Maybe they never will. Maybe their dialogue is sufficient. It is a value judgment.

Some more liberal suburban malcontents frequently flee back to inner city churches of traditional denominational backgrounds which have developed "relevant" approaches to the problems of urban life. Some join the traditionally liberal, modernistic churches that have been in the vanguard of social change for many years. These congregations have never been really large in

Atlanta, but they have occasionally had considerable impact. One until very recently sponsored a mission in Vine City, a low-income Negro neighborhood. The mission, headed by a young white minister, was active in the work of the Vine City Foundation, a community action self-help organization which continues to be one of the most successful such organizations in the city. Another traditionally liberal church has been the moving force behind production of the document "Better Schools-Atlanta," a graphic, in-depth analysis of the disparities between predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools, which created such a storm of controversy among Atlanta school board members that city detectives have actually investigated the backgrounds of those who were involved, ostensibly to find out if they were really Atlanta citizens. But the threat to a man's livelihood from such an investigation cannot be lightly dismissed, and it is altogether probable that in the future similarly motivated groups of both a church and secular nature might think twice before really being too critical of the city's leadership.

At the opposite extreme among Atlanta's white churches are the Pentecostal urban white churches which minister primarily to lower income blue collar workers. They describe themselves as oriented "toward soul saving," through evangelistic emotional appeals. Soul saving, one spokesman said, to him at least, is "human rehabilitation in its purest form." Another Pentecostal clergyman said he thought that for the most part Atlanta's urban churches have forgotten the poor white working man. He felt that

liberal churches were guilty of this, as much so as "the stuffier conservatives." In some ways, he thought, the failure was comparable to that of liberal politicians who, he noted, have "just about abandoned the working white man to people like George Wallace. You've got to minister to people where they are and in terms, in language, yes, in symbols that they can understand." He said that the church to which he ministered had both "liberals and conservatives when it comes to race. Some, not many, but some of my congregation were so moved by Dr. King's death that they marched in the funeral procession." "Others," he said, "quietly gloated over the assassination." He said that the one religious figure outside his church who increasingly "is making a lot of sense to my people is Rev. Billy James Hargis. What you have to understand about a lot of them is this: They have grown up the hard way. Some of them are deadbeats, outright, stumbling sots without any education or any ambition, men who beat their wives. Some of them have done time in prison. But their lives have been changed by Christ, and they think, if it can happen to me without a lot of fancy government spending programs, it can happen to Negroes too. You tell them there is a Negro family down the street that is hungry and you want them to take some food down there, they'll do it. You tell them you are going to go march on the state capitol for the rights of welfare mothers and you want them to join you, and they'll look at you like you were crazy."

The question to some clergymen is whether or not the church might be better off if the conservative and liberal wings within

each denomination actually split into separate churches. Some think it might come to that in the next few years and some Atlanta ministers hint they would welcome it. Most are opposed to any such move. "The churches are split enough as it is. We are, or ought to be, big enough to accommodate all shades of opinion, so long as we all believe in the same God."

* * * * * *

Recently describing his reactions at the time of the Summerhill disturbances, Mayor Ivan Allen recalled that he summoned to the scene 25 Atlanta Negro clergymen whom he regarded as spokesmen for black Atlanta. They included some of the most prominent names in the Negro religious community. Doubtless they did and do speak for a large segment of Atlanta's Negro population, but they probably did not speak for those alienated youth who are, according to the Kerner Commission, the ones most likely to clash with police. A recent publication of the Southern Regional Council entitled, "Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis," offers some valuable insights into how Atlanta's black youth view the black church and its clergymen. While 91 per cent of 688 Negro high school students sampled disagreed with the statement "the church is too old fashioned for me," and 56 per cent agreed that "my church is the basic guiding force in my life," some 43 per cent thought that "the church ought to be more concerned about social problems." Only 16 per cent said that when they had personal problems that their pastor was the first person they turned to. Fifty-seven per cent said they

attended church at least once a week.

The report made this observation:

> The data may suggest the existence of a certain amount of ambivalence in the students' feelings toward the church, especially in the light of the fact that statements expressing general positive attitudes about God and religion tended to be accepted more readily than statements relating to the institutional church or to clergymen.*

One Negro seminary graduate, now active in civil rights work, said that in his estimation, the black church in Atlanta is no more a progressive force for social change than the white church. However, the truth is that the role of the church in the black community has been far different from what it has been in white Atlanta. If the white minister finds that his congregation balks at being pushed too far, too fast over racial matters, the black minister is in quite the opposite position. His difficulty is in being militant enough. Moreover, he historically lacked the real power to bring about the kind of social change that he might call for in a Sunday morning sermon. To the younger members of his congregation, some observers think, this gap between words and results has had a disillusioning effect. Thus, they say, only such uncompromising black clergymen as a Dr. King who time and again put his reputation and his life on the line in nonviolent opposition to racial discrimination have been able to inspire a new generation of black youth. Some say that those ministers in

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*Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis, Southern Regional Council, 1968.

Atlanta today who do have the respect of youth are those who are involved in the kind of "advocacy" that white ministers frequently have to struggle mightily with their consciences and their congregations to undertake. A day in the life of such a clergyman might find him involved with a parishioner over a deep personal problem at one moment, and then off to a meeting of a Model Cities development committee next. Likely he holds an official role in the NAACP or one of the various civil rights oriented civic organizations in the Negro community; his presence might be needed at city hall to testify on a zoning hearing involving the life, death, or renewal of the community in which he dwells. One such clergyman expressed a certain degree of reservation about the new and altogether relevant and much needed inner city work of his white colleagues. "It's good to have them," he said, "but inner city work is all I ever really do."

Atlanta's black churches, of course, have some of the same superficial characteristics as those in the white community. Both have their store-front tabernacles with promises of healing and instant salvation. There are also in the black community well-to-do churches with eloquent clergymen who command large and loyal followings. It is to these men that the city's white leadership has traditionally looked not only for assistance in times of racial confrontation and crisis but also as sources for what black Atlanta is thinking. Such a role may have lost these men a certain amount of esteem among more militant young

Negroes, but it is a fact that their churches have been -- in the popular vernacular -- "relevant" to the needs of the black community, particularly in the area of 221-D3 housing. Altogether, counting units already occupied and those under construction, Atlanta's black churches are presently involved to the extent of 1,700 units of 221-D3 housing. To date no white church in the city has actually undertaken such a program, although several are in the various stages of preliminary negotiations with HUD to do so.

Some of the more prominent Negro churches, too, also include a variety of services including day care for working mothers and family counseling programs among their normal functions. One has established a credit union.

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

No coordinated, direct, programmatic, crash effort has been undertaken by Atlanta churches to meet either violence or the threat of it. There are efforts and projects related to underlying causes, some directly so, others more indirectly. There is an emerging feeling, however, within much of the Atlanta church community of perhaps an untapped reservoir of goodwill in individuals, but a reservoir particularly among whites that is not easy to measure. Those who are concerned seem more often than not to be looking to their church leaderships for the kind of guidance that might help translate their lately-developed concerns into action. In some very exemplary cases, they are finding dedicated leadership; in some instances they find outright hostility; in most they find

ambivalence.

But this much can also be said: There are some men of wisdom directing Atlanta church programs who feel the urgency for much greater involvement and deeper financial commitment from their congregations and from denominational superiors. The work of their inner city ministries is the one concrete tool they have and many, within the limitations imposed on them by the heritage of their church's myopic past, are making determined efforts to use these ministries to their fullest advantage. A survey of these ministries reflects different concepts of what the church's role should be in dealing with urban social problems and probably reflects to some degree their denomination's underlying philosophy in all matters of social concern. In few instances, however, is there evidence that the programs or their emphasis grew directly from any specific act of violence in the city, but more, as one spokesman put it, from the sense that the church has for many years been remiss in not doing more to aid the inner city.

The program of the Southern Baptists in Atlanta includes five missions located in predominantly white low-income areas. One other is operated by the National (or Negro) Baptists. However, all are open to both races. The work of the missions involve day care for working mothers, tutorials, which include reading and writing for illiterates. The mission centers also make available in such a way as their finances permit assistance to those who would otherwise be available for welfare, but who have not yet

lived in Atlanta long enough to qualify for the twelve-month residency requirements. In addition, they have a referral system for rehabilitated parolees.

"Baptists are not ecumenically minded," a spokesman said when asked of his church's role in interdenominational activities to meet urban problems. "We feel that we have our own program. That it is doing the job. Basic to our concerns in this field is to reach the spirit of man through Jesus Christ. Our missions would not take an activist role in advocating civil rights."

The Methodists in Atlanta might be described as having come late to recognize the need to be involved in inner city work, but moving now to make up for lost time, often with innovative programs. Their work in Atlanta began in 1963 with a staff of one. Today it includes a staff of eight with an annual budget of $98,000. The Methodist approach is to stimulate their churches themselves to get involved. Their church in the low-income white Harris Homes area, for instance, has a bus to take people to food commodity distribution centers. The real thrust of the Methodist approach, however, is to make laymen aware of the problems which relate to poverty and, hopefully, from this to get them more involved. A spokesman said the difficulty in operating through local churches is that it is hard to get them to move from the stage of dialogue to action. He foresaw that the Methodists might eventually see the need to set up mission programs in poorer neighborhoods that would serve as advocacy centers for the poor, but admitted that it would take a re-orientation of philosophy

from the Conference in order to do this.

The Methodist program includes at least one unique project, the recently begun Ministry to Government and Social Agencies. The director of this project maintains close working relationships with the Atlanta Crime Commission, the County Department of Family and Children's Services, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, and other related agencies. One purpose of the project is to stay informed of developing community problems in order to keep officials alerted and ready to bring their services to bear on them. Another Methodist program, related more to the unrest of youth than racial tensions, is its "Twelfth Gate Coffee House," a ministry that seeks to involve residents of Atlanta's Tenth Street "hippie" quarter.

The inner city program of the Presbyterians follows the philosophy of involving local churches and laymen through educational meetings and direct contact with the problems of the poor. Although most Presbyterian churches in Atlanta are currently involved in some degree with the program of their church's inner city ministry, the work of the Central Presbyterian Church is seen by many, even within other denominations, as a model of what they would like their church to be doing.

Central Presbyterian, its minister points out, perhaps too modestly, is in "a unique situation." Its membership is composed of many of the socially conscious citizenry of Atlanta. This has given the church a much wider degree of latitude in what it might undertake.

A brochure published by the church outlines its various activities this way:

> Service takes many forms at Central. And involves many members. From a businessman who coaches a basketball team on Tuesday or Thursday nights . . . to an editor who spends Sunday mornings working with girls at Atlanta's juvenile detention home.
>
> All of these efforts are somehow related to Central's neighborhood -- which in a city of a million and a quarter includes many kinds of needs.
>
> In Central's area are housing projects where low-income families are living. During the week the church's facilities -- a well-equipped gymnasium, kitchen, and sunny classrooms, plus church members with every sort of skill -- are used for a boys and girls club program for these youngsters, both black and white, from low-income neighborhoods.
>
> Other Central members help with legal aid, or go to meetings of community organizations in a "listening ministry" to find out where needs are and how churches can help. Others represent Central at Interfaith, Inc., a housing association formed to help sponsor low-cost housing in Atlanta for families who cannot afford or cannot find other places to live.
>
> Many of the members are involved in community service through Central and are working in the church's oldest and best known service project. The Baby Clinic was founded in 1922.
>
> Today the Clinic serves any child in need of medical care, and otherwise unable to get it. More than 5,600 children receive this free medical care annually. And clinic nurses make follow-up visits to their homes.
>
> A volunteer staff of some 100 from Central and other churches mans the admission desk, dispenses medicines and emergency foods, takes case histories and leads recreation in a clinic kindergarten area for the many well children who accompany their sick brothers and sisters.

> Newest Central ministry: A city-wide literacy program, co-sponsored by a number of churches and housed in Central's facilities.

In June of 1968, the Board of American Missions of the Lutheran Church in Atlanta opened a store-front inner city ministry in an interracial community of southwest Atlanta. It is the first such ministry sponsored by Atlanta Lutherans. Although still in the developmental stages, the mission has plans to get involved in day care, art and music education, and public housing.

Atlanta Episcopalians are involved in inner city ministry work through Emmaus House, located in the Summerhill district of Atlanta -- scene of racial clashes in the summer of 1966 -- and the Shepherd's Gate ministry in Atlanta's southside, where racial residential patterns are changing from all-white to Negro. They have also joined with the Atlanta Presbyterians to sponsor the Kirkwood Community Center on Atlanta's northeast side in yet another changing community. The work of all go beyond the more traditional type of mission program in seeking to identify themselves more intimately with the needs of the community to which they minister.

Atlanta Catholics are primarily involved in inner city work through the efforts of the St. Vincents de Paul Society, an organization of laymen. The Society runs a tutorial program for black and white children and operates the East Side Community Center in the Bedford-Pines section of the city.

After the Boulevard disturbances of 1966, one young white

ministerial student who had contacts in the area was able to bring together some of the young black militants to get them to articulate their grievances before a representative of the mayor's office. The group was the nucleus for a club called, "The Purple Hearts," later formed in the community. The club worked closely with an alliance of black and white clergymen called "The Ministerial Volunteers" in creation of the Atlanta Youth Development Corporation, a youth recreational center in the Boulevard community which drew initial financial support from some white churches as well as local black congregations. Later the center, unable to find sufficient long-range church-related financing, came under the auspices of Economic Opportunity Atlanta.

A community organization in the predominantly low-income white Capitol Homes area, organized primarily by ministerial students, has successfully negotiated with local merchants to upgrade the quality of their products and to halt widely resented overcharging practices.

One inner city ministry group, working across interdenominational lines, is the Urban Training Organization. The organization is generally regarded among most socially conscious churchmen as one of the city's potentially most significant contributions to inner city work. The basic philosophy of the organization is to involve seminary students in the real world of the inner city while they are pursuing their more academic studies. Students are placed in various churches around the city,

both in low-income white and black neighborhoods, and in more affluent urban and suburban churches. The idea is for the students to work with both ministers and laymen to arouse the indifferent, to involve the concerned, and to work with those individuals and groups within the various churches who are already both concerned and involved. One of the organization's problems, says its director, is that sometimes both ministers and laymen, once they are aroused, grow depressed over their inability to effect change. "They seem to think the decision making processes in the churches are really all left to those who contribute the most to the budget. Some get impatient with their churches and spin off into other organizations such as human relations councils. Our job, then, is two-fold: not only to arouse the laymen and the ministers, but be effective enough in doing so that they feel there is some reason to go on in a church-related fashion."

Another organization, trying hard to bridge denominational, social, and racial cleavages, and in the process to have some impact on channeling churches into activities that will meet some of the causes of urban poverty, is the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta. The Council, in a sense, is in a state of metamorphosis now from what it used to be -- by almost unanimous consensus of everyone formerly involved -- a paper organization whose chief concern, one uncharitable observer noted, was "to coordinate Easter sunrise services."

Those days seem to be gone. Under a vigorous new director

the Council, within the past year, has actively involved itself in a host of interdenominational activities.

The Council's most significant project, it feels, in the field of promoting better racial understanding in Atlanta and by extension in reaching the underlying causes of racial violence, was production last year of the play, "Behold the Man," a drama in which the role of Christ was portrayed by a leading Negro clergyman. The drama was held at Atlanta Stadium; 50,000 attended, both black and white. One Atlanta minister said that "if the Council had done nothing else in the past two years, the production of the drama 'Behold the Man' would have been enough." Generally the play was well received throughout the Atlanta church community. Few criticized the Council for using a black man in so critical a role. But "it just could not have happened ten years ago in this city," one white woman noted.

More controversial was the Council's supporting role in sponsoring the Atlanta Metropolitan Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing. The Conference, organized in the aftermath of passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act to bring about peaceful compliance with the fair housing provisions, caused dissension within conservative church ranks. "We lost some support for participating," Dr. Harmon Moore, director of the Council admitted, "but I just felt we had to. The Chamber of Commerce put itself on the line and I thought we could do as much. The churches everywhere have been used as pawns in the hands of segregationist politicians and it's time we woke up to our real responsibilities."

But the Council is caught in the middle of two strong currents of religious thought in Atlanta. If the conservatives cavil at its support of fair housing efforts, liberals view it with suspicion on other counts. Its most notable failure, according to one critic, is that it has not given its organizational support to Interfaith, Inc., an interdenominational effort of congregations from throughout Atlanta incorporated as a non-profit organization to use HUD 221-D3 provisions to build low-income housing. Interfaith, Inc., has a total of 20 participants, including the entire Atlanta Catholic Archdiocese which contributed nearly half of the organization's present treasury. Altogether, member churches and religious organizations (such as the Diocese) represent 75,000 Atlantans, but the organization does not have the support of the city's more prominent downtown Protestant churches, and there is feeling among some connected with the group that they have less than solid support from the city's top policy-making leadership. "They say get involved, yes, sure we support you, but if they do, if they really do, we should have far more support from the Protestant churches because many of the same influential people in city leadership are also active Protestant laymen."

Agreeing with Metro Council's basic purposes, but more militant in its methods, is a group of 70 Atlanta ministers who call themselves "The Concerned Clergy." The organization is made up of roughly one-third black membership. Whites are about equally divided between those of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish

faiths. Their chief action area to date has been in seeking to bring about increased Negro employment among the city's large retail chain stores situated in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. Their one major success with a grocery chain came after a clergy-conceived boycott proved 95 per cent effective during one 24-hour period. A spokesman said the group plans to make its influence felt across a broad range of social issues in Atlanta and, with recalcitrant businesses, it will have no hesitancy in using the boycott tool whenever negotiations seem likely to fail. "You have to fight power with power," he said. "We don't say it directly, but we make it pretty plain that if they don't want to deal with us, they're sooner or later going to have to deal with such a group, for instance, as RAM or its equivalent. I don't feel that's a threat, but given the times in which we live, simply a statement of fact. A lot of liberals just want to talk. But you have to follow talk up with action and sometimes you have to be willing to put your job on the line."

Like the Christian Council, the "Concerned Clergy" has its critics. Some feel it is too impatient; some think it too impetuous. Its defenders, on the other hand, reply that no other single group of clergymen or church-oriented groups have produced more tangible results.

BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER

Segregation remains the rule in most Atlanta churches, although it is no longer enforced by the police. Spokesmen for

every denomination interviewed in connection with this report insist that the doors of their churches are open to all regardless of race; most of the governing bodies of the various denominations have issued resolutions condemning segregated practices and actively encouraging desegregation. But few formerly all-white churches have many Negro members, and vice-versa. The reasons for this, of course, are not entirely local in nature. They go deep into the whole fabric of American society, into the church's iron-clad separatist policies of the all-too-present past. They challenge the churches of Atlanta and the churches of America. They illustrate in the most palpable way the truth of the Kerner Commission description of "Two Americas, Black and White." Solutions are not easy, involving as they do a great deal of organic bureaucracy within both black and white churches, involving as they do institutionalized racism that cannot be exorcised by the passing of resolutions or the merging of central authorities. The truth, one black clergyman recently said, is not that integration has failed, but that it has never really been tried. "Communication must come first," he added, "and that's where we will have to start." A beginning, he suggested, would be a great deal more pulpit and choir exchanges between churches, lay speakers bureaus of blacks and whites to address the various lay groups. Involved, of course, also is the fact that integration as an end in itself no longer is the priority it once was within the civil rights movement. It is, in fact, to many disenchanted Negroes, irrelevant.

To bring up the subject in many interracial meetings in Atlanta is to suggest one's naivete. Organizations devoted throughout their long histories to the ideal of an integrated society are in the process of re-evaluating the viability of old positions, of re-defining what integration means in terms of present-day "black awareness" reality. The church's position on this issue has not yet been validly defined. Until it is, perhaps, analyses of its relevancy on social concerns are essays in futility. Relevancy, one might ask, to what? The experience of the East Lake Methodist Church is a case in point.

Until three years ago, the neighborhood surrounding East Lake Methodist was all white. As Negroes moved into the neighborhood, the congregation was faced with a crisis of conscience. Of 600 members, only 50 voted to remain open on an integrated basis. The rest transferred their memberships elsewhere. Most of them moved from the neighborhood. To date, the church has approximately 150 members, half of whom are black. To the membership itself, the interracial experience is a valuable contribution to individual growth. But much of the black community views the integrated church with a mixture of suspicion and probably a certain disdain. The minister has the support of denominational superiors, but the East Lake Church (like all churches) is in debt. It must be subsidized by the Conference to survive. It will have to grow, find new members, either from outside the community (in which case it will increasingly become a showcase type of institution) or from within. But Negroes in the community probably

will find no compelling reason to break with their own churches unless the integrated church becomes a real moving and dynamic force in the community. To do so requires a brand of militancy that more moderate white members might reject -- and, more importantly, the Methodist hierarchy sooner or later might find unpalatable. This militancy could mean an assault on absentee landlords to bring their buildings up to the standards of the city's building codes, a constant drumming of city hall for adequate garbage and trash collection, linking up with or spearheading economic boycotts of local merchants who refuse to upgrade or employ Negroes at all, monitoring police-community relations -- in brief, undertaking the kind of fierce, uncompromising advocacy role of the more militant black clergymen -- precisely at a time in history when whites of any social persuasion are finding it extremely difficult to work in all-black communities.

If the ideal of the church in Atlanta or anywhere is integration, where does it begin? Obviously, it must take an active role in efforts to desegregate housing patterns. The open occupancy provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act were designed to bring this end about nationwide. Resistance to implementation of these provisions is anticipated by civil rights groups around the country. Dealing with token compliance, subtle dodges of the law and outright defiance will require more than the vigilance of federal agencies or of the traditional civil rights groups. The Methodist ministry to government agencies may be a good starting point for bringing that church

into the arena of locally monitoring civil rights act enforcement. Other churches might consider similar programs, either from administrative posts within their organizational structure or by local lay action, perhaps through affiliation with neighborhood "fair housing" groups. The merits of local action might be greater than is at once apparent. Where laymen have been stimulated to get involved in the social concerns of their church, they would be provided a concrete channel for more direct action than simply talking to each other across racial lines. It would also be constructive action -- responsible, good-citizen action -- as opposed to what some find self-consciously distasteful and undignified in picketing or other visible demonstrations. But the basic question remains: How deep an involvement, beyond developing of decent instincts, do Atlanta churches really want?

BUSINESS AND THE CHURCH'S MISSION: AN ATLANTA DILEMMA

"In every other city I've lived," the minister said, "the churches have had to push the business leadership in anything connected with social action. Here it looks to me as if sometimes the reverse is true."

There was, most observers agree, considerable truth in such an evaluation. Last year, Albert J. Bows, President of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, offered these suggestions as to how Atlanta churches can help the city in its efforts to effect meaningful racial progress:

> Specifically, our opportunities for improvement are in these directions:

> We need those who "have" to become more involved with those who "have not" . . . Get your church board in a bus this month and show them our crowded housing conditions. The "have nots" need to understand that many of the "haves" are deeply concerned about them and are trying to work out the problems involved in helping them make a better life. All of us must realize, however, that people do not change their attitudes quickly . . . . We have had slums as long as we have had cities . . . . You church leaders should encourage your members to open their businesses and professions at all levels to all people . . . . I would suggest that each board seriously consider developing a program to build at least one public housing project under section 221-D3 of the Federal Housing Act . . . . Each church should encourage its employer members to help provide jobs and other assistance in our neighborhood anti-poverty centers . . . . Finally, the church could provide more interchange of activities between the races. Choirs and ministers could be exchanged between Negro and white churches in our community . . . . I can assure you that nothing will happen until the clergy joins us with a resolve to face the facts as they are in Atlanta today.

"The president of the Chamber of Commerce should not have had to have been the one to tell us that," one Methodist layman remarked, but he creditied much of the Atlanta church's interest today in social concerns to Mr. Bows' speech, which has been printed and distributed by the Christian Council. "That and the King assassination which had a tremendous impact on people. People want to do something, but they've got to have church as well as business leadership. We've made good starts." He cited Interfaith and the Christian Council's new directions. "But we can do a lot more."

"I think it is a lot better that business and the city leadership be concerned than that they not," a clergyman of a downtown inner city church remarked, "but we can't and shouldn't sit and wait on them to tell us what to do."

Why, then, have they seemingly done so? Many factors are involved, not the least of which seems to be the city's very good record on race relations in comparison with other cities, North and South. There has been, an observer feels, the sense among the average white moderate, that there is not much he can do that the city hasn't already thought of or is at least making some effort to accomplish.

It seems to go back, then, to Atlanta's image -- long ago characterized by former Mayor William B. Hartsfield -- as "the city too busy to hate." Atlantans, even those who still in their secret archives despise both Hartsfield and the city's present Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., for their "moderate" heresies, are pleased with the image when while visiting other cities Atlanta is so described to them. Cynics who cavil at the image as contrived or, at best, created out of economic self-interest in the wake of Little Rock's industrial disaster after its school crisis of 1957, will concede, too, that there was much civic pride also involved in the city's decision to fight for open public schools -- pride in the city's mystique, in the conviction that runs deep in the native Atlantan's spirit that his city has some kind of special poetry and magic, destining it for greatness.

A glance behind to the early, grimmer days of Georgia's

"massive resistance" era when Atlanta's progressive image in a sense was born shows that the church did, in fact, play a crucial role. Although the lesson of Little Rock was plain (for two years after federal troops were ordered into the city to enforce federal court school desegregation decrees not a single new industry settled in the city) Georgia's political leadership did not budge from its announced position of closing public schools to avoid school desegregation. By state law, in fact, the governor was bound to do so. As late as 1958 then Lieutenant Governor Ernest Vandiver, running for governor of Georgia, when goaded by a little-known and scantily supported hard-line segregationist opponent, declared that when he was elected governor there would be no "mixing" of students in Georgia public schools, "no, not one."

But in Atlanta counter forces were at work. Leading the fight publicly for open schools were Mayor Hartsfield, Ralph McGill, late publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, and an organization known as HOPE (Help Our Public Education), a small, largely Atlanta-centered group of concerned parents whose only interest in the issue was the maintenance of public education, not school desegregation. As debate on the issue grew more and more heated, a group of 311 Atlanta clergymen placed a full page advertisement (which came to be known as the "Ministers' Manifesto") in a Sunday issue of the Atlanta newspapers, calling for open public schools. They were abused mightily for their stand. But they succeeded in stimulating the discussion as it had not

been before. Atlanta physicians shortly thereafter issued a similar statement. Ultimately, of course, school desegregation came to Atlanta in 1961, peacefully and "without incident."

Not since then, however, have Atlanta clergymen again united so publicly on any other issue related to racial matters. In 1963 it was Mayor Ivan Allen who took the lead in advocating passage of the public accommodations section of the then pending Civil Rights Act. In a recent interview in Atlanta magazine, Mayor Allen told just how alone he was when President Kennedy asked him to testify in support of the bill,

> So the Public Accommodations and the big Civil Rights Bill came up in 1963 and this was really the whole turning point in Atlanta. The Chamber of Commerce had gone along with my leadership to support public schools (Allen was president of the Chamber immediately prior to his election as mayor in 1961) and with my other efforts. But when the Civil Rights Bill came up, this was forcing business to give up their right to do business with whom they chose. They bolted completely. . . . The Constitution was not supporting me, nor was the Journal supporting me.

The mayor did not say so, but another "Ministers' Manifesto" at that time would seem to have been in order; none was forthcoming. "The statement on school desegregation was the Atlanta clergy's finest hour," a former Atlanta minister recently said. "They've been going downhill, I'm afraid, ever since."

The man spoke out of a great sense of disillusion, describing the increasing frustrations with his denominational superiors over racial matters which led to his finally leaving the ministry. "The law and order syndrome," he said, "has blunted the average

clergyman's involvement. Urban violence just gives church people an excuse not to do anything."

If his words seem unduly harsh in view of the work by Atlanta ministers described elsewhere in this paper, the fact is that in a growing city such as Atlanta today's radicals can become tomorrow's conservatives, and there are issues in which the Atlanta church might involve itself that would not have the blessing of Atlanta's traditional leadership.

There is, for instance, the whole controversy recently raised by the report, "Student Achievement in Atlanta Public Schools," released last year by Better Schools-Atlanta, a group composed largely of members of the United Liberal Church of Atlanta. A summary of that report's findings reveal these facts:

> Fourth grade pupils in black schools are more than one year behind pupils in white schools based on median reading scores. By the eighth grade, pupils in black schools are four years behind.
>
> Students in black schools attend larger elementary schools, attend larger first grade classes, have fewer textbooks per student, go to school in buildings of less value per student and equipped with less valuable furniture and equipment per student, attend schools with higher pupil-teacher ratios, attend schools with less site area per student, and are less likely to attend schools with speech therapy programs than students in white schools.
>
> There is strong evidence that pupil achievement in black schools is correlated with overall quality of the school. Based on fourth grade median reading scores (1966), pupil achievement was higher at schools with smaller student bodies and larger school-site area per student.

> Sixty-five per cent of our elementary schools are totally segregated, either all black or all white. Only 16 per cent of the elementary schools are integrated.
>
> A total of 92.3 per cent of black elementary students attend all-black schools. An additional 3.1 per cent are in schools with token integration, and only 4.6 per cent are in integrated schools.
>
> Ninety-seven per cent of Atlanta elementary schools have three teachers or less of the opposite race from the majority of students.
>
> Eighty-five per cent of Atlanta high schools have four teachers or less of the opposite race from the majority of students.
>
> Ninety-seven per cent of black public school teachers are in "black" schools. Atlanta's integrated elementary schools have a combined student body that is 22.8 per cent black, but a combined faculty only 5.7 per cent black.
>
> In 1966-67, Atlanta spent $472 per pupil in its public schools. This was below most major metropolitan schools systems either in relation to per capita income, or in absolute dollars.

Some coordinated church response both to the thrust of the report itself and to the city's intimidation of the authors of that report (described elsewhere in this paper) would have been in order some churchmen think.

There were reports last year in Atlanta's so-called "hippie" district of police intimidation of young people who live in that area, but critics of the church note that there was no evidence that this was looked upon as a social concern of the church.

From one militant black clergyman came criticism, too, of the city's construction of a multi-million dollar sports stadium at a time, he said, when the priority should have been given to construc-

tion of low-income housing. He noted that few Atlanta churches saw that as an issue worth fighting about. Police-community relations, he thought, are an ever-present problem to the black community which well-intentioned whites often fail fully to comprehend.

But the city's real test, some churchmen believe, will come when and if the churches get involved in low-income housing outside of traditional and racial and social residential patterns. If, for instance, a group of northside churchmen becomes interested in having a body of vacant land in their neighborhood that is currently zoned for highly restricted housing zoned instead for a housing project or for low-income housing, then, as one urban planner active in the social concerns of his church put it, "We'll separate the men from the boys at city hall <u>and</u> in the Chamber of Commerce."

Atlanta churches, in brief, face issues with many complex ramifications, hard issues that bring a church's conscience into basic conflict with its budget, with conservative -- and sometimes more moderate -- elements of the business and city leadership, with middle class society's concepts of what should be "normal behavior" for all people. All such issues are related to the problem of violence. For if the lessons of the past three years have taught us anything, it should be that riots are not born when a policeman shoots or arrests a youth in a black ghetto or even when rats bite off the fingers of a sleeping baby in a forgotten city hovel. They are born when the spirit of

man is no longer moved to action by the plight of his brother.

Reprinted May, 1969,

file

3236 BANKHEAD AVENUE
MONTGOMERY 6, ALABAMA

January 31, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are looking forward to having you with us overnight on Feb. 16th. If you are flying, please let me know so that I can meet you.

We expect to invite a few people to supper that evening and will have to invite them for about six o'clock, since the meeting is at seven thirty. So, if you are driving, plan to be here in time for that.

Directions for getting to my house are impossibly complicated, so you'd better follow main routes through town and then east on Fairview and Woodley, turning right on Bankhead. We are very near Huntingdon College, which you can tell anyone if you stop to inquire.

With best wishes,

Marjorie L. Smith

P.S. Am enclosing the Centennial program, as you asked about it when I saw you.

February 2, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please reprint the following:

2,000 copies of Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillan;

2,000 copies of School Desegregation: the first six years WITHOUT the tip-on map.

Both of these pamphlets were issued as numbers of New South. On this reprint the New South masthead is NOT to appear. The union label will, of course.

I understand that you no longer have the type for School Desegregation: the first six years, but that you will reproduce it by offset. You have estimated the price for 2,000 copies by this method at $975.00 including the map. Without the map, my understanding is that the price will be somewhere between $75 and $180 less, on the basis of your tentative estimate. Perhaps the savings will be greater?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 6, 1961

Mr. Jim Young
Longino & Porter, Inc.
342 Stewart Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Confirming several recent conversations, please reproduce by photo-offset 3,000 copies of the manuscript delivered to you the other day titled, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. You are to print the text on both sices of the sheet. Covers will be delivered to you and you are to bind with plastic ring binders.

You have indicated delivery not later than February 17, and if possible earlier.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 6, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please print an additional 3,000 covers for The Federal Executive and Civil Rights and deliver to this office. It would be appreciated if you could expedite this order.

Sincerely yours,

L. W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 14, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

This is to confirm the order placed with you yesterday for 12,000 copies of "This I Believe," by Heywood N. Hill. 6,200 copies are to be inserted as middle pages in the March issue of New South; the remaining 5,800 copies are to be delivered to us as leaflets.

The form is to be in the Notable Addresses series, a sample of which was given to you. Appropriate page numbers are to be put on the New South inserts; pages of the leaflets are not to be numbered. The Union Bug is to go on the bottom of the last page. Any color stock except blue and white may be recommended, and you will submit samples both for the New South inserts and the leaflet.

We would be pleased to receive copies of the leaflet before the March New South is delivered, if this is possible.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Dr. Hill

February 22, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please increase our order for "This I Believe" by Heywood Hill by 1,000 copies; in other words, we desire a total of 13,000 with 6,800 delivered as single fold leaflets and the remainder inserted in New South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 3, 1961

Mr. McKenzie:

Will you please call and tell me how much (approximately or firmly) this will cost after you have talked with the printer about it?

There are 1900 copies of School Desegregation: the first six years, and the imprint should be on the inside of the front cover, as marked on enclosed copy:

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Montez Albright

April 14, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

Please print 5,000 copies for us of L-25 (you have the copy), with 2,400 folded to fit #10 envelope and the remaining 2,600 delivered flat. The size is to be 8½ x 11, and reproduction by off-set photo.

We understand delivery can be made on April 19th.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

5-30-61

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: RHA

FROM: LWD

CC: GEORGE MCMILLAN

George McMillan is engaged on a writing project (Athens desegregation). The fee agreed upon at the start was $500 plus expenses; this was to be charged to RBF. The entire fee has been paid. The expenses of McMillan's trip to Atlanta last week should also be charged to RBF.

McMillan delivered when here a manuscript of 70 pages, and this I regard as satisfaction of the original assignment. I have asked him, however, to develop the study further. A supplementary agreement has been reached and is as follows:

Beginning May 24 and extending not longer than 23 days he is to be paid per diem at rate of $25.00 when working at home, $40.00 when away from Aiken.

May 24-25 were spent here in Atlanta, and should be paid at $40.00 rate.

I further agreed to advance $350.00 on June 1; please prepare the check and forward.

This supplementary agreement is to be charged to Research.

We can discuss later assignment of printing costs.

June 9, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Drive N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

Please print (by off-set) another 2,500 copies of the Herbert Hill, This I Believe folder, same paper, same size.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

July 21, 1961

Dr. Daniel C. Thompson, Chairman
Division of the Social Sciences
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Dan:

I am very hopeful that our new association with the Southern Regional Council will provide us the opportunity of seeing each other again. Certain it is that our paths have not had a chance to cross since almost ten years ago. I enjoy my work very much with the Council and will need and look forward to help from you as I seek to orient myself to the race relations problems in the region.

Les Dunbar has passed on to me your manuscript, "The Case for Integration," to prepare for publication as a Council document. I am very pleased to do this. I have read the article with great interest, and it cogently and clearly presents the most relevant issues with respect to integration conflicts, particularly in the South.

I would, however, like to suggest some possible changes: some editorial corrections and the others are some deletions which may help to shorten the paper but I hope will not substantially alter the structure of it and the argument and materials presented therein. I would like to emphasize that these changes are only suggestions, and if you feel that any or all of them would do some injustice to the paper, as you would like to see it printed, then of course we will be guided by your judgment.

Since we would like to expedite the publication of your manuscript, we would appreciate your reviewing the suggested changes and returning the manuscript to us at your earliest convenience.

With all best wishes to you and to your wife,

Cordially yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:a

Higgins-McArthur
2-13-61
"Notable Addresses" series

THIS I BELIEVE

by Haywood N. Hill, M.D.

I am a Southerner. I was bred in the South where my forefathers were slave holders and Confederate soldiers. I was born and raised in Southern towns with their rigid racial patterns and their typical Southern prejudice. I was away from the South for a few years, but I returned to live in the South by choice and intend to remain here for the rest of my life. I love the South and its people.

I like to have two black arms in my kitchen and two black legs pushing my lawn mower, to help take the drudgery out of living for myself and my family, and I like having them at a very minimum of cost to me.

I like choosing my own friends and associates, and I like eating in pleasant places with well bred people of my own race, class, and status.

I like to worship in a church which is composed of my friends and equals where I will be among my own group, racially, socially, and intellectually.

I like for my children to go to school with their own kind and with other children of their own racial, social, and intellectual level. I like for them to be shielded against poverty, ignorance, dirt, and disease.

I like to practice medicine among intelligent, cooperative people who understand what I am trying to do for them, who are friends as well as patients, and who pay their bills.

I like to live in a neighborhood composed of people of my own group who have pleasant, well kept homes, and where there is no conflict or strife.

I do not want my daughter to marry a Negro.

I like the racial status quo. I am a Southerner.

But, I am also a Christian. As a Christian I must believe that God created all men and that all men are equal in the sight of God. I must believe that all men are my brothers and are children of God, and that I am my brother's keeper. I must believe that Jesus meant what He said when He commanded me to love my neighbor as myself and when He commanded me to do unto others as I would have them do unto me. I must believe that the church is God's house and that it does not belong to me, to the congregation of Trinity Presbyterian Church, or to the Southern Presbyterian Church. I must believe in the fellowship of all believers.

I am also a scientist and have devoted my life to the pursuit of objective truth. Therefore, I must know that while there are individual differences among poeple that there is no such thing as racial inferiority. I must know that within every group there are individuals with different potentialities, and that I cannot arbibtarily classify anyone on the basis of his race or color. I must know that poverty and ignorance and isolation, call it segregation if you will, breed feelings of inferiority, frustration, resentment, and despair and that these feelings in turn lead to misery, to immorality, and to crime which, in turn, not only depress the people and the communities involved but the community as a whole and the whole country.

Therefore, as a Christian and as a scientist I am obligated to act on the basis of what I know and what I believe and not on the basis of what I like. I must live by conviction and by conscience rather than by preference and by prejudice.

I must, therefore, regard every man rich or poor, black or white as a child of God and as a person, not as some kine of subhuman being or animal or even as an inferior. I must try to see to it that every individual gets equal rights under the law and in politicas. This applies particularly to the right of equal justice in the courts and to the right of the exercise of political privilege; that is, the right to vote. If I fear the effects of bloc voting and voting from ignorance, then I must try to see to

it that every man is educated to the point where he votes intelligently.

I am obligated to pay a living wage to every man who works for me and to do my best to see that others do the same. I must accord to every man the right to rise to the limit of his abilities in any job or profession, and I must make every attempt to see that no man is blocked because of his race or his social status. If any individual of any race rises to a position equal to mine, then I must accord to him the same privileges that I have and welcome him as an equal.

I must see to it that everyone has an opportunity for an education as good as my own children have. If this means, as the social scientists, the courts, and the Negroes themselves believe, that that education must be the same education as my children have, then I must accept it and encourage it.

I must try to see to it that no man be humiliated and rejected because of his color. If this means that the Negro eats where I eat, sits next to me in the theatre, or rides next to me in public transportation, then I am obligated to accept it.

I must see to it that every man has an opportunity for a decent home and decent surroundings, and if this means that he will live in my neighborhood or in the house next to mine, then that is the way it must be.

If a Negro wants to worship in my church or join my church, then I am obligated to see to it that he is not only accepted but welcomed into that church, even if it be Trinity Presbyterian Church. I must not be led by false pride to try to judge his motives for coming into that church, and I must welcome him on the same basis that I would welcome any other individual.

I must try to overlook the selfish politicians who use the Negro for their own ends; the Communist agitators who delight in stirring up racial strife; the noisy, aggressive Negro who abuses his privileges and who makes life unpleasant for me; and even the Negroes who exploit their own race. I must ignore such irrelevant questions as which race settled this country, which race pays the most taxes, etc.,

and remember the basic principles on which I am trying to act and in which I believe.

I must not only accept the efforts of the Negro to achieve his legitimate aspirations, but I must try to help him achieve them, and I believe that the church must do the same if it is a truly Christian church. I must do this, even though it goes against my deepest prejudices and even though it threatens my superior and isolated position in the community and even though it entails the risk of intermarriage.

Basically, the problem is not one of what I like but of what I know to be right. I must not let my wishes determine my attitude toward my associates, my school, my church, or even my own family, but if I am true to the principles which I profess, then I must act according to those principles. This, I believe.

April 7, 1964

Dr. A. C. Germann
2225 Tulane Avenue
Long Beach 15, California

Dear Dr. Germann:

We have your request to be added to our mailing list to receive our materials, and we will let you know within another week or two whether or not this is possible.

~~Our~~ The problem is that our mailing list has grown to almost unmanageable proportions within the last few years. Now that postage has been increased again, and printing costs are also greater, this puts quite a strain on our budget. We are in process of making a decision as to how this can be resolved. The suggestion has been made that we begin a flat charge of something between $3.00 to $5.00 per year to those wishing to receive our publications materials. This would include all printed pamphlets, all mimeographed reports, press releases, special reports, etc. This charge would, we believe, just about cover the printing and mailing cost, exclusive of the overhead of office salaries.

In the event that we do decide to make this our future policy, would you still be interested? We have the $1.00 you sent us, and will hold it temporarily. You have received a copy of our current publications list, so you have an idea of the kind of reports we publish.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Dr. & Mrs. A. C. Germann
2225 Tulane Avenue
Long Beach 15, California

Would you please put me on your mailing list?

Thank you

A C Germann

1.00 Cash
4/1/64
RHA

May 26, 1964

Dr. Joseph S. Roucek
Chairman and Professor
Departments of Sociology & Political Science
395 Lakeside Drive
Bridgeport, Conn. 06606

Dear Dr. Roucek:

Under separate cover we are mailing you several of our later publications which we think may be helpful to you. Also enclosed with the pamphlets is a publications list, for your information.

Regarding your request to be put on our mailing list there is some complication. Our present list has become too large and unmanageable, and too expensive for our present budget. We are going to have to restrict our mailings to persons active in the field of civil rights and set up a category of paid subscribers of persons who wish to receive all our materials (including press releases). The details are being worked out this week; present thinking is that the charge will be $5.00 per year to cover just the cost and postage for those publications mailed out. In this case, "cost" means only printing cost. This will not include our monthly magazine, New South. If you would be interested in this service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Executive Support of Civil Rights
The Negro and Employment Opportunities: Houston
Albany
The Unequal Badge
The Annealing of the South
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond
Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study
The Economic Status of Negroes: in the South and in the Nation

University of Bridgeport

Bridgeport 4, Connecticut

April 27, 1964

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

I am revising my book ONE AMERICA and if you have any material would you please put me on your regular mailing list.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,

Sincerely,

Dr. Joseph S. Roucek

Dr. Joseph S. Roucek
Chairman and Professor
Departments of Sociology
and Political Science

395 Lakeside Drive
Bridgeport, Conn.06606

JSR/mw

Paid subscribers?

July 23, 1964

Mrs. Virginia H. Miller
Technical Services Librarian
North Carolina State Library
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Your letter to Mr. Fleming has been referred to me for reply; Mr. Fleming has been in Washington D. C. for the past three years as Executive Vice President, The Potomac Institute.

Under separate cover we have mailed you the requested three publications.

Publishing and mailing costs have increased so much in the past few years, and requests to be on our mailing list have also increased. For these reasons, we have begun a new service of "paid subscribers" at $5.00 per year for those persons wishing to receive all the Council's publications. If you would be interested in this, please let us know. The charge is payable each year, in September.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY

MRS. ELIZABETH H. HUGHEY
STATE LIBRARIAN

RALEIGH

STATE LIBRARY BOARD
APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR:
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DR. JERROLD ORNE, CHAPEL HILL

July 22, 1964

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We would appreciate your sending us the following pamphlets in the Toward Regional Realism series:

1. The South and the nation, by LeRoy Collins
2. A Hundred years later
3. The Economic status of Negroes: in the nation and in the South, by Vivian W. Henderson.

If there is a charge for these pamphlets, please send us an invoice in triplicate.

Letter Reply - Is there any possibility that we might be placed on your mailing list so that we would receive future publications automatically?

Sincerely,

Virginia H. Miller

(Mrs.) Virginia H. Miller
Technical Services Librarian

Sent 7-23-64 MA

VHM/eh

July 29, 1964

The Rev. Fessenden A. Nichols
61-69 Washington Avenue
Suffren, New York

Dear Mr. Nichols:

We have mailed you (July 27th) the requested copy of our May 1964 New South. Information on the Council was enclosed with it. Your subscription has been entered, and will begin with the June issue, which should be mailed out in about a week. We are running somewhat behind deadline, but do not be discouraged; all issues will eventually reach you.

Regarding your request to be on our mailing list, I am sorry to tell you that it has grown to such tremendous proportions, mailing and printing costs have increased, and the cost of maintaining it has now exceeded our budget capacity. We have, therefore, limited free mailings to persons active in civil rights in the South. Because we have so many requests from persons outside the South, we have decided to offer, as a service, a "Paid Subscribers" list at the rate of $5.00 per year, payable each September. This will almost balance the printing and mailing cost of the publications you would receive and enable us to serve more people. If you would be interested in being on our list as a subscriber, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

7.24.'64

·MEMO from

REV. FESSENDEN A. NICHOLS
61-69 WASHINGTON AVENUE
SUFFERN, NEW YORK

Please send to above address the May 1964 copy of "New South" and put me on the mailing list. $2.00 encl. for subscription.

7-27-64 $

Thank you!

Sent
7-27-64
SRC - 44-64
MA

To the "New South," Atlanta, Georgia

September 9, 1964

Mr. Isaac Igarashi
National Council of the Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Igarashi:

We are pleased that you found our report on Memphis of value to you in your work; a copy is being mailed you today.

We are sorry not to honor your request to be on our mailing list; we now have about eight persons from the NCC offices on our mailing list and it has grown to almost unmanageable length. The expense of publications and postage to service such a list has also increased tremendously in the past two years.

Our current publications list is enclosed. We will be pleased to mail you single copies of anything you think will be helpful to you. We will also mail you at any time any publication you may request, and that you think would be of help to you.

If you would still like to receive everything we publish, we do have a new service--the publications subscribers list. We mail to it anything we publish, and the cost is $5.00 per year. We believe this will reimburse us for the cost of the printing and postage and enable us to service more people.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Memphis
publications list

division of home missions

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york, n. y. 10027 telephone: 870-2416

bishop reuben h. mueller, president r. h. edwin espy, general secretary

rev. paul o. madsen
chairman

rev. jon l. regier
executive secretary

August 28, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Recently I saw a copy of your Special Report on Memphis by Benjamin Muse. Inasmuch as my responsibility carries me into this same general area of concern, with particular reference to the agricultural migrants, I would appreciate receiving a copy of this special report for my own reference. Would it be possible for you to send me a copy and also to place me on your mailing list?

You are doing an excellent job!

Sincerely yours,

Isaac Igarashi p

Isaac Igarashi

II:p

rev. isaac igarashi, director
eastern field office

September 10, 1964

Mr. William Mateer
Director Human Relations
City of Lansing
City Hall- Fourth Floor
Lansing 7, Michigan

Dear Mr. Mateer:

Regarding your request to be on our mailing list, we are sorry to tell you that we have had to limit our mailings because of the expense of printing and postage. The list has expanded, and the cost increased, so much in the past two years that it is now prohibitive.

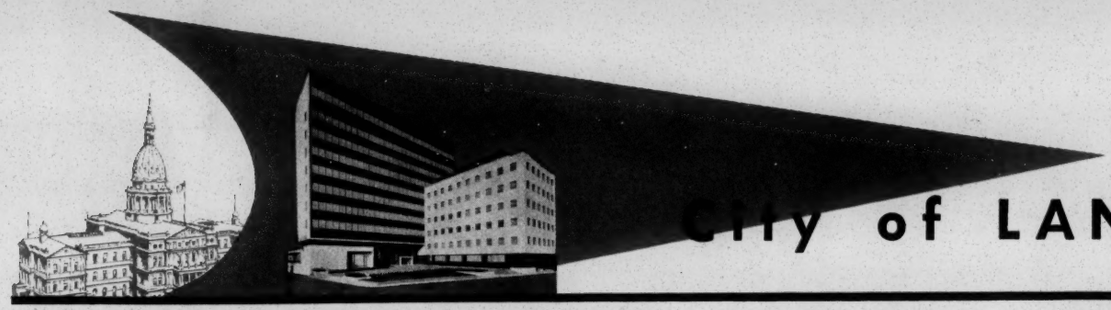
We have, however, added a new service--the publications subscribers mailing list. We mail to subscribers everything we publish as it is released; the cost is $5.00 per year, payable each October. We are hopeful this will enable us to extend this service to more people. If you would be interested, please let us know.

We also publish a monthly magazine, New South. The subscription rate is $2.50 per year. Periodically, the magazine lists our most recent publications, and you could order those which you thought would be most helpful to you.

Our current publications list is enclosed, for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate



City of LANSING

LANSING, MICHIGAN

Human Relations Committee
4th Floor City Hall

September 14, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me single copies of each of the following:

The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South
L-16
L-17
L-21
L-24
L-25
L-29
L-32
L-33
L-37
L-41
Some Questions and Answers on the Civil Rights Bill

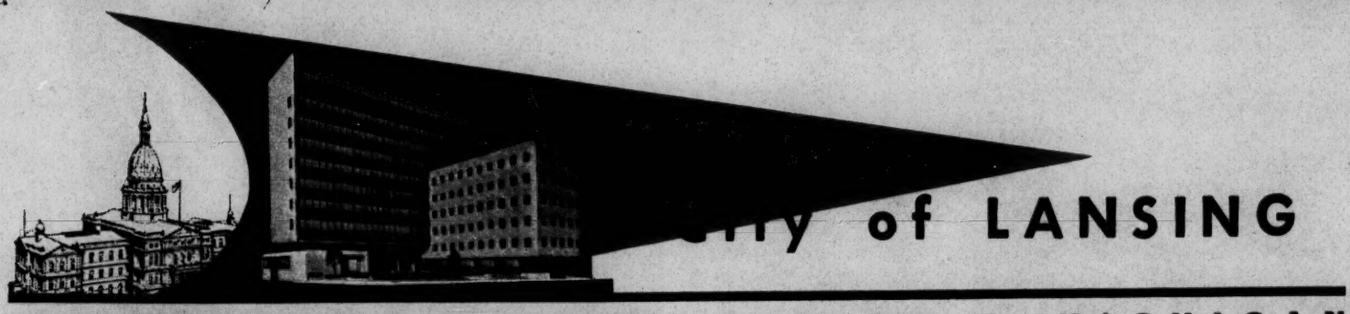
Sent 9-16-64 MA

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

William Mateer
William Mateer
Director Human Relations

WM:rc



LANSING 7, MICHIGAN

Human Relations Committee
4th Floor City Hall

September 8, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia (3)

Gentlemen:

I have recently been appointed Director of Human Relations for the City of Lansing. I am badly in need of background material.

Please place me on your mailing list.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William Mateer
William Mateer,
Director Human Relations

WM:rc

October 8, 1964

Mr. Peter J. Paulson
Gift and Exchange Section 2
New York State Library
Albany, New York 12224

Dear Mr.Paulson:

We have issued three publications in the Toward Regional Realism series; Since you have No. 2, we are today mailing you Numbers 1 and 3. There is no charge for these.

Regarding your request to be on our mailing list, I am sorry to tell you that it has been necessary for us to limit our free mailings. Our various mailing lists had grown to such tremendous proportions, and with the increase in printing and postage costs, we found it impossible to stay within our budget for distribution. We have decided to offer instead, as a service, a Paid Subscribers mailing list at the rate of $5.00 per year, payable each September. At whatever time of year a subscriber joins, everything we have released since September 1st of that year will be sent to him. This will almost take care of printing and postage and enable us to serve more people and organizations. Our current publications list is enclosed, so that you may see the kinds of materials you would be receiving. There are some ommissions; we have already exhausted our supply of a number of items, even some recently published. If you would be interested in becoming a subscriber, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Regional Realism: 1 & 3

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12224

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY
S. GILBERT PRENTISS
STATE LIBRARIAN
AND
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR LIBRARIES

ROBERT H. DEILY
PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN

GIFT AND EXCHANGE SECTION
PETER J. PAULSON, HEAD OF SECTION
GR 4-5953

October 5, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Gentlemen:

In checking our file we find that we have the following:

Southern Regional Council.
Toward regional realism.
HAVE: no. 2.

We would like to have a complete file of this publication in our Library and shall appreciate it if you can send us complimentary copies of all missing numbers issued to date. We would also like to have our name added to your complimentary mailing list to receive future numbers as issued.

In order to expedite the handling of this material, please use the enclosed mailing label. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Peter Paulson

gh
encl.

Sent 10-8-64
mA
Realism 1 & 3

November 2, 1964

Mr. H. A. Cloer
Ashland Human Rights Council
P. O. Box 142
Ashland, Oregon

Dear Mr. Cloer:

Under separate cover we are mailing you information about the Council and our current publications list. You will note that we mail our research publications, as released, to persons or organizations which subscribe to our Publications Subscribers mailing list. The charge for this is $5.00 per year. Our list will give you an idea of the number and the kinds of materials we issue. Actually, we send out each year more than the list indicates, because we have omitted those publications which we no longer have because of excessive demand.

New South, our monthly magazine, is published at $2.50 per year. Periodically it lists our most recent publications so that those interested may order any which seem of particular interest to them.

Please let us know your wishes. We are always pleased to cooperate with other groups in this general field.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Ashland Human Rights Council
P. O. Box 142
Ashland, Oregon

October 23, 1964

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The board of directors of the Ashland Human Rights Council has asked me to write to various groups with similar purposes to request listing for receipt of any routinely mailed material. The board wishes to keep in touch with Human Rights activities throughout the country and expects in so doing to find, from time to time, projects that would benefit from what little financial support our group might be able to provide.

The Ashland Human Rights Council feels that it will have maximum effectiveness in the local community if it does not formally affiliate with any outside group. The board does not, however, wish to be a drain on the resources of other organizations. We would like to know, therefore, the cost of any routine mailings which your group may be able to make.

Your cooperation and assistance will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

H. A. Cloer

November 6, 1964

Mr. Victor Schormann
Periodicals Librarian
Western Illinois University
Macomb, Illinois

Dear Mr. Schormann:

Enclosed is a copy of our current publications list. Since it is divided by years, you can get an idea of the volumn of our reports each year--also the variety. In some instances, we have exhausted our supply of a publication, and it has been omitted from the list. To receive all reports as released, we invite you to join our Publications Subscribers; the cost is $5.00 per year, payable each October. Anyone joining after October 1st of any year will receive all publications from that date in one bulk package.

We also publish a monthly magazine, New South; subscription rate is $2.50 per year. Back numbers are still available, although there are some gaps beginning with 1962 (one issue is not available) and the gaps increase with the years backward. But we will do the best we can, and the price is 20¢ per issue.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

WESTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
MACOMB, ILLINOIS

November 3, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

According to a local faculty member, you publish releases, in various shapes and sizes, in addition to NEW SOUTH. Are such releases available on subscription, or as a gift? If there is a charge, please indicate the annual rate. Please indicate too about how frequently releases are published--about what quantity would be published in the course of a year.

I would appreciate receiving a catalog or list of all your publications.

Finally, please indicate whether back numbers of NEW SOUTH are still available and, if so, the price.

Very truly yours,

Victor Schormann

Victor Schormann
Periodicals Librarian

ac

Cash $1 — 11-17-64

November 9, 1964

Mr. Daniel Packton
Apt. 5C - Lansing Aptms.
N. Triphammer Road
Ithaca, New York

Dear Mr. Packton:

We have your letter of November 4th, and the dollar you enclosed. The map you requested is 25¢, so you have a credit with us of 75¢ in the event you wish to order additional material from the enclosed publications list.

I am sorry to tell you that we have had to begin charging for the service of being on our mailing list to receive all publications. This service is $5.00 per year. You can get an idea from the list of the kinds of publications we issue, and the number each year. Subscription to New South, our monthly magazine, is not included; cost for this is $2.50 per year. If you wish, I could send you a list of recent articles in the magazine, in the event you would wish to order the ones which would be most helpful to you in preparing your paper.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Research Associate

Apt 5C - Lansing Apts.
Ithaca, New York
Nov. 4, 1964
N. Triphammer Rd.

Southern Regional ~~Conference~~ Council
5 Forsyth St. Rm. 206
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir, or Miss, as the case may be,

While in Fayette Co., Tenn. over this past summer I came across a map which your group has prepared called:

"Percent of Non-White Population in Counties of the Southern States"

As I am presently preparing a paper on the Southern socio-economic-political system, this map would be very helpful. If it isn't too much trouble, could you please send me a copy.

I wouldn't mind being placed on your mailing list. The New York Times never quite manages to print "all of the news, all of the time."

Thanks,

Daniel Packter

November 19, 1964

Dr. Hildegarde Kneeland
2054 Williams Street
Palo Alto, California 94306

Dear Dr. Kneeland:

We mailed you, on October 29th, the two pamphlets you requested: The Price We Pay and Economic Status of Negroes. The total price was $1.00.

We appreciate very much your comment that any remaining money from the $5.00 you sent should be considered as a donation to SRC. I am wondering, however, if you would not prefer to have the $5.00 apply as payment for our Publications Subscribers service? You would receive all research publications released by the Council for one year. All subscriptions begin as of October 1st; and whenever anyone subscribes after that date, all subsequent publications dating from October 1st are sent to them in one mailing. Our publications list was enclosed with the pamphlets mailed to you, so you would have an idea of the kinds of things we produce each year. If you would like to subscribe, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Ck $5
11-17-64

Hildegarde Kneeland

2054 Williams Street, Palo Alto, California
94306

October 26, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Altanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed please find my check for five dollars, for which I should be glad to receive copies of the following two publications:

The Price We Pay, by Barbara Patterson and Others -- 75 cents
The Economic Status of Negroes in the Nation and in the South, by Vivian Henderson.

The price of Professor Henderson's report has not been indicated in the places in which I've seen references to it. In case the price is greater than $4.25 I should appreciate hearing from you as to the amount still due. And in case my check more than covers the amount due, please "keep the change" as a small contribution to your work.

Sent 10-29-64
MA

75
25
$1.00

Sincerely yours,

Hildegarde Kneeland

(Dr.) Hildegarde Kneeland

Write later

November 19, 1964

Mrs. Lavata Jones
Detroit Congress of Racial Equality
8906 12th Street
Detroit, Michigan 48204

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Enclosed is our current publications list; perhaps you would like to look it over and mark those publications which you think would be helpful to your group in Detroit and Michigan.

Because of our limited budget for publications and mailing, the growth of our list to unmanageable proportions, and the increase in the cost of printing and postage, we had to restrict our mailings to active civil rights groups in the South. We do, however, have a Publications Subscribers service which is $5.00 per year, payable October 1st of each year. Subscribers receive all our research publications as they are released. Anyone who subscribes after October 1st receives all publications from October 1st through the date of subscription in one bulk mailing. Please let us know if you are interested. By charging the approximate cost of printing and mailing, we are enabled to service a great many more groups and people.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Detroit Congress of Racial
Equality (CORE)
8906 12 th Street
Detroit, Michigan (48204)
November 7, 1964

Dear Sirs:

Please put Detroit CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) on your free and inexpensive mailing list.

We (CORE) are trying to organize a small library in our new office. We are seeking information which will aid us in building a sound program in this area (Michigan).

Areas of interest:

1. Employment(black and white, both locally and nationally)
2. Housing (black and white, local and national)
3. Education- standards and opportunities (black and white, local and national).
4. Human Relations Commissions (local and national)
5. Civil Rights (black and white, local and national).
6. Voter registration and political education (locally and nationally).

There are many other related subjects that I have not listed because of space.

Please except my thanks for any consideration which you are able to give this request.

Sincerely,
Membership Chairman
Mrs. Lavata Jones
Mrs. Lavata Jones

December 4, 1964

Mr. Wendell Wray
Acting Curator
New York Public Library
Schomburg Collection
103 West 135th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Wray:

We are pleased that you find New South of value. We do have a Publications Subscribers service by which subscribers receive all research publications as they are released. The cost is $5.00 per year, payable October 1st. Anyone subscribing after October receives in one bulk mailing all publications which have been released since October 1st of that year.

Our current publications list is enclosed, for you information and possible interest. A few items which are in limited supply have been omitted, and I have marked several which we no longer have. We will do our best to send you anything you think would be of interest to the writers and students who use your collection.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
The New York Public Library
Schomburg Collection
103 West 135th St.
New York 30, N.Y.

December 2, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have a subscription to the New South which is, of course, a valuable addition to our collection. From time to time it mentions special reports which you have published. It is the feeling of our staff that we are not seeing or receiving many of these reports. Is there some subscription plan whereby we would receive all of them, or can our name be added to your permanent mailing list? As you are well aware of all such material is invaluable to the writers and students who use our collection. Please let us know if there is anything we can do to facilitate this matter.

Sincerely,

Wendell Wray
Acting Curator

The *Schomburg Collection*

OF NEGRO LITERATURE AND HISTORY

A BRANCH OF

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

at 103 West 135th Street

the

SCHOMBURG Collection

OF NEGRO LITERATURE AND HISTORY

The Schomburg Collection, a reference and research library of special materials devoted to Negro life and history, is considered one of the most important centers in the world for the study of the Negro.

Its literature is international in scope, covering every phase of Negro activity wherever Negroes have lived in significant numbers. It ranges from early rarities to current materials on happenings from Tennessee to Timbuctoo.

The Collection was built around Arthur A. Schomburg's distinguished private library of rarities and treasures, which was purchased from him and presented to The New York Public Library by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1926. Its holdings, multiplied and broadened over the years, are of invaluable aid today, when there is greater demand than ever for information about the Negro both on this continent and in Africa.

This library now provides not only literary and historical works in which accounts of Negro life and history appear — and books of Negro authorship — but magazines, pamphlets, manuscripts, photographs, pictures, prints, newspaper clippings, playbills, programs, and broadsides, as well as sheet music and recordings of music composed or performed by Negroes.

Of special interest are the histories of ancient African Kingdoms — Ghana, Mele, Songhai, Benin — such names as are gaining a contemporary significance with the rapid emergence of the independent states of the "new" Africa. In recent years, the Collection has acquired a distinctive group of materials on Portuguese Africa and Madagascar, two areas about which little information has been available and in which there is a great deal of interest.

Recent changes in the Caribbean area have caused the extensive holdings in West Indian history, social conditions, poetry, fiction and folklore to assume greater prominence and usefulness.

Other items which suggest further the holdings of the Collection:

The 81 manuscript volumes of the field notes and memoranda used by Gunnar Myrdal in writing "An American Dilemma"

Primary source materials in Haitian history

Claude McKay's manuscripts

The Harry A. Williamson library on the Negro in Masonry

Microfilm files of some 400 newspapers

There are also grammars and linguaphone records for some of the many African languages, such as Swahili and Hausa — important trade languages along the East and West coasts of Africa.

Among the periodicals regularly received are *Drum* and *Zonk*, educational picture magazines from South Africa; *African Parade* from the Rhodesias; *Nigeria Magazine*, the *Ghanaian* and the *Central African Examiner*, valuable for their sketches of contemporary African personalities and intimate photographs of the peoples of Africa; *Africa*, a scholarly publication of the International African Institute; *Africa Report* and *Africa Today*, both published in the United States and both dealing with current affairs in Africa and American relations with nations of that continent.

The file of some 200 Negro newspapers on microfilm offers a reflection of contemporary Negro thought and life. African newspapers, such as the *West African Pilot* and the *Central African Post*, are now available on microfilm. They supplement the American Negro newspapers on microfilm which have proved to be valuable reflections of contemporary Negro thought and life. This collection represents many American newspapers from 1827 through the First World

War, some, such as the *Cleveland Gazette*, *Savannah Tribune* and *California Eagle*, with long, complete runs. Current issues of Negro newspapers which give national coverage are microfilmed at the end of each year.

On display in the Library arc the Eric de Kolb Collection of African Arms and art objects of ivory, metal, and wood.

Because material from the Schomburg Collection cannot be borrowed, but must be used within the Library, it has the advantage of being always available. Though the best use of the Collection can be made by working in the Library, telephone and mail inquiries are answered by the staff of professionally trained librarians.

Travel directions to the branch, which is located on 135th Street between Seventh and Lenox Avenues:

SUBWAYS	*BUSES*
IRT Bronx Park Express	*Lenox Avenue No. 7*
IND AA or BB Local	*or Madison Ave. No. 2*
	Fifth Avenue No. 2

For the schedule of hours, call SWinburne 4–4000 or 4001.

* * *

THE SCHOMBURG COLLECTION

of

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

December 16, 1964

Mr. William E. Wimer
Office for Audio-Visuals
United Church of Christ
1501 Race Street, Room 520
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Dear Mr. Wimer:

Mr. Branton asked me to reply to your letter to him regarding lists of audio-visual resources in the area of race.

You are no doubt familiar with the Anti-Defamation League catalog of audio visual materials. We have a news release from Brandon Films, Inc., 200 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y. regarding "Right Now!" a voter registration film made in Savannah and the documentary on Mississippi voter registration, sponsored by SNCC, "We'll Never Turn Back." I believe the United Church was one of the sponsors of "Right Now!" so you probably already have this one. The news release states that these are "part of a group of civil rights pictures" so you may wish to write them about others. Another source is Films on Civil Rights, Film Division, AFL-CIO, 815 16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

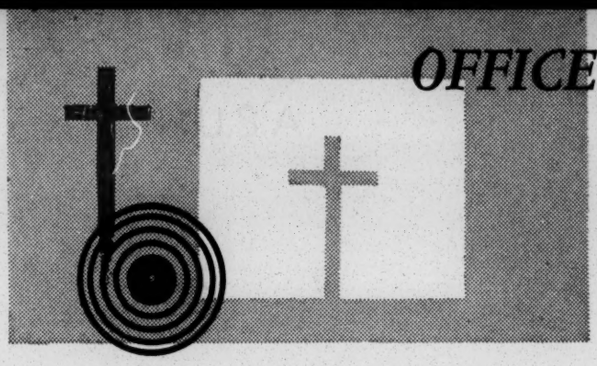
We do not have audio-visuals, and this is all we know about at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

FILM RENTAL LIBRARIES:
1720 Chouteau Avenue
Saint Louis, Missouri 63103
Telephone: 314 GArfield 1-1544
Luella Nieman, Librarian

1501 Race Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
Telephone: 215 LOcust 3-5283
Helen Williams, Librarian



OFFICE *for* AUDIO-VISUALS
of the Stewardship Council

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
1501 Race Street Room 520
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
Telephone: 215 LOcust 3-5283

William E. Wimer, *Director*

Mr. Reply

December 10, 1964

DEC 14 1964

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Branton:

I'm writing at the suggestion of Mr. C. T. Vivian, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who said that you might have a recommended list, or lists, of audio visuals in the area of race.

I'm in the process of developing a list of audio-visual resources in the area of race. In that list I hope to include items which have to do with community integration, voter registration, church integration, employment, and the like.

I realize that there are many lists in existance; however, I've discovered that many of these lists include items which really ought to be discarded because they are out of date, and some items which really are of inferior quality. Therefore, I'm not only collecting lists, but am in the process of previewing materials on these various lists, so that we might develop an up-to-date list of top-notch materials. This list will be for use primarily within the United Church of Christ, but will be available to any others who would be interested in having copies.

If you would send on a copy of your list, or lists, I would be most grateful.

Cordially,

William E. Wimer

William E. Wimer
Director

WEW:cr

January 19, 1965

Mr. David W. Robinson, Jr.
606 W. 113th St. - 5C
New York, N. Y. 10025

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I note you comment on the subscription to New South, but I am not certain whether you wish to participate in our Publications Subscribers Service @ $5.00 per year, or whether you simply wish to order material from our current publications list. Please indicate your preference. Information on the service and our current list are both enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Please renew my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year. Enclosed is my check (or money order, made payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc.) for $2.50.

Date Jan. 4, 1964

Name David W. Robinson, Jr.

Street 606 W. 113th St. 5C

City and State New York, N.Y. Zip Code 10025

1-7-65 p

DEC 28 1964

Please send me the other SRC publications and bill me at the above address. Thanks.

January 19, 1965

History Department
San Francisco Public Library
Civic Center
San Francisco, California

Dear Sirs:

We have your request for The Economic Status of Negroes and the three employment studies: Chattanooga, Atlanta, Houston. These were mailed to you January 12th.

Regarding your request to be on our regular mailing list, please note the enclosed information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

History Dept.
SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY

We should appreciate receiving the following publication:

The Negro and employment opportunities in the South. No. 1 Houston Texas '61. No. 2 Chattanooga '62 No. 3 Atlanta, Ga. '62.

☐ Please notify us before sending if there is any charge.
☐ Please notify us if the publication is unavailable.
☑ Please add us to your mailing list.

☐ _____

Date 12-30-64

PC-1

History Dept.
SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY

We should appreciate receiving the following publication:

Henderson, Vivian W. The Economic Status of Negroes in the nation and in the south.

Sent 1-12-65

☐ Please notify us before sending if there is any charge.
☐ Please ~~notify us if the~~ publication is unavailable.
☑ Please add us to your mailing list.

letter

☐ _____

Date 12-30-64

PC-1

"ABCD" MAIL FOR BETTER BUSINESS SERVICE

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 18
4 JAN
PM
1965

January 19, 1965

Professor Carleton Mabee
Rose Polytechnic Institute
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Professor Mabee:

We mailed you on January 4th the requested analysis of the November election.

Regarding adding your name to our mailing list, please note the enclosed information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Rose Polytechnic Inst.
Terre Haute, Ind.
Jan 1-65

Pleare send me a copy of your analysis of the Nov. election & please keep me on your mailing list.

not done

Yours

(Prof.) Carleton Mabee

#55 Check 6/11/65 MPA

39 Gramercy Park
Apartment 17-B
New York 10, N.Y.
June 7, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a subscriber to New South and am changing my address. It had been 470 Prospect St., Apt. 36, New Haven, Conn. My new address is:

Mr. David Powell
39 Gramercy Park
Apartment 17-B
New York 10, N.Y.

Issue returned already changed 6-11-65 JP

In addition, I am interested in receiving publications from your Publications Subscribers Service for 1960. I understand the cost of this is $5.00, but I am including a check for $5.50 because I apparently only paid $2.00 for my subscription to New South, and you informed me on April 6 (my apologies for the protracted delay), that New South is now $2.50 a year.

Card 6-11-65 MA

I hope we are now straightened out, and I hope the delay in my response does not cause any undue bookkeeping problems.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

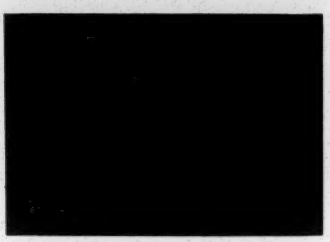
David Powell

David Powell

New South

JUNE 1964

Police Practice in Alabama



By MARGARET LONG

New South

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia
Volume 19 • June 1964 • Number 6

CONTENTS

Eighteen Affidavits from Alabama 3

A Letter from Leon Dure . 20

Strictly Subjective 2

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Margaret Long . . . . . Editor

New South is published 11 times a year. Subscription cost is $2 a year. Single copies are 20 cents each, or less in quantity.

NOW THAT THE Negro movement here and there on occasion appears to be past the patience and impeccability expected of it, friends and foes of Negro liberation, black and white, divert ourselves with spirited debate over tactics of the predominantly nonviolent revolutionaries from here to New York and Chicago.

Newspaper editors, columnists, civil rights espousers, neutral dinner companions, segregationists and direct actionists become impassioned over the utility and propriety of protesters "going limp" upon arrest, lying on the street of a construction site in front of traffic or bulldozers, or banging about the paddy wagon on the way to the pokey. We debated New York Negroes' plan to stall on the freeway to the World's Fair and paralyze traffic, until it was abandoned, and we protested this proposal of a faction of the Congress of Racial Equality with horror and moral heat which might properly attend the proposed massacre of thousands of women and children.

Segregationists all across the South —and North, too, I reckon—seized with burning joy on the celebrated Atlanta case of demonstrating Negroes locked in Leb's restaurant, where rest rooms were locked, for eight hours (a curious arrangement with police officers inside, which has never been sensibly explained), who availed themselves of what utensils came to hand, such as coffee pots, for toilet needs. This occurred, they like to tell you, "with Negro police looking on," as I reckon they were, since at least one Negro and one white policeman were locked in with the demonstrators; but I imagine everybody, including the cops, tried not to "look on" such disagreeable measures of relief. The White Supremacists have hailed this lamentable incident as proof of inher-

(Continued on page 18)

Eighteen Affidavits from Alabama

THE BIRMINGHAM RECORDER'S COURT June 15 convicted James Eddie Steele, 20, of reckless driving, assault and battery, disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, sentenced him to 360 days in jail and fined him $400 and court costs. Mr. Steele's lawyer has appealed his case.

Police officers testified that Mr. Steele was speeding, refused a ticket, fled the scene and when they caught him, struck both policemen. Mr. Steele, on the other hand, claimed in court and in a detailed affidavit that he was repeatedly beaten by the two officers and required two weeks in the hospital.

Mr. Steele's sworn account of his encounter with police on May 24 is the latest notarized statement of the Birmingham Inter-Citizens Committee, organized to document police abuse of Negroes. Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, secretary of the Committee reports that the Steele case is one of several recent police attacks on Negroes, after a several months' lull. The abatement of apparently whimsical, unprovoked arrests; police entries and seizures in homes without warrants; detentions without charges; shootings of offending and unoffending Negroes; street and jail beatings and unusual tortures of Negroes—this abeyance followed a November 1963 meeting of Inter-Citizens Committee members with Police Chief Jamie Moore, City Councilman George Seibels, Jr., Police Inspector William Haley, Dr. E. C. Overton and Attorney Nina Miglionico.

Concurrent with resumption of Negro picketing and demonstrating last January — after City Hall rejected desegregation recommendations of

Mayor Albert Boutwell's 200-member inter-racial committee—the Inter-Citizens Committee noted a resumption of police attacks on Negro citizens.

"We did not hear of a single case of police brutality for about three months following that meeting," Mr. Oliver wrote to *New South*. "Such a long time of apparent restraint has never occurred before in my knowledge. March saw the resumption of picketing and several pickets were arrested. At the end of that week there was a bad case . . . Document 67 (an affidavit from Leonard Jackson.) The suit that Steele was wearing was very bloody, particularly the trousers. We hope that the beating will not leave permanent effects, but I don't see how it can be otherwise because of the intensity of the beating, particularly in the head.

"The resumption of brutality . . .

may have some connection with the resumption of picketing by Negroes. Also word was getting around that brutality was at a low ebb. Maybe the officers did not like the new image and would like to restore the old image.

"No Negro policemen have been hired and it does not look like any will be hired . . . only a crusading Negro would seek such a job. But the city will not hire a crusader."

Reverend Mr. Oliver has compiled 68 "documents" since 1960, most of them signed, sworn and notarized affidavits from Negro victims of and witnesses to police violence and violation of American citizens' rights. In these affidavits the signers, of course, take legal oath to the truth of their statements, under pain of perjury conviction in court.

The Committee has circulated extensively in the United States and abroad mimeographed copies of affidavits and other signed statements of police abuse and has elicited money donations which support the work of investigation, documentation and mailing out statements.

This *New South* offers selected and typical affidavits representing a four-year record of police abuse of Alabama Negroes both guilty and innocent of civil rights effort. Deletions, marked by ellipses, are of repeated statements, occasional irrelevant details and names of police officers and squad car and badge numbers.

DOCUMENT NO. 20:

On Friday night, October 27, 1961, a group of Negroes were at a Negro cafe in Birmingham, Ala. One of them reportedly made the remark that if the colored women were not intercoursing with the policemen, the nigger men were pimping with them. The owner of the cafe reportedly called the police, and two policemen soon came . . . They lined up all the Negroes around the wall of the cafe and stationed a police dog at the door . . . and told him to sit there and watch. Then they tried to find out who made the statement. They threatened to turn the dog loose on all the Negroes if they did not tell who made the statement about the policemen.

Kennon Travis was not there, but somehow his name was brought up, and the policemen went to his home looking for him. Mr. Phillip Travis, Sr. and Mrs. Travis tell what happened after that.

On Oct. 28, 1961, at about 2:00 in the morning, a Birmingham policeman . . . knocked on my door and asked if my son Kennon (19) was home. I said he was. The officer said he wanted him. I asked him if he had a warrant, and he said he didn't need no damn warrant. But [the] officer . . . broke open the screen door, broke open the front door, and came in with his pistol in his hand and said "Where's the boy?" I was in my pajamas and my wife was also. She did not have a chance even to put on her house coat. Kennon came to a room door in the front room and said, "Here I am." The officer then struck him on the head with his gun. When he struck him he said, "Nigger you make a damn good speech." I told the officers not to hit him, and he turned toward me with his pistol pointed at me. I grabbed the gun and when I saw that he was trying to point the pistol at my chest, I pushed his hand toward the ceiling and we began to scuffle. We scuffled across the dining room. My oldest son Phillip, Jr. (24) was awakened by the noise and came to see what was happening. By this time [another] officer . . . came in and fired his pistol toward the floor. Then he struck Phillip Jr. on the head with his pistol, opening a bloody wound. Phillip had not said or done anything at all. While I was struggling to keep Officer Jones from shooting me, Officer King struck me on the head with his pistol, knocking me unconscious. I fell down by the dining room table. Then while I was unconscious on the floor the [first] officer . . . backed away and shot me. The bullet entered my upper right thigh and came out through my left buttock.

Kennon got our rifle because he said they have killed my father. My wife made him put it down and made him go out and get into the police car. But when she tried to come back into the house, the officer cursed her and refused to allow her to enter *her own home,* so she had to go across the street to a neighbor's house in her night clothes . . . [he] called more policemen and soon there were about seven more police cars at the scene.

The officers took away my two oldest sons and my daughter. She had seen everything and had said she was going to call our lawyer and tell him everything. Then they decided to take her for questioning. Neither I nor my wife knew where they were taking them, nor why. Then around 5:00 A.M. they came and took my wife away to the City Hall in Birmingham. She saw that they had brought them there also. We have three other young children at the house aged 10, 12, and 14, and they were awakened by the noise and saw everything. They can never forget such a scene. The house was one bloody mess.

I was taken to a hospital. After the ambulance left, my wife was allowed to come back into the house. They beat Kennon in the police car and knocked him unconscious. I had to have 14 stitches in my head and had to be hospitalized with a gunshot wound. All this happened on my birthday. Though holes had been knocked into my two sons' heads, they were not given medical attention.

I was not arrested at the time. But at the trial on Nov. 14, I was arrested and charged with interfering with an officer. Phillip Jr. was charged with interfering with an officer. Kennon was charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and presenting firearms.

I have never had any trouble with the law before in my life. But I could not stand by and watch an officer attack my son for no reason whatever. On July 1, this year, [the same] officer came to our house late at night, walked in and got Kennon out of bed. My wife and I wanted to know what they wanted with him, and he said that they just wanted to talk to him out in the car. But when they got him in the car, they took him away and beat him. So I would not let them take him out again unless they had a warrant. My son Phillip served his country for three years and nine months in the U.S. Air Force, but not to preserve racial injustice. We have filed a complaint with the F.B.I.

PHILLIP TRAVIS
MRS. MARGARET TRAVIS
VERNA TRAVIS
KENNON TRAVIS
PHILLIP TRAVIS, JR.

. . . After I heard a shot I ran next door and entered the house. I saw blood everywhere. I saw an officer standing in the dining room with his pistol in his hand. He cursed me and made me get out of the house. Another officer outside cursed me and made me go into my house.

HORTENSE G. TRAVIS

I went into the Travis home after the officers had left. I saw blood in the street, on the porch, and all over the house, on the floor, on the telephone. I helped take up the bloody rugs off the floor and put them in a tub.

DAVID D. FREEMAN

After the policemen had gone I went into the Travis home . . . It looked like they had a hog killing in the house.

WILLIE TBAVIS

I came into the Travis home after Mr. Travis had been taken out. It looked like a slaughter pen. . . .

E. H. FORT

I mopped up the blood in the Travis home after they took Mr. Travis to the hospital . . . off the doors, the walls, and the telephone table. I put Mrs. Travis' gown, which was full of blood into a tub of water. I got one of the bullets out of the floor while I was mopping.

LUCILLE DENMEN

On this 9th day of December, 1961, personally appeared before me the aforementioned, Phillip Travis, Sr., Margaret Travis, Verna Travis, Kennon Travis, and Phillip Travis, Jr., personally known and who made oath that they personally signed before me the above form that the information and statements given are true and full to the best of their knowledge and belief.

My Commission expires 4/7/64

MISSOURA N. MOORE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 21:

On Saturday, Sept. 2, 1961, at around 7:15 p.m., I left home to go shopping for my children. I was stopped a short distance from my home by two Birmingham policemen at the corner of Finley Ave. and 12th St. North in Birmingham, Alabama. The officers were in uniform . . . They asked me for my driver's license, but I did not have one. They asked me to get into their car, which I did. Then they made out a ticket for me. They asked me a lot of personal questions about my husband, my job, my salary, my children. My husband was away in prison. They kept me for a long time . . .

Then they told me to take the car back home. So I got into my car and was going to drive back home, but they stopped me again on 13th Place and made me get into their car. They said they were going to take me to jail, but instead they made me lie down on the floor of their car and they took me to a wooded area. When they told me they wanted me to submit to them, I refused. But one of them said to me, "How are you going to get out of this?" One had his gun out, not pointing it at me, but playing with it. I thought of another Negro woman who was found dead one night by the railroad tracks and I knew the same thing could happen to me. So against my will I was forced to submit to them.

Someone came by, and I could hear one of the policemen talking to someone else . . . I heard someone call "Sam", and I knew the voice was not the voice of the policeman watching. They decided to take me to another place where the second policeman took advantage of me. I was afraid that anything might happen to me if I did not do what I was told.

When they got through they made me get on the floor of their car again and they started to drive out. But a car blocked the way they had come in, so they drove out some other way. It was a very rough road and they had to race the car to get out. They brought me back to my car and let me out. I had left one of my earrings under the seat of their car for evidence. But before I drove away they came back and brought my earring. They also burned the ticket they had made out for me.

The next day my brother-in-law and I and Mr. Willie McLoyd went to the FBI and I reported the incident to them.

If there was anything I could have done to keep from going through with this terrible experience, I would have done it. But I was constantly thinking of what would happen to my seven little children if I were killed.

CREOLA RIVERS

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths. Creola Rivers personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that she entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of March A.D., 1962.

MISSOURA N. MOORE
Notary Public

On Saturday night, Sept. 2, 1961, at around 7:30 p.m., I noticed a police car outside my home. The police had stopped a woman, but I did not know what for. They made her get into their car and they kept her for what seemed to be about 45 minutes. The policemen were in uniform and were of the Birmingham police force. After talking with her, they let her get back into her car. When she drove off, they trailed her. So I decided to follow them because I suspected something was wrong. While they had her in their car I could see her shaking her head many times as if to say "no". I followed them a few blocks and saw where they had stopped her again. They made her get out of her car again and get into theirs, and they drove off with her. I could tell from the direction they went just where they may have been going. A traffic light stopped me, but I was still able to trail their car. She must have been lying down on the seat or on the floor of the car because I could not see her. They took her out Weatherly Road, which leads back to a wooded area. I trailed them until I got stuck, and then I continued to follow on foot. They had stopped near some property I rent.

When I walked up near the police car, one of the policemen was outside watching and

the other one I supposed was in the car with the lady. Both back doors of the police car were wide open, but I could not see inside. The policeman standing outside stopped me and asked what I was hunting for. I told him I was looking for my mule. He said there was no mule around there. I said that whenever he gets loose he comes over by a nearby barn where there are other mules, and I started toward the barn. The officer then pulled his gun and told me not to go by that police car. So I turned around and came away. But before I left, I whistled for my mule and called his name "Sam" out loud.

I left and went back toward my car. I went and called a friend to bring his tractor and pull my car out.

The next day, Sunday, Sept. 3, I saw a car that looked like the one that the policemen had stopped by my house the night before. After making inquiries I found out who the lady was. She lives near me. At first she would not say anything, but when I asked her about somebody calling the name "Sam", she knew that I knew about it and she told me what happened. I asked her if she knew anybody who could help her and she said that the only one she could turn to was her brother-in-law. She contacted her brother-in-law the same day and the three of us went to the FBI and reported the incident. I have not heard of anything yet being done about it.

WILLIE MCLOYD

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Willie McLoyd personally known to me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that he entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of March A.D., 1962.

MISSOURA N. MOORE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 23:

From March to September, 1960, I worked as a nurse's aid for a white family . . . taking care of their blind child. I had grown up in the same neighborhood with . . . [his] sister, who now lived next door to him in another part of Birmingham. I never referred to his sister as Mrs., and both . . . [he] and his sister resented it.

On Saturday, September 10, 1960, at around noon, [he] finally asked me why I never called his sister Mrs. He said that I should always call white people Mr. and Mrs. I told him that it was best for him to pay me so we would not have a disturbance and I would go home. I started to go away and he grabbed me by the back of my collar and slung me back across a chair, twisting my knee so that I was not able to get up. He slapped me while I was on the floor and I grabbed a flower pot nearby to hit him with. He ran and got his pistol and pointed it at me. I did not believe he was mad enough to kill me, and I threw a flower pot at him. Then he ran next door and got his sister . . . His sister was coming up on me to strike me, but I threw a fruit bowl at her. The bowl crashed through the front picture window. I was still not able to get up, but could pull myself around on the floor. Someone called the police and one officer arrived at first. By this time I had pulled myself across the floor to the front porch.

When the officer saw the condition I was in he told . . . [him] that he would have to pay for it. Soon four other policemen arrived. They were uniformed policemen of the Birmingham Police Department. Also other members of . . . [his] family who lived nearby came and they all went inside with all the policemen and talked. I stayed on the porch. After a while one of the officers came out and told me to "get up and come on." I said I couldn't get up. Then four officers got around me and caught me by both legs and arms and drug me down the cement steps and along the walkway to the police car. I was in such pain that I bit the thumb of one of the officers. He beat me in the head with his fist. I started bleeding from my nose and mouth from the beating. When they put me in the car, one of them said, "you can tell who you want to, but ain't a — — thing going to be done about it."

They did not take me to the hospital but to the jail. When we got to the jail, they drug me in just like they drug me to the car earlier. The matron tried to make me put on

one of the prison dresses, but I was too sick. My parents heard about it and came to jail and got me out on bond and took me to the hospital. I had to spend nine days in the hospital.

As a result of trying to protect myself from being beaten, I was charged with assault and battery, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct, and fined on each of these charges. The fines and my hospital bill came to several hundred dollars.

MISS LULA WALTON

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Lula Walton personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that she entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of May A.D., 1962.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 25:

On Monday morning, May 28, 1962, at around 2:30 a.m., I was at a filling station located at 16th Street and 4th Ave. North in Birmingham. An officer came by on a motorcycle and asked whose car I was in. I said it was mine. He said, "boy, who you done robbed?" I said, "Nobody." He called other policemen and two Birmingham policemen in uniform . . . came to the filling station and picked me up. They took me to a place on 9th Alley and 16th Street North. They parked their car between a railroad car and a fence. They asked me about old times. They talked threateningly. One of them said they had it all set up to kill me, but I did not walk into it. They asked me where I lived. When I told them they contradicted me and started beating me. They beat me all over the car. One of them jammed the car door against me, pinning me in the car. While he held the door against me, the other one beat me with his stick. I was able to block most of the head blows. He asked me did it feel good. He beat me on my arms and shoulders with his stick, and he must have struck me at least twenty solid blows. He asked me did that feel good. They kicked me all over the body and tried to kick me between the legs. They pinned me on the trunk of the car and then knocked me over to the other side of the car. They threw me under a boxcar on the tracks and one of them kicked me hard in the side. They slammed me against the fence and punched me in the body with their night sticks. One of my eyes were badly damaged . . .

Then they took me to jail and one of them hit me as I was going from the car to the jailhouse. Before they took me to jail, one of them asked the other, "What charge shall we put on this ————?" The other one said he didn't know. They both decided they would charge me with grand larceny from person. This was what they charged me with at the jail. They did not take me to the hospital . . .

That morning at the jail I passed out. I was taken to University Hospital in Birmingham that same morning at around 11:00. The doctor had to go into my chest with a needle. Every time I breathed, it made a bubbling sound in my chest. After he drew something out of my chest with a needle, I could breathe better.

I was released from the hospital on Tuesday, May 29, to go back to the jail. And that same Tuesday night at 9:40, *I was released from jail with no charges!* . . .

I am a veteran, having served in the armed forces from 1942 to 1948. On Friday morning, June 1, my eye and head pained me so that I went back to University Hospital. But they refused to treat me because I would not sign to pay the bills. I went to the V.A. Hospital and they found that I had three broken ribs. They sent me back to University Hospital and I am being treated there now. A muscle of my right eye was dislocated, causing me to have double vision. I am to undergo brain surgery at University Hospital on June 29.

WILLIE E. BOYD

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Willie E. Boyd personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that he entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 26:

On Thursday, March 1, 1962, at around 9:00 p.m., I was sitting in a cafe located on Ave. D and 18th Street in Ensley. (It has since been torn down.) An officer in uniform, of the Birmingham Police Department, came in and stood in the front of the cafe looking around. I was drinking a beer, but I was not drunk. Then the officer . . . came over to me and tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Come here, boy." He asked for my driver's license. I showed it to him. Then he said, "Let's go outside." I said I didn't see why I should go outside because I was only having a beer. He did not say I was under arrest and he did not say why he wanted me to go outside. I have never had an officer ask for my driver's license unless I was in an automobile. I don't know why he bothered me.

I refused to go outside and he didn't say anything more but started shooting. If he had said I was under arrest, I would have gone with him. But he just asked me to come outside with him, and when I asked why I should go outside, he started shooting. I did not put my hands on him. He shot me in the side, shoulder, and wrist. I fell to the floor and was later taken to the hospital. I gave this statement to Rev. Oliver on April 5 while I was in the hospital. I have also given substantially the same story to the FBI.

I was charged with resisting arrest, assault and battery, and public drunkenness. On May 24, 1962, I was tried before Judge Ross Bell at the City Hall in Ensley. Even though two witnesses testified that I was not drunk and was not resisting arrest, and only the officer testified that I was drunk and resisting arrest, I was found guilty on both counts. The assault and battery charge was dropped. My hospital bill came to $1400.00, and $1200.00 of it was covered by insurance. But even though an insurance company paid most of my bill, I was still found guilty by the judge, and I am now trying to get enough money to pay a lawyer to appeal my case.

JIM MCCRORY

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me, an officer duly authorized to take acknowledgments and to administer oaths, Jim McCrory personally known by me to be the person who executed the foregoing statement and who first after being duly sworn deposes and says that he entered into said statement voluntarily and without coercion on the part of any person connected therewith.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of Aug. A.D., 1962.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

I was in the cafe when Jim McCrory was shot. I was talking with a friend. The policeman walked in and stood in the door for a while. Then he went up to Jim and said something to him, I did not hear. Jim pulled out his driver's license and the officer snatched it from him. Then he told Jim to come outside. Jim said, "Why?" The officer put his hands on Jim and pulled him. Jim pulled back, and there was a scuffle, but Jim did not attack the officer. Then the officer shot Jim once, then again, and again. Jim had not been doing anything to be arrested for. The officer put his gun away and walked out. He looked like he was about to cry. He was wiping his eyes. He called me and asked me to call the colored ambulance. He gave me a dime to make the call.

WILLIAM HARRIS

DOCUMENT NO. 51:

My name is Joseph Faulkner. I live at 111 Lincoln Ave. in Gadsden, Alabama. I was born in Prattville, Ala., but have lived in Gadsden since 1947. I am a law abiding citizen, a registered voter, and a veteran, having served in the Armed Forces of the United States from December 1951 through December 1953. I was honorably discharged from the Armed Services on Dec. 26, 1953. I have never been arrested before I was arrested for seeking peaceably to become free . . .

On Saturday, August 3, 1963, several hundred marchers were attempting to march to City Hall in Gadsden to have prayer and singing. Our march was a protest against the injustices of segregation. A previous injunction had prohibited demonstrators, but the final wording of the injunction said: "Nothing in this order shall be interpreted to restrict or enjoin said parties or their associates from peacefully walking in single or double file the streets of said city and county in an orderly fashion." Everyone was orderly and peaceful. But as we were approaching 7th Street on Forest Ave., we were stopped by . . . [deputy sheriff] and State Troopers. They told us we were violating the injunction by blocking the sidewalks and to disperse or be placed under arrest. Rev. L. A. Warren, who led the marchers, said the injunction allowed marching single file or two abreast and that was what we were doing. Again we were told to disperse, but we insisted we were not violating the injunction. We were then arrested. In placing us under arrest they used cattle prods on us, though we were not resisting arrest. I was prodded on the thigh as I was getting into the Deputy Sheriff's car.

We were taken to the County Jail until it became full. More than 800 of us were arrested. At around 4:00 in the afternoon they said they were going to march us to the Coliseum. About 200 of us were lined up two abreast. There were city policemen, State Troopers, the Deputy Sheriff, and Civil Defense workers, all white. They made us march down Forest Ave., using cattle prods on some, causing those behind to stampede . . . [deputy sheriff] and Al Lingo drove alongside the marchers giving orders as to when to "speed it up" or "slow it down" or "move 'em out" . . . Some people lost their shoes and hats and were not allowed to pick them up. They used cattle prods and billy sticks on us in broad open daylight down the main thoroughfare of Gadsden. I stopped to pick up my shoe and was struck with the cattle prod and also hit with a billy stick, but I got my shoe.

At the Coliseum we were all lined up around the wall with hands up. They searched us and used cattle prods on many while they stood with hands up. Some were struck with billy sticks because they looked around. They made such statements as "Kennedy can't help you now", and "You got enough marching now". One of them said they were going to march us to Camp Gadsden. They made us lie down with feet to the wall and arms stretched out above our heads for more than two hours. We did not want to go out into the dark to go through their kind of march again, so we passed the word along that we were not going to leave the Coliseum without transportation, even if we had to die. But we did not have to march to Camp Gadsden, but were carried by truck. On the way we passed by a Klan meeting and saw men dressed in white sheets and a large cross burning nearby. One of the officers' car pulled out and sped up a side road and we heard several shots. When we got to Camp Gadsden, one of the officers made the remark that we don't have to worry about them two black niggers, we got them. They seemed to think they were frightening us, but we were not afraid. We spent several days in jail. We are not discouraged, and we will never give up our struggle for freedom.

JOSEPH FAULKNER

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Joseph Faulkner who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 21st day of March, 1964.

My commission expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 53:

My name is Charlie Robinson. I live at 307-E 6th Street No. in Gadsden. I have been

in Gadsden for the past 27 years. I am a registered voter, and am married and the father of five children. I was with the marchers on August 3, 1963 seeking freedom in Alabama.

When they made us march to the Coliseum, I was prodded three times. I heard one of the officials say that if any of us ran, to shoot us. I lost one of my shoes and was not allowed to get it. As I attempted to get my shoe I was prodded and swung at twice with a billy stick. The officers were using slogans heard on the TV program "RAWHIDE", such as "move 'em up", "get 'em out", and seemed to be having a great time. But they were very brutal and cruel. I am not discouraged but will continue to fight for freedom in Alabama.

CHARLIE ROBINSON

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Charlie Robinson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 31st day of March, 1963. My commission expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 56:

My name is Arthur Wilson. I live at 2817 Tallahassee St. in Gadsden. I have lived in Gadsden some 34 years. I have a wife and four children and am a law abiding citizen. I served in the United States Navy for 27 months during World War II and was honorably discharged. I am a registered voter.

On Saturday, August 3, 1963, I was in the group that was marched from the County Jail to the Coliseum. On that occasion they used the cattle prods on me more than a dozen times. Because I did not holler out, one of the officers said, "This is a stubborn one, he don't give a damn about these prods." Then several of them ganged up on me, and at one time they had two cattle prods against the back of my neck at the same time. They tried more than once to prod my genitals, but my jockey must have protected me. They struck me on the shin several times. I was on the ground three times and they were right on me with the prods.

At Camp Gadsden that night I became ill and was taken to the hospital where I spent six days. I had been bruised on the inside around the base of my rib cage. It was a very terrible experience to have to go through simply because we attempted to exercise constitutional rights. But I am not discouraged.

ARTHUR WILSON

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Arthur Wilson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 31st day of March, 1964. My commission expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 58:

My name is Mrs. Gaynell Moody. I live at 1413 Springfield Avenue in East Gadsden. I have lived in Gadsden for about 17 years. I had two sons to serve in the Armed Forces of our country.

On June 18, 1963 I was with a group singing and praying on the Court House lawn in Gadsden. State Troopers and city officers came and began beating people and driving them in all direction. They prodded me around the waist. I told them not to prod me because I was sick. They cursed me with every vile name and told me to get on home. But so many officers seemed to be everywhere beating people on the streets that it was not possible to go home. I laid down between railroad tracks, hid under houses, and finally I spent the night in an outhouse, the only refuge I could find on that terrible night.

During the next day, officers came by my house and I saw them pointing it out. Then late that night, in the middle of the night, State Troopers came to my house beating on the door and shining lights into the house. I could hear one of them say he was going to beat me. I got my two little children and fled out the back door. I have a handicapped son but I was not able to get him out. They broke into the house as I was getting out the back, but I kept on going with my two small children. So I spent another night out. While getting away I broke my toe and cut my feet badly on broken glass. They beat my handicapped son in my house for no reason whatsoever. He ran out of the house naked and hollering, and everyone's house we went to he was saying, "The Troopers are going to kill me!" My daughter-in-law gave him clothes to put on. He got so shocked from this experience that I was afraid to stay with him . . . He isn't over it yet, and he still has a knot on his shoulder from the beating. They have beat him before, so much so that the very sight of the white hats used by the Troopers gets him very much disturbed. They ransacked my house and took my pistol and bullets. I was able to get my pistol back later, but they never returned the bullets. But I am still determined to be free in Alabama.

MRS. GAYNELL MOODY

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Mrs. Gaynell Moody who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of her knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 30th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 59:

My name is John Vinson. I live at 1100-A Fairview, in Gadsden. I have lived in Gadsden for the past 35 years. I am married and have four children.

On August 3, 1963 I was among those who were forced to march from the County Jail to the Coliseum. I was prodded on the way. I ran out of my shoes, but they would not allow me to get them. While I was at the Coliseum standing with my arms up facing the wall, they prodded me in the back. And while I was lying on my back on the floor with my arms stretched out, they stuck the prod to my neck. I don't know why they did it, unless it gave them some kind of satisfaction.

Also on June 18, 1963, I was among the group that was driven away from the Court House like cattle. Al Lingo told everybody if they did not want to go to jail, to disperse. When we began to disperse, many officers and State Troopers turned on us and beat us. They beat and prodded men, women and children. You could hear them screaming and hollering. There were so many officers beating people that I was not able to get home. I spent the night under somebody's house. But I came out the next day still determined to be free.

JOHN VINSON

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named John Vinson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 15th day of April, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 61:

My name is Mrs. Ether McKinney. I live at 501 Hammond Ave. in Attalla, Alabama. I have lived in this area for the past 14 years. I am married and the mother of three children. I am a registered voter and a law-abiding citizen. I have never been arrested before being arrested for seeking to be free.

On June 27, 1963 I was with a group of marchers in Gadsden protesting the injustices of segregation. I was with Mrs. Ransaw. We both sat down when they came to arrest us. The officers put the cattle prods on me several times. One officer put a prod between by breasts. It was very painful. They prodded me on my thigh and back also. I spent nine days in jail for freedom, but I am not afraid. I am as determined as ever to be free.

MRS. ETHER MCKINNEY

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Ether McKinney who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of her knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 28th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 62:

My name is Rev. Leonard Kirkpatrick. I was born and reared in Gadsden. I am pastor of Thankful Baptist Church in Piedmont, Ala. . . . I have been jailed several times in Gadsden because of my protests against segregation.

I was in the County Jail at the time Bennie Luchion was given his worst treatment. First they called out Nathaniel Gaston and demanded him to tell them who was keeping up the fuss. They worked him over with the prods. He grabbed the iron bars but this seemed to make the shocks all the worse. When they finished with him they called out Bennie and worked him over the same way. Then they got another youth who suffers from epilepsy and brutalized him. They put the prod to the back of his head and the shock was so bad that it caused him to go into a fit. His head swole up and he had to have medical treatment.

On another occasion officers came to the Voter Registration office in Gadsden and took some of us, saying they wanted to talk to us. But they carried us to jail. We spent several days in jail before we knew what we were in jail for. Finally on the day we were going to court for trial, we were given papers which listed several charges against us.

We are not discouraged but will continue our struggle until freedom and liberty is ours.

REV. LEONARD KIRKPATRICK

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon Leonard Kirkpatrick who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 31st day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 63:

My name is Eric Rainey. I work with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Gadsden. My home is Chicago.

On Thursday, June 13, 1963 we were singing and praying around the Court House in Gadsden. Another person and I were giving instructions to the people to march two abreast. Officers pushed us into the line and told us to stay in the line. But we got out and continued to instruct the people how to march. Then they arrested us and we went limp. Two officers grabbed my leg and drug me up the stairs into the Court House elevator. They kicked us and beat us as the elevator went up. They drug us out on the fourth floor. Finally they drug us to cells and threw us into the cells. The next day I was released.

On June 18, 1963 I was arrested again in front of the Court House. Again I went limp. An officer struck me with a cattle prod. The shock made me jump up, and when I did, they grabbed me and took me into the Court House. On the way up the elevator, they stopped between the second and third floors. There were two officers. One of them struck

me in the stomach and I slumped to the floor. They began sticking me with the prods. They struck me all over, including my genitals. This made me lose control and urinate. They would prod me and make me jump up. Then they would knock me back down and prod me up again, all the time laughing . . .

On July 19, 1963 as I was about to cross the street at the corner of Forest and 7th Street, I was picked up again. A man in plain clothes asked me who I was. When I gave him my name, he said, "We got him now." They took me through the back entrance of the Court House. One of them stuck his head into the Sheriff's office and said something. About five or six officers came out and they took me to the elevator and all of them beat me after stopping the elevator between the second and third floors. I was charged with vagrancy even though I told them I work for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

One day in August 1963 I took an injured friend to the hospital. Two officers came in and ordered everyone out. They took me to jail and beat me again and placed me under arrest, charging me with disorderly conduct and refusing to obey an officer. But I was not guilty of either. I was fined $100.00 and cost on one count, and $100.00 and sixty days on the other. The fine was paid and I spent 30 days in jail. I have no other choice than to continue my struggle for freedom.

ERIC RAINEY

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Eric Rainey who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 27th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 64:

My name is Bennie J. Luchion. I am from New Orleans. I have been in Gadsden since May, 1963. I am a field worker for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I have been arrested six times in Etowah County seeking freedom in Alabama.

On June 15, 1963 I participated in a sit-in at Snellgrove Drug Store in Gadsden. When the police came to arrest me, I went limp and laid on the floor. An officer stood on my neck. I was taken to the city jail and was punched in the face and head by an officer . . . I fell to the floor and was kicked in the stomach.

On June 18, 1963, while being arrested again in Gadsden, I went limp. An officer pinned me against a police car and pushed a cattle prod to the base of my spine and held it there while the shock continued to go through my body. Then as I was getting into the car, I was prodded again. They took me to jail where they prodded me again and dragged me on the elevator.

On another occasion when I was in jail at Camp Gadsden, they wanted to separate me from the other prisoners and take me to the County Jail, but I refused. Then they came and applied the prod to my genitals and then took me back to the County Jail. That night at the County Jail officers came and took out Nathaniel Gaston and worked him over with the prods. Then one of the officers recognized me and said, "There's Bennie that gave us much trouble at Camp Gadsden." They called me out. I had been washing my socks and my hands were wet and also the front of my shirt and pants. I was prodded, pushed to the floor and pinned against an iron door. Because I was wet and up against an iron door, it was by far the most terrible experience I have been through so far. I managed to get hold of both prods and I held them off my stomach, but they began beating me with flashlights. I finally broke away and ran back into the cell and they did not come after me again.

One day in July 1963 I was canvassing for voter registration in Attalla, Alabama, and was picked up along with about five others and taken to the City Hall in Attalla. The Police Chief tried to make me say who I was and where I was from, but I would not say. He stomped on my toes and kicked my shins but still I would not say. Then he got out a brand new prod and applied it to me several times, but I took it. I began to get

weaker and dizzy, but I tried to take it. Then when he put it to my genitals I said to him, "What about your God?" He stopped but threatened to put the Klan on me. We were not released till dark, and for about two days I was in a daze as the result of the prod treatment given to me by the Police Chief.

On August 3, 1963 during the march to the Coliseum, I was prodded many times in the rectum. These are a few of the brutalities I have experienced in the last several months in Etowah County. I have had to undergo special medical treatment as a result of the brutalities.

BENNIE J. LUCHION

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Bennie J. Luchion who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 27th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 65:

My name is Willie James Grayer. I was born and reared in Gadsden. I have been arrested several times in Gadsden for protesting segregation. I have been prodded more times than I can remember.

On Friday, July 19, 1963 I went to the Court House in Gadsden to find out what a friend of mine was charged with. An officer on the outside stopped me and asked me what I was doing downtown. He asked if I wanted to go home or go to jail. I said it didn't make any difference. He told me to go home and said to go down Forest Avenue away from the downtown section. He refused to let me enter the Court House which I helped to pay for. I left, but I went toward town. Then he and another policeman came in a police car and picked me up and took me to jail. While still in the car, they used a cattle prod on me between my legs. They took me inside. As we were going up on the elevator they asked me about another person, but I said I did not know him. They said I was one of them damn smart niggers and that I was lying. Then they stopped the elevator between the third and fourth floors and beat me with their fists and they used the prods on me again, on my stomach, on my neck, on my genitals. That night my genitals swole up. I got out the next day, but since then I have suffered pain there from time to time and occasional bleeding. I have had medical attention and have been assured that I would get over it. But it was a very painful thing to have to suffer for the cause of freedom. I am not discouraged.

WILLIE JAMES GRAYER

State of Alabama
County of Etowah

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Willie James Grayer who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 27th day of March, 1964. My Commission Expires, 9/8/66.

Q. D. ADAMS
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 66

My name is Eddie James Sanders, Jr. (18). I live at 868 No. 44th Place in Birmingham. I am presently a senior at Hayes High in Birmingham. I was in Gadsden on August 3, 1963 on D-Day. I was with the group that was taken to the County Jail. I was also in the group that was marched to the Coliseum. One of the city policemen pulled me out of the group marching to the Coliseum and said they were going to initiate me. They tried to make me take off my shoes, but I refused. Then they beat me and prodded me and forced me to take off my shoes. They made me run on the hot pavement barefooted while they would strike me with billy sticks and prod me. My feet began to hurt and blister. (I

was in a car accident in 1953, and since then I have had to have an operation on my leg every summer. So it was very hard for me to walk so far barefooted.)

When we neared the Coliseum, I was taken on a gravel road. One of my feet got cut on a rock. I fell to the ground but they made me get up and continue to run. Then a State Trooper broke some glass and put it in the road. I went around the glass, but they brought me back and made me walk through the glass, cutting my feet more. I fell down again and told them I could not run any more because my feet were cut and blistered. Then State Troopers and city policemen stuck four cattle prods to my neck at the same time while I was on the ground. I showed them my bleeding and cut feet, but one of the Troopers put a prod in one of the open wounds. It was a very severe pain. Then a State Trooper grabbed my shirt and wrapped part of it around his fist and ran toward the Coliseum with me. He was trying to make me run, but by this time I could only stumble along. At the Coliseum I was in such pain that I sat down. But a Trooper prodded me and forced me to stand on my wounded feet. Through the whole experience they used abusive language and laughed at me.

They took me to a local hospital for treatment, but a doctor carelessly washed my feet and cracked jokes with the policemen about my feet. While I was in the emergency room, some of the white employees threatened my life. I was taken back to my Gadsden residence after the doctor finished. The officers halfway drug me into the house and threw me on a bed and left. Friends then took me to another hospital in Gadsden where I was given adequate treatment. I could not get on my feet for three days, and then for about nine days I had to use crutches.

I was not charged with any violation. They merely treated me brutally for sport, it seemed, and then let me go. Nothing has given me more determination to be free.

EDDIE JAMES SANDERS, JR.

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Eddie James Sanders who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his knowledge.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 9th day of April, 1964. My Commission Expires, 3/7/66.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 67:

My name is Leonard Jackson. I have served three years in the Armed Forces of my country and was honorably discharged in December, 1963.

On Saturday night, March 21, 1964, at around 10:45 P.M., I was taking my fiance home and had an accident on the way. I struck another car from the rear. I was not drunk, nor had I been drinking. But I was very upset because my girl friend had been injured. The police came, but they did not ask me any questions. They made me get into the paddy wagon and took me to jail. At the jail they pushed and hit me. I tried to protect myself but several of them jumped on me and beat me. The assistant warden . . . was the first to hit me at the jail. While I was on the floor, one of them kicked me in the jaw. I later learned I had a cracked tooth, which probably resulted from that blow. I was taken to a cell, and later taken to Hillman Hospital. A doctor there looked at me and told me to see a dentist on Monday. A lone patrolman . . . came to get me from the hospital. He said, "Let's go Willie." I said, "No, my name is Leonard." He said, "You'll be Willie if I want you to." He kicked me and drew his stick. I got into the paddy wagon. I was taken somewhere in the North Birmingham area. I was the only one in the Negro side of the paddy wagon. The wagon stopped at a service station where there was a squad car with two policemen in it. . . . [One] walked up to the wagon and shined the light in and said, "So this is Willie." I said, "No, I was not Willie." He asked where I worked and I said at Cosby Hodges. He said, "No smart people like you work at Cosby Hodges." Then two of them pulled me out and beat me. I managed to get back into the wagon and they kept hitting me in the wagon. They beat me on the throat, over the head and punched me in the body with night sticks. . . . [One] unsnapped his holster, but another one told him not to do that. After they beat me they said, "You're not so smart a nigger now, are you?" I guess they got tired so they

locked me up in the wagon and took me to jail again. I was bleeding badly and there were many cuts and bruises inside my mouth. The man who took my fingerprints at jail tried to make me say "yes sir", and when I said "yes" he slapped me.

My mother came and got me out around 5:00 o'clock Sunday morning. I was charged with reckless driving, drunkenness, and assault and battery.

On Thursday, March 26, I was tried and convicted of drunkenness, even though several witnesses, white and Negro, testified that they could not say I was drunk. I was found *not* guilty of assault and battery.

LEONARD JACKSON

State of Alabama
County of Jefferson

Personally appeared before me the hereon named Leonard Jackson who deposes and says that the foregoing statements are true and correct to the best of his ability.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 18th day of April, 1964.

My Commission Expires, 3/7/66.

GENEVA R. LEE
Notary Public

DOCUMENT NO. 68

My name is James Eddie Steele (20). I live at 1116 Coosa St. I was born and reared in Birmingham, and have completed two years of study at Alabama State College in Montgomery. I stayed out of college during the current term in order to have money to return to school.

On the evening of May 24, 1964 I went to visit my girl friend, Gloria Cauthen, at her home at 3928 No. 29th Ave. . . . At around 20 minutes or quarter to eleven, I left her house to go home. I had to take the car to my mother so she could go to work. I got in my car and drove off, going east on 29th Ave. I did not notice any police car following me. I turned right at Bethel Baptist Church and drove three short blocks to the intersection of 33rd St. and Vanderbilt Road. There is a speed breaker within that short distance. When I got to Vanderbilt Road and stopped at the intersection, a police car drove up beside me with the red light flashing. They told me to get out with my hands up. I did so. They searched me and told me to get into the police car. I did so. They asked for my driver's license which I gave to them. They asked whose car I had and where I was going, which I told them.

Then they asked if I knew I was going 90 miles an hour. This was impossible in the short distance I drove. I said I was not doing 90 miles an hour. They accused me of calling them a liar, and one of them struck me in the mouth with his fist. I asked why they were giving me a ticket for nothing. They said I was calling them a lie and one of them struck me in the eye with his fist. They gave me a choice of going to jail or accepting a ticket, but I insisted that I had not done anything, and I did not sign the ticket . . . I was struck again, and one of them said, "Nigger, you're going to jail". I was jerked out of the car and both of them beat me with their fists and drove their knees into my body. I heard a voice say, "Don't beat him any more." They handcuffed my hands behind me and shoved me into their car. One of them got in the back and one in the front. They called for help. I called out of the car for someone to call my mother.

When the sergeant came, one of the officers who beat me told the sergeant that I grabbed him, and I told the sergeant I did not grab him. A crowd had gathered and the police forced them back. I was crying and calling for my mother. The officer in the back, annoyed at this, cursed me and threatened my life. My mother did come and I called her, but the officers would not allow her to get near me. I attempted to lean out the window to call mother, but one of the officers that came to the scene pushed me back down in the car. I heard one of the officers say to my mother that she would get the same thing if she did not stop hollering. When the wrecker came up, I asked why they were pulling in my car. They said that there was nobody to drive it. I said my mother could drive it. They said, "She's gone off hollering".

I pleaded with them not to beat me and asked . . . [one officer, by name] if he had a heart, and if he had a son or brother, and would he want anybody to beat them for nothing. He remarked, "How did that nigger know my name?"I said I saw it on the ticket. He accused me of threatening him, but I said I was not threatening him but just asked if he had a

heart. He said he was going to get me for that. I said I did not care if they killed me because they had beat me enough already. He said he was going to see how much I could take.

They drove away with me. When they got near the ball diamond on Huntsville Road, the officer . . . asked me for his night stick. He was in the back seat with me. He began beating me with the stick and saying I made an ass of him before the sergeant saying I did not grab him. He beat me for asking if he had a son or a brother, talking to me as he landed each blow. He beat me all over my head and face. He said, "Nigger you won't want to live". I said yes I want to live and was pleading for mercy. But they had none. When I would lean down to avoid the blows in my face, the officer would strike upward hitting me in the face with the stick. When I would rise up from the under blows, he would come down into my face with the stick. I was crying and hollering and pleading but he kept beating me. He hit one place on the back of my head about ten times. Each blow seemed to make everything go black with pain. My hands were still handcuffed behind me. A car came by and he stopped beating me until the car passed.

Then the officer in the front said it was his time to beat me, so he got in the back and continued beating me while the other one drove. He beat me mostly in the body. They called me vile names and told me to get out of town after the trial tomorrow night.

They took me to Hillman Hospital. They jerked me out of the car, cursing me. I fell down outside the hospital and they cursed and jerked me up again. Again inside the hospital I collapsed and they cursed me again. I was on the floor crying and hollering. I asked them to take the cuffs off. They said they would not take them off as long as I was crying and hollering.

At the hospital I was given medical treatment and a bill for $100.00 for treatment. Then I was taken to jail. My parents got me out on bond after about 45 minutes and took me to Caraway Methodist Hospital where I stayed two weeks.

I lost my glasses and a shoe and some money and my driver's license. I have not seen any of these since they stopped me and beat me. They charged me with resisting arrest, speeding, assault and battery, and disorderly conduct.

JAMES EDDIE STEELE

This statement was notarized on June 11, 1964 before notary Geneva Lee, whose commission expires 3/7/66.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

ent Negro obscenity and depravity and have elaborated on it with fanciful details so disgustingly inventive as to suggest obscenity and depravity far beyond that of beleaguered students taking advantage of coffee pots. Even we integrationists have reluctantly engaged in embarrassed speculation about the limit of human endurance without benefit of rest rooms and have pointed out that some of the demonstrators were four or five hours in the street before they sat in, and were locked in, the restaurant.

A favorite topic is the dreadful death of a young white minister lying in at a Cleveland school construction site where a bulldozer backed over him, and whether the tragedy shows that lie-ins are murderous, dangerous, stupid, pointless or ridiculously unattractive, depending on one's sympathy with and grasp of the often vague focus and meaning of recent tactics.

Many of us view with mounting dismay the sartorial style of, say, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose members seem to have developed an anti-bourgeois, ideological taste for hairy faces and legs and blue denim for young men and dismally casual disarray for young girls sitting in at our more elegant and very bourgeois hotels and restaurants. We

(Continued on page 22)

A MATTER OF MONEY

FIRST: Effective September 1, 1964, the *New South* subscription price will be $2.50 a year.

Renewals or new subscriptions received before September 1, 1964 will be accepted at the old rate of $2.00.

Increased publication costs of all kinds make this increase necessary. *New South* has held its price at $2.00 for so many years that the figure has almost become a tradition. We are the more sorry, therefore, to go up. We hope our readers will understand the necessity.

SECOND: The Southern Regional Council invites annual subscriptions to all our publications, except *New South,* at $5.00 a year.

All subscriptions will begin on October 1 of each year and will bring to readers all publications issued between October 1 of one year and September 30 of the next. Subscriptions received after October 1 of any year will be started by an initial mailing of publications issued between that date and the date of the order. Annual subscribers will receive 10-15 reports per year; for example, during the calendar year 1963 we issued these publications:

PAMPHLETS

J. Kenneth Morland, *Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond.*

Robert Coles, *The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study.*

Vivian Henderson, *The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South.*

SPECIAL REPORTS:

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

SPECIAL ISSUE OF NEW SOUTH:

March on Washington, September 1963

Direct Action in the South, October-November 1963

MISCELLANEOUS:

The City and Minority Groups (jointly prepared with the Potomac Institute and the International City Managers Association, and published by the latter)

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments in four parts: I. April-June 24, 1963; II. June 24-July 24, 1963; III. July 24-August 28, 1963; IV. August 28-November 30, 1963.

L — REPORTS

L-41 *Excerpts from Speeches of Governor Bert Combs of Kentucky and Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges.*

L-42 *Speech by Edward J. Meehan, Editor Emeritus of Memphis Press-Scimitar.*

L-43 *Business Point the Way.*

L-44 *Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road: A Different Way.*

L-45 *Public Education in Mississippi.*

L-46 *Voice of the People: 'At This Very Late Hour.'*

A LETTER FROM LEON DURE

(The May NEW SOUTH, *on tuition grants in southern schools, noted that Leon Dure, was "the father of Free Choice"—or freedom of association and freedom of education, as he enunciated his doctrine which persuaded many southern states to accept the Supreme Court's school decision, with the proviso of tuition grants. Mr. Dure here replies to the report of Staige Blackford, a former friend and neighbor in Virginia, and to the editor of* NEW SOUTH, *who worked for him as a reporter on two newspapers.)*—editor's note.

Farmington,
Charlottesville, Va.
28 May 64

Dear Maggie:

Many thanks for all those kind, if miserably mistaken, words about me. But it is a shame that such people as you and Staige Blackford are on the sentimental side of this really big issue. This compels you to some rotten reporting, and your oldtime managing editor dislikes this.

Nowhere do you people say that the Virginia scholarships—ever since Freedom of Choice was adopted in 1959—are available to ALL children, that no more than a fraction of them are race-actuated, that a great number are used in "integrated" situations, that a growing number of Negroes (more than 300 last year) get them. Or indeed that public schools are flourishing simply because all association is voluntary.

Instead, you people credit—of all authorities!—those public school self-servers who do their damndest to distort the thing, to lie about it, to link it to race, to refuse in some cases even to let parents know that they can get grants whenever they find a better education elsewhere. Hence few know that Virginia grants last year were used in 429 private schools all up and down the Eastern seaboard, not to mention superior public schools here and in other states.

Why in thunder do you think it a good idea for the STATE to control the development of thought? That really is what you advocate without, probably, knowing it. Of course I used the Southern rebellion against forced integration to bring about associational and educational freedom. But that does not condemn it, any more than a defense of, say, Jehovah Witnesses condemns the freedom of religion. Actually, there is NO other method. Does anybody in his right mind imagine that the Church of England monopoly could have been overthrown without a war? Do you really think the monopoly of public educators (ponder those two words) could have been surrendered voluntarily?

Both you and Staige, being newspaper people, know the necessity of defending idiotic speech and unjust writing as the first requirement of free speech and a free press. What, then, about assembly? Where we part company is not when you denounce segregation, which is all right with me. Where we differ is that you not only denounce what you consider to be a snake religion but you also want to prohibit it.

The trouble, I suspect, is that you never have thought about that 1954

decision. What the Supreme Court decided, and all it decided, was that every individual must have access to any public facility. The Court is now fixed to this by the Black opinion in the Prince Edward case, which did not, you might note, disturb the Virginia grants. Nor does the Justice Department oppose these grants—for the best of all reasons: The government itself has learned that it must offer freedom of choice in education. Whether the grants be "legal" never has been questioned, nor could it be. The only two issues are whether the grants can be used in sectarian schools, which I have always advocated, or whether their preponderant use anywhere robs those recipients of their First Amendments right, which I deny.

What caused all the hubbub in the first place is the fact that the Supreme Court was saddled, for sixty years, with a defense of the odd theory that separate could be equal. (Any veterinarian will tell you that a "separate" horse is not the "same" horse.) This must have caused Chief Justice Warren to proclaim, at the long end of this impossible by-road, that separate schools are "inherently unequal." Once he made this curious, even a bit silly, pronouncement, all those who resented injustice to Negroes immediately thought that segregation law must be replaced by integration law—the notion being that such laws are opposite. Nothing of course could be more absurd: segregation law and integration law are the same thing. In the one case a state policeman pushes people apart; in the other case this same policeman pushes them together. The opposite of both is to leave people alone.

The discovery up this way, then, was that segregation law violates the freedom of assembly—as it most certainly does—and that this must be the reason, unstated and apparently even unknown, why the Court found it unconstitutional. If this be recognized another discovery makes its appearance. This discovery is that American public school law also violates the freedom of assembly. It is inconceivable that American adults would submit to a public corraling every work-day, nine months of the year, 10 or more years. But we blithely did this to helpless children, and it is the only such instance in all of civilian life. What made it palatable to most parents—but not to all parents—was that schools were neighborly affairs and involved little or no effort on the part of those parents. The price of this state takeover of parental motivation is now being paid in countless ways, up to teen-age muggings and murder.

The Virginia solution simply overthrows segregation law, reviving freedom of association, and overthrows old school law, reviving freedom of education. People who think such revivals could be unconstitutional don't know what they are talking about. Yet it is new and a bit shocking. And one might have thought such a revolutionary departure in education would have aroused some slight interest in the national press. But not one accurate report of the Virginia scheme of things has yet appeared in this national press. This means that not one outside commentary has made any sense whatever. This is true despite the fact that all the evidence has been plain to see for more than five years.

Nor can much be said for the Southern press, especially your Atlanta press. After proclaiming Freedom of Choice! at the top of its considerable lungs (to save the Atlanta schools) Ralph McGill's *Constitution* set out deliberately to undermine it, to misstate it, even to print the names as civic delinquents of those Georgians

who, having been invited to enjoy their freedom of education, "abused" it by doing so. I know what I am talking about in this sorry business because these people used me (including a big, page-one picture of me) to institute a fraud.

Have you noticed that people who steer the news ships all wear robes? Invariably they don the vestments of a priest, prattle about morality, and claim some special connection with divinity. No doubt this last self-delusion makes them that way; indeed a knowledge of what the Lord wants could be the only justification for violating the canons of honest journalism. The only adequate reply of course was made by Voltaire: "Show me your credentials." It was the reappearance of Bishop Cannon's little word "moral" in civil rights discussion that made me suspicious of the whole thing. Plainly, a person who calls on the Lord for help usually needs it. In any event, a claim by such people as Ralph and you that all other thought must come from the Devil is, neither very liberal nor even intelligent.

This present Negro movement, just like the old Prohibition crusade, attempts to reform people by interfering with their liberties. It ought to be needless to point out that this offends the theory of this country and the super-sophistication of its Constitution. The secret of this Constitution is not that it reforms people, which always means war, but that it tolerates them, which means understanding. "Prejudice" not only is encouraged, it is even guaranteed. Only by the protection of anti-majority thought can progress of any sort ever be achieved.

I am sure neither you nor Staige ever followed the bloodhounds in South Georgia. So I rather imagine I can document injustice to Negroes even more vividly than you can. But the solution can hardly be a controlled society; it can only be a free and open society, which ought to be all in the world any man could want. This is not a segregated society; nor is it an integrated society. It is an any-kind society in which all men can do what they please up to living as hermits in a cave.

But you are very right in one of your criticisms: I am obsessed by the glitter of two new freedoms. It is the only such opportunity we've had since the Civil War, probably even the American Revolution. Peacetime legislatures spend their time taking away freedoms; only grass-roots rebellion can get them back again. Your castigation of all this and your soulful advice is strongly remindful of those clergymen who resented religious freedom. Better it would be, said they, if people put such effort into the collection plate!

And I can report a little headway, too. The professional economists — Friedman, Hayek, Freeman, Nutter, Buchanan—are united in the finding that free choice education is a cheaper way to get more and better education. Some go so far as to say a state must adopt the Virginia solution, in colleges too, or ultimately go broke. And of course the religious people who have been paying twice for education are in arms as never before. So there are going to be some changes, and one of those changes is going to be a better public school.

As ever,
Leon

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 18)

recall wistfully the early days of the comely movement when many unimaginative white people got their first stunned and impressed look at well-

dressed, beautifully mannered and good looking young Negroes with a few attractive and respectively clad white student companions demonstrating and going to jail for public equality.

Well, it's all very interesting, especially the obvious fact that such fierce criticism of unappealing or exasperating aspects of the movement, even by its meanest enemies, shows that revolutionary Negroes have so profoundly persuaded us of their rectitude and virtue that we expect them to pursue their struggle with the manners and grace of the British aristocracy, the martyrdom of early Christians, the judgment of Solomon and the forgiving love of God himself. And when some of them, with four years of resistance to their reasonable demands, ranging from guileful stubbornness to personal atrocities, begin, as Rev. Will Campbell puts it, "to act like people," and after prolonged provocation occasionally retaliate, we are bitterly aghast and loudly berate Negro leaders. Ironic cops speak wittily of "non-violent bricks and bottles" and many of us angrily demand that they "take this off the streets" and cease "causing" ill-feeling and violence.

Our selection of affidavits from Birmingham and Gasden recording longtime police cruelty, savage caprice and lawless disregard of citizens' rights of Negroes in these two cities is not offered as diverting summer reading to *New South* subscribers, but the events described in them may provide a change of table talk for white critics of Negro strategy, manners and rising anger.

Some of these accounts sicken the body and spirit and remind us of the monster which hides in each of us and enables a policeman—who loves his wife, treats his children tenderly, worships God and is generous with friends to break into Negro homes, seize the innocent or guilty, beat and insult the helpless, and even, as in one case, shoot a black man passing by a demonstration for no apparent reason but Birmingham police dedication to punishment of Negroes for being black, and in another case, to invade a father's home and set a police dog on him and beat him in the presence of his wife and daughter, loose the dog on a bed full of young children, arrest him and then dismiss him from his encounter with the law with fines for his disorder and a big hospital bill.

Yet, many of these Alabama victims of that well-worn term "police brutality"—we seem so accustomed to it that it becomes a euphemism to hide the human horror—persist also in their fight and sacrifice for freedom and have risked repetitions of these civil and personal violations by making out these affidavits.

If we in the South, and Americans everywhere, can permit such bitter and lawless abuse of Negro Southerners, it seems to me we're scarcely in a graceful position to berate or debate the movement which is liberating them, and us, at such axorbitant cost to them.

How does a Negro lying down in the street, going limp so police must drag or carry them to arrest, throwing bottles and bricks against tear gas, dogs and guns, and using coffee pots in lieu of locked up latrines compare morally with officially beating women and children, unpunished assassination, the Birmingham church murder of four children, shooting and maiming the innocent, refusing the vote, jailing lawful protestors and political exhortation which persuaded the fatal disaster of Oxford, Miss.?

Our careful counsel and finicky fault-finding for insurgent people facing and enduring such enemies seems as absurd as complaining that a man in mortal combat has the bad taste to groan and sweat.

New South

TEN YEARS OF PRELUDE

The Story of Integration Since the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision.

By Benjamin Muse.

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Mr. Edward McNulty
United Presbyterian Churches
Bottineau, North Dakota

Dear Mr. McNulty:

Thank you for the check you sent us recently for materials. Immediately we entered a two-year subscription for our Publications Service and a year's subscription to NEW SOUTH. Our publications list is out of stock but we are sending separately selected publications which we hope will be suitable for your library.

We regret the delay in answering your letter. Our research associate, Mrs. Ed Albright, is ill and some of her correspondence has been handled piecemeal.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith

United Presbyterian Churches of

Bottineau, Omemee, and Souris, North Dakota

EDWARD McNULTY, Pastor **228-2446**

$20.00 7/12/65 HK — $2.50 for N.S.

Bottineau, N.Dak.
July 7, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear sirs:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your excellent report "Law Enforcement in Mississippi". I would like very much to become a member of your Publications Subscribers Service.

I have lost your catalogue but would like to have a copy of each of the items which you have on hand for my library. As I recall some were free and some cost. I hope that the enclosed check will cover the cost plus pay for a year's subscription to the New South.

If the amount is not enough, I will be glad to send more. Or if it should be more than enough, keep the extra toward a second year's cost for the Service.

Thank you very much. Keep up the good work.

Respectfully yours,
Edward McNulty
Edward McNulty

posted two years PS, one N.S., + $7.50 misc. lit

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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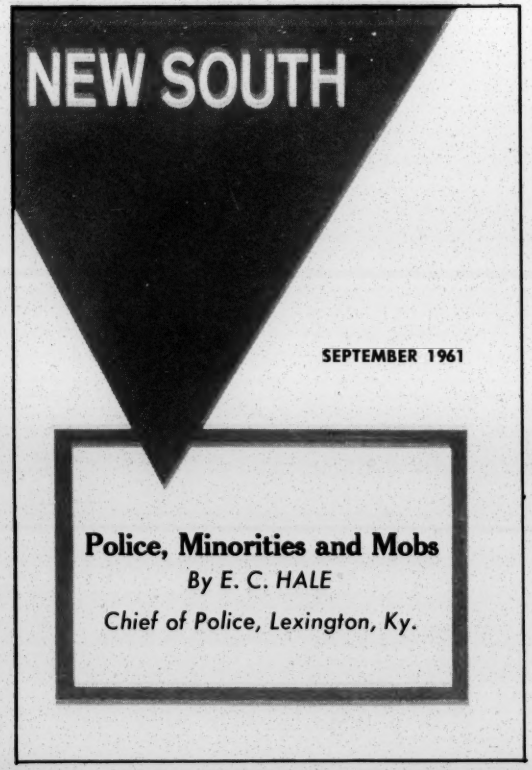

ABOUT NEW SOUTH

A little journal of chronicle and comment on southern ideas and events, published by the Southern Regional Council, **New South** offers articles and essays reflecting original and responsible thought of southern writers, teachers, doers and aspirants to a free and prosperous region, as well as relevant contributions from outside the region. "I have seen published in **New South**, its [SRC's] lively little monthly periodical, statements of truth that the establishmentarian liberal editors of the North wouldn't even understand," wrote Howard Meyer in **The Commonweal.**

please add to PS list

363 Sherman Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut
August 10, 1965

Director of Publications
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

8-12-65 is

Enclosed please find a check for five dollars ($5) as my contribution to the Council. I would appreciate it if you would send a copy of "The Economic Status of Negroes," by V.W. Henderson, published by the SRC in 1963. Also please send me a list of all your other available publications and add me to your permanent mailing list for Southern Regional Council materials and information.

sent 8-12-65 is

Yours truly,
Haywood Burns

Haywood Burns
Yale Law School

CO-423 E

Stanford University

515108

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363 Sherman Avenue
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Connecticut

August 17th, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

Please send me one copy each of the following publications. I recently sent you a small donation, and understand that I am therefore on your lists.

.50 ✓The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, by Robert Coles.

.20 ✓The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments.

.20 ✓Business--Next Target for Integration? by John Perry

.35 ✓The Federal Executive and Civil Rights (1961)

.25 ✓Map, showing percentage of non-white population in Counties of southern states as of 1960.

(16) L-17 Desegregation and Academic Achievement. (1960)

✓L-25 New Census Look at Cities and Race.

✓L-29 American Anthropological Association Resolution on Race.

✓ Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts (1965)

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W. Haywood Burns

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Sent 8-23-65 js

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Saturday, September 4

9-7-65

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5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Enclosed are two checks to the Southern Regional Council for a subscription to New South @ $2.50 and for the annual publications of the Publications Subscribers Service @ $5.00. I would like to receive these publications at the following address:

ck
9-7-65 rh

Alan Raphael
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Yours truly,

Alan Raphael

Alan Raphael

Memo from **JANET SMITH**

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Jim McRae 8-30-65 is

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Stanford, Cal.

R S. subscription

picking everything around

begin
Oct '65

INVOICE

Date_____

TO:

FOR:	Cost
☐ New South subscription, 1 year Date_____	$2.50
☐ Publications Subscriber, 1 year Date_____	5.00

Publications Order

Quantity	Title	Price

Date shipped _____

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
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JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JR 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Date _____

Dear _____ (or friend?)

As you know, the Council has, for many years, maintained a large mailing list to ~~fixe~~ friends and co-workers in the civil rights field. ~~and also to those persons interested in keeping up with current information and thinking in this area.~~

In the past few years, as public interest has increased, our mailing lists have grown to almost unmanageable proportions and have consistently exceeded budgeted amounts for this purpose. Printing and mailing costs have also increased.

We are, therefore, now forced to make a realistic adjustment and confine our free mailings to those persons and organizations actively working in the civil rights movement in the South. ~~XXXX

Memo

from **ED ALLBRIGHT**

beginning July 1st

Announcement for New South

1 pg.

All purpose —
Research —
Inter agency —

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING CO. • JA. 5-8654

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

4-28-64

1963 Cost of mailing materials to persons receiving all research publications and the reprints we buy and send out also

---

	cost		postage
Direct Action	.20		.06
Psychiatric Study (Colds)	.50		.06
Synopses I	.20		.06
" II, II, IV	.60	(.08)	.24
City Gov. & Minority Groups	?		.08
Token Deseg. & Beyond (Morland)	.50		.08
Plans for Progress	.20		.08
Economic Status of Negroes	.25		.08
L Reports 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 @ .05, postage @ .04	.30		.24
Mississippi (Silver)	.50		.14
Reprints: 3 @ .05; p..04	.15		.12
	$3.40		$1.24

Total, not including SRC statements, press releases, VEP press releases and statements or reports

$4.64

Memo

from **ED ALLBRIGHT**

1000) 20.00 (.02
2000

.02
20.00

1.18
.56
.50
1.24

1963 Cost of materials mailed out:

	Cost	Postage
Direct Action in the South	.20	.08
Psychiatric Study (Cales)	.50	.06
Synopses – I	.20	.06
II	.20	.08
III	.20	.08
IV	.20	.08
City Gov. & Minority Groups		.08
Jaken Wesey. & Beyond, Mrland	.50	.08
Plans for Progress	.20	.08
Ec. Status of Negroes	.25	.08
L 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 @ .05 each	.30	@04 .24
Mississippi	.50	14
	$3.25	
Reprints: 3 - @ .05	.15	@ 12
	$3.40	$1.24

~~Mississippi~~ 3.40
1.24
4.64

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING CO. • JA. 5-8654

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE/ANNUAL MATERIALS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE

May we invite you to join the ADL ANNUAL MATERIALS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE. This Service, which costs only $5.00 a year, entitles you to receive selected ADL publications issued during the coming year. The Service will help you keep abreast of current studies and publications in the field of intergroup relations at a considerable saving of time, effort and money.

Less Time and Effort:

Participants in the ADL Annual Materials Subscription Service automatically receive timely and important publications as they are released. No matter when you subscribe you will receive all materials sent during the year.

Less Money:

Participants in the ADL Annual Materials Subscription Service save up to 50% on the list price of many of these publications. In addition, subscribers can order, at a substantial discount, important books related to ADL aims issued by other publishers. The subscription rate for one year is just $5.00.

More Information:

Finally, and most important, participants in the ADL Annual Materials Subscription Service have at hand much of the new and relevant material on intergroup relations. For example, had you subscribed last year you would have automatically received "Human Rights and the International Community" by Egon Schwelb; "Out of Many: A Study Guide to Cultural Pluralism" by Oscar Handlin; "Epitaph for Jim Crow" by Thomas F. Pettigrew; "The Price We Pay"; "Memo and Date Book"; "Anti-Semitism: A Case Study in Prejudice and Discrim-

ination" by J. Milton Yinger; "A Short History of Communism" by Martin Greenberg; "Social Change and the Negro Problem" by Arnold Rose; "Patterns of Minority Relations" by Raymond W. Mack and Troy S. Duster; "Not Like Other Children" by Bernard Asbell; "Dixie Teachers Report Their Pupils Learn Well in Mixed-Race Schools" by James C. Tanner; "Give Slum Children A Chance -- A Radical Proposal" by Charles Silberman.

Our list for the coming year gives every indication of including important contributions in the areas of race relations, civil rights, the study of prejudice and discrimination, etc.

May we suggest that you fill out the attached coupon now. (If you have already subscribed, please pass this announcement on to a friend.)

BONUS OFFERING TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS:

> Some of My Best Friends, a fascinating study on how discrimination operates in the fields of housing, education, employment, etc., by Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. This important volume, which sells for $4.50, will be sent free of charge to all new subscribers.

ORDER COUPON

Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

Please add my name to your Annual Materials Subscription Service. I am enclosing $5.00 which will cover the subscription fee from January 1965, through December 1965, for Anti-Defamation League publications.

Name _____

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THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Publications Subscribers Service

SRC publishes annually from ten to fifteen original studies keyed to the critical problems of today or raising provocative questions regarding the emergent problems of tomorrow. Its publications have demonstrably influenced the policies and practices of southern leaders and governmental bodies.

While SRC publications do not provide easy answers to the complex questions, they do contain factual and reliable information in an area of great controversy and have proven to be of value to news media and serious students of political and social science.

Cost: $5.00 per year

All participants in the publications subscribers service receive annually all research publications of the Southern Regional Council as they are released. The subscription of $5.00 per year is payable each October. When a subscriber is enrolled, he will receive all publications released between October 1st and the date of his subscription.

Publications Released 1963-1964

Had you been a subscriber during the 1963-64 period, you would have received the following reports. (See enclosed current publications list for more detailed description and for publications of previous years.) In addition, you would have received policy statements by the Southern Regional Council Board of Directors and Executive Committee and several press releases.

DIRECT ACTION IN THE SOUTH
THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE
A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA
FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES, by M. Hayes Mizell
MISSISSIPPII: THE CLOSED SOCIETY, by James W. Silver
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 1944-1964
SERIES OF SPECIAL REPORTS TELLING OF PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS: CHARLOTTE; LOUISVILLE; MEMPHIS; BRUNSWICK
LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI
THE PRICE WE PAY
WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH? (Post-election analysis)

If you are interested in receiving timely and informative publications in the field of civil rights, please fill in the attached blank and send with your check to the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. 30303

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., *Publishers* 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 ~ MURRAY HILL 8-5300

October 18, 1962

Mr. W.P. Watters
Book Review Editor
The Atlanta Journal
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thanks very much for your letter about "The Insiders." The subject of correcting mistakes fascinates me, too, though maybe "terrifies" is a better word.

Chronologically, the question of correcting goofs begins with the discovery of a mistake and the decision on whether the error is serious enough to require correction in existing books. In most cases, especially those involving typos, we do the same thing a newspaper does - insert the correction in the next edition. We do, by the way, make every effort to catch all errors, but some creep by even a second edition.

Some mistakes, though, have got to be corrected forthwith. This is very rare in my memory - in the last four years, I can only recall a handful of books that had to be recalled. I'd suspect that this happens not because we're so hawk-eyed, but because we have a lot more time than you to get material in shape before we print it.

Errors that absolutely require change include the very infrequent cases when events conspire to make an author's thesis obsolete. Mostly, though, goofs requiring the recalling of a book are those with fairly serious legal implications. Obviously, I can't go into the details of this mistake without increasing the likelihood of spreading it, but I can say that it involves a one-sentence error sufficiently serious so that:

we're recalling all review copies;
we're sending wires to our 100 leading accounts, recalling their stock;
we're sending letters to all the others, doing the same;
we're pulling back all the other miscellaneous copies that have seeped out of the house.

This having been done, we'll have the offending page removed and a correction inserted in each book, and then we'll (in effect) re-publish it, starting pretty much from scratch.

The book's editor (who, by the way, calls you wide awake - between curses) tells me that catching up with this particular mistake may run to $5,000. or $6,000. The number of books involved is something over 5,000.

As for the principle of the thing, that varies, as I've indicated above. As a general rule, a flat error that will irreparably harm the book, the author or some other person, leaves us no choice. We could, I suppose, let it ride and take a chance that the injured party will never know. But speaking personally, I can't see that it's worth staying in business if you're going to operate that way.

Sincerely,

Wolcott Gibbs, Jr.

Wolcott Gibbs, Jr.
Publicity Manager

cc: Sam Vaughan
WG/an

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

March 14, 1963

Mr. W.P. Watters
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution
Atlanta 2,
Georgia

Dear Pat:

It was very good to meet you at the N.B.A. and I hope to see you again when you are in New York.

I am sending you a new novel by Josephine Johnson, THE DARK TRAVELER, which will be published on April 23rd. Mrs. Johnson was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for her novel, "Now In November." This book is the story of Paul--a gifted, sensitive young man--who struggles to defend himself against his domineering family by developing a second personality. Mrs. Johnson has also written a number of short stories which have been published in "The Atlantic Monthly" and "Harper's Bazaar." I think you will find the book poetic and enchanting.

I am also sending you some information about THE DEED, by Gerold Frank, which I feel contains news about one of the best books of non-fiction we are publishing this season. I will send you a review copy as soon as it is available.

If there is anything you would like, please do not hesitate to ask me. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jon Dolger
Publicity

ATLANTA CHICAGO DALLAS SAN FRANCISCO LONDON MANILA
BRETT-MACMILLAN, GALT, ONTARIO

The Macmillan Company

CABLE ADDRESS PACHAMAC NEW YORK Publishers TELEPHONE OREGON 5-4000

Sixty · Fifth Avenue · New York 11, N. Y.

March 22, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters, Jr.
Book Review Editor
Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thanks for your letter of March 19. I'm the one who spoke to you at the newspaper panel meeting at the New York University Club, saying that I was pleased to find out that you are indeed Mr. Watters. Remember?

If you have not been receiving any review copies from us lately, I am sorry. Maybe it has something to do with the change-over from man to machine, a complicated process through which we have been suffering. Anyway, it was not intentional. We admire your paper and your Mr. McGill and are proud to have our books represented on your page.

Michael Harrington's "The Other America" was published last year and I am quite sure a copy must have been sent to the book review editor then. We are glad to send you another one now. There has been a re-awakening of interest since Edmund Wilson's very long review in a recent New Yorker.

Don't worry for a moment that we will not send you Maggie Davis's "The Far Side of Home." You will be happy to know that it is to be a Literary Guild Selection, probably for the month of July. If that is to be the month, we will publish in late June--probably the 24th.

Best to you.

Sincerely,

Virginia Patterson

Virginia H. Patterson
Publicity Director
Public Relations Department

VHP:rl

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., *Publishers* 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 ~ MURRAY HILL 8-5300

March 27, 1963

Dear Editor:

The National Book Awards are over and in their wake I'm left in a swirl of faces, names, questions, ideas, opinions and a certain amount of confusion.

For those of you who do not know, I have succeeded Wolcott Gibbs, Jr. as Publicity Manager at Doubleday, and Tony has been appointed Assistant to our Editor-in-Chief, Ken McCormick.

May I say that if I met you at the NBA, it was a pleasure. Your valuable advice and many kindnesses were very much appreciated; and that leads me to the point of this letter.

I'm sure you'll be glad to know that in the very near future --and as a result of suggestions offered at the NBA--Doubleday's release slips will include the title of the book and the name of the author in addition to the publication date. But we still need your help: I'm new in this business and as green as the paper our press releases are printed on, and I'd appreciate it very much if you'd fill out the enclosed questionnaire and mail it back to me in the enclosed envelope.

I should mention, as background on the questionnaire, that at the NBA references were made to the fine quality of certain publishers' press releases, but we don't remember hearing any comments about ours. We'd like to know what you want in a press release: what it is that you look for and what improvements we might make to make your job easier. Here's your chance--tell us what you'd do if <u>you</u> were writing the releases.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Douglas Andrews
Publicity Manager

DA/ab
Enc.

The Dial Press
INC.

PUBLISHERS

461 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

CABLE ADDRESS: DIALPUBS MURRAY HILL 5-2503

April 2, 1963

Dear Mr. Watters:

I did enjoy talking to you at the Reviewers--Publicity Department Workshop even though I couldn't explain at the time your having to request more than once a review copy of James Baldwin's Another Country last year. I have since learned that, because your plight was so many times duplicated, the consensus is that that very popular book was probably "lifted" between our hands and yours.

You mention in your recent letter that you would like a copy of William Golding's new book (Dial is not the publisher) and I'm hoping you mean Herbert Gold's new novel, Salt, which we hope you will like and which we have sent off to you. Along with it go James Baldwin's The Fire Next Time and Colin Wilson's The Sex Diary of Gerard Sorme. The other titles you have listed are not yet ready but will be sent to you upon publication. If your review copies do not reach you, please let us know. We do want to cooperate with you and the Atlanta Journal-Constitution in reviewing as many books as possible.

Cordially,

Donna Schrader

Donna Schrader
Publicity Department

Mr. Pat Watters
Book Review Editor
Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

DS/st

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

April 3, 1963

Mr. W. P. Watters
Atlanta Journal & Constitution
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

On May 6, 1963, we are publishing Mr. Julian Gloag's novel, OUR MOTHER'S HOUSE, a copy of which has been mailed to you under separate cover.

I am writing to you because I think it is, without a doubt, the most moving and accomplished first novel I have ever read.

It is the story of seven children, living in a seedily respectable suburban house. Their mother has just died. They have never seen their father. Lonely, frightened, faced with the unknown terrors of an orphanage, the children bury their mother in the garden and build a tabernacle over her grave. To protect themselves, they pretend to the outside world that she is still alive, confined to her room by sickness. . .

Living in a constant state of siege, threatened from the outside by inquisitive adults, and from the inside by their own dissensions, the children gradually evolve their own frightening society - a replica of the world we know.

OUR MOTHER'S HOUSE will, I think, remind many readers of Richard Hughes' HIGH WIND IN JAMAICA or William Golding's LORD OF THE FLIES. But Mr. Gloag's novel is an unusual and unique creation in its own right, and the children are unforgettable characters, totally and stunningly convincing.

I very much hope that you will have time to read OUR MOTHER'S HOUSE, and I hope you will forgive this attempt to communicate to you my own enthusiasm for the book.

I do not think you will be disappointed.

Sincerely,

MKorda

Michael V. Korda
Senior Editor

MVK:jh

4-4-63

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
5750 ELLIS AVENUE · CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS

Dear Mr. Watters:

We have received your request for books from our spring catalogue. Your request will be considered when review copies are ready.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,
Sandra Carroll
Promotions

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
79 GARDEN STREET · CAMBRIDGE 38 · MASSACHUSETTS

April 4, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters, Jr.
Book Review Editor
Sunday Journal-Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for the copies of the review of Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer.

We will send you catalogues and seasonal announcements, and we will be happy to receive your requests for review copies although we cannot promise to send everything you ask for.

In the past we have sent review copies to Mr. McGill but they have apparently not served their purpose.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Patricia Gustafson

Patricia Gustafson
Publicity Manager

DELL

DELL PUBLISHING CO., INC. 750 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. YUKON 6-6300

April 11, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters, Jr.
SUNDAY JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters,

We are delighted to add your name to our mailing list for receipt of our monthly news releases. You simply check the books which you would like to receive and review and we will mail them to you.

We would appreciate receiving any tearsheets on the reviews you do of our books.

Thanks again for your interest.

Yours sincerely,

Selma Shapiro

Selma Shapiro
Publicity

NEWS *from* HILL *and* WANG, *Inc.*

141 Fifth Avenue New York 10, New York Algonquin 4-6975

Vasiliki Sarant, Publicity Director

April 25

Dear Pat -

This is not a note about one of our books, but a "push for" a book from another publisher. (I hope I'm not breaking any rules. I've never done this before.)

The book is a novel, a first novel (don't groan -- this one is unusual), ALL I COULD SEE FROM WHERE I STOOD by George Christy. Bobbs-Merrill, publisher. George Christy is a Greek, and it's not a matter of us-Greeks-sticking-together. I think I've read most of the novels written by Greeks, but this one tops them all. The first two or three pages set the stage perfectly -- the d ining room, dark, never used except on holidays. Gee, how I remember our dining room, dark, same kind of dark. And the book lives up to the promise of the beginning. Customs, attitudes, the more than usual difficult problems we young ones encountered in trying to grow up and have our own identity. The lack of freedom, esp. for girls. There was always one rebellious girl in the community (I was the one in ours). The arranged marriages. The matriarchy (Oh, Plato, Oh, Socrates). The inevitable black-and-white judgment of the old folks: a girl was good or bad.

But let me be strong on this point: the novel is not good because it's written by a Greek about Greeks. It's a good novel bec. Christy can write. He has flair. He has style. He writes in three dimensions, whatever I may mean by that. The characters walk across the page. You can smell the cooking, and by golly, you can hear the Reek music.

Please don't pass it up. I know your pressure about novels, esp. first novels. But Christy is not a one-novel man. He's a pro. Believe me.

Thanks for reading this long, long letter. I'm enthusiastic and I bubble over -- like a Greek?

Sincerely,

Vasiliki

Pub Date -
May 14

FREDERICK UNGAR
PUBLISHING CO., INC.

131 East 23rd Street, New York 10, N. Y.

GRamercy 3-7885

May 8, 1963

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am writing you to call your attention to a book we consider one of the most important that we have ever published--MICHELANGELO: His Life, His Times, His Era, by Georg Brandes.

The enclosed press release provides some background on its significance. A copy of the book will reach you soon, and we hope and trust you will share our feelings about it.

Yours sincerely,

Frederick Ungar

Frederick Ungar

FU:msp

Mr. W. P. Watters
Journal-Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

ESTABLISHED 1838
THE BOBBS·MERRILL COMPANY·INC. · PUBLISHERS
INDIANAPOLIS · NEW YORK

NEW YORK OFFICE
3 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK
MURRAY HILL 8-6350

May 13, 1963

Mr. W.P Watters
Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

One thing a publicity department is always grateful for is help -- especially in bringing to your attention a first novel. My good samaritan in the case of ALL I COULD SEE FROM WHERE I STOOD was Vasaliki Sarant and I understand she has written you about Mr. Christy's book.

Being a good Greek-American girl, she should know about the authenticity. As for me, I think it is a very fine first novel and hope you will personally take a look at ALL I COULD SEE FROM WHERE I STOOD.

Best regards,

Pat

(Mrs.) Patricia Beresford
Publicity Director

PB:mem

Henry Regnery Company · PUBLISHERS
14 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois · HArrison 7-5036

August 13, 1963

Mr. W. P. (Pat) Watters, Jr.
Book Review Editor
THE ATLANTA JOURNAL
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you very much for your recent request for review copies of new books listed in our Fall 1963 Catalog.

Momentarily, we have bound copies only of EAST TO BAGADUCE by Willard Wallace and SHALL DO NO MURDER by Holmes Alexander. These we are sending to you under separate cover and as soon as the other titles are received from the printer they will be mailed to you.

Sincerely yours,

Max Jones

Max D. Jones
Advertising-Promotion Manager

MDJ eh

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY PRESS
Carbondale, Illinois

September 18, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters, Book Editor
Atlanta Journal Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Pat,

The occasion of the publication of one's hundredth book seems to call for some sort of notice. The enclosed ashtray, suitably inscribed, has been struck off to commemorate the date, which for us, will be October 1963.

Locally, on 7 October, we will have dinner with our friends and lightly observe the passing of time.

I am sorry you cannot be with us, but I do want you to know that we appreciate your attention to our books and the kind comments you have made about us. You have been extremely kind and generous to us as a beginning Press.

The ashtray is glass, and it will break. But please accept it as a memento of an accomplishment in which you have shared.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Vernon

Vernon Sternberg
Director

Enclosure

SHEED & WARD Inc.
PUBLISHERS

64 UNIVERSITY PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N.Y. • OREGON 4-8807 • CABLES: STANZA, NEW YORK

September, 1963

Gentlemen:

In the future please address all correspondence concerning advertising, publicity, review materials etc. to:

JAMES F. FOSTER
Advertising & Publicity Director
Sheed & Ward Inc.
64 University Place
New York 3, New York

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

James F. Foster

James F. Foster
Publicity & Advertising
Director

SHEED AND WARD, LTD., 33 MAIDEN LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. Cables: Stanza, London

284-2764

MALCOLM MORITZ

THOMAS NELSON & SONS
18 EAST 41 STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

LE 2-0850

Simon & Schuster 12:30

Felton Covington

New York University Press, WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3

Mr. Pat Watters
Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

On April 24th New York University Press will publish two new volumes in the fifteen-volume COLLECTED WRITINGS OF WALT WHITMAN.

PROSE WORKS 1892, VOLUME I:"Specimen Days," edited by Floyd Stovall

THE EARLY POEMS AND THE FICTION, edited by Thomas L. Brasher.

As you can see from the enclosed jackets, PROSE WORKS 1892 should be of particular interest to your readers, containing as it does Whitman's on-the-spot notes of his Civil War experiences. Floyd Stovall, a Texan by birth, is now Edgar Allen Poe Professor of English at the University of Virginia; Thomas Brasher is a member of the English faculty of Southwest Texas State College in San Marcos.

Won't you please let me know if you would like to have a review copy of either or both of these important new titles.

Sincerely,

Susan Edelmann

Susan Edelmann
Sales and Advertising
Manager

SE:ag
Encl.

We would like very much to consider both books for review. Thank you for thinking of us.

Pat Watters

Pat Watters Jr.
Book Review Editor
Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Prentice-Hall, Inc.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

Englewood Cliffs, N. J.

WINDSOR 7-1000
AREA CODE 201

Dear Mr. Watters, Jr.:

We are pleased to send you our new 1963 Spring catalog.

As you can see, it contains not only all of the new books we are publishing this Spring, but also, all of Prentice-Hall's best selling backlist titles.

There are several titles on our Spring list that we would especially like to call to your attention. "Of Spies and Stratagems," by Stanley Lovell (page 8) has already generated considerable interest with its inside stories of World War II secrets; Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, writes about modern business ethics in "The Business Conscience," (page 19); Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, President of Guatemala, describes the fight against Communism in Latin America in"My War with Communism;" and the outspoken Joseph H. Peck, M.D., sounds off on retirement and the problems of elder citizens in "Let's Rejoin the Human Race," (page 37).

There are many more titles on our list that deserve mention, but we feel certain that they will call themselves to your attention as you leaf through this largest Spring list in our history.

May I also take this opportunity to introduce myself to you as the Director of Publicity for the Trade Book Division of Prentice-Hall. It is my hope and intention to serve you with information about our books and authors and to fulfull any special requests you may have concerning them.

It has come to our attention that several errors of omission and inaccuracy in addressing have occurred during the past six months while our review copy and release mailing lists and procedures were being reorganized. If you have been the victim of one of these errors, we ask your patience and understanding. If there are still errors in our mailings to you, would you fill out the enclosed card and mail it to us. We wish to correct any errors that may still exist.

Please let me know at any time if there is anything I can do for you. If you will address your request directly to me, I will do whatever I can to expedite it.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Cordially,

Nick D'Incecco

Nick D'Incecco
Publicity Director
Trade Book Division
Enc.

Race and Suffrage In the South Since 1940

By
Luther P. Jackson
Professor of History
Virginia State College

JUNE-JULY 1948
Vol. 3 Nos. 5 & 6

New South
FORMERLY THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

Published by

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

Race and Suffrage In the South Since 1940

IN ANY future history of suffrage in the South, the decade of the 1940's will probably be known as the time of an awakening among Negroes and of a change of attitude by many whites toward Negro participation in this phase of government. Certainly during the last eight years the Negro has advanced in the exercise of the right of franchise at a much faster rate than at any other time in the past half century. Victims of many restrictive suffrage laws imposed upon them during the years 1890-1910, the mass of Negroes were completely disfranchised until the period immediately following World War I. At that time, liberal forces were able to make some gains in enfranchising Southern Negroes; and, of course, even greater gains were made during World War II. Discriminatory laws became dead letters and discriminatory practices were curtailed because of a rising spirit of tolerance among the dominant whites and the increasing demands of the Negro for full citizenship.

The new trend is noticeable to any investigator who makes a tour of the South for the purpose of noting changes in laws and attitudes as they affect the suffrage. Such a person who begins his journey at Washington, D. C., and travels through the eleven States of the Solid South, and into the border State of Oklahoma, finds attitudes prevailing today which he would not have found twenty-five years ago. He finds considerable change in about seven of these States and a lesser change in the remaining ones. He feels highly encouraged as he passes southward through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; but his enthusiasm wanes when he strikes Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Continuing the tour, his spirit revives as he proceeds through Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Oklahoma. A survey of voting practices in each of these States indicates that progress is now being made toward the goal of free elections. Throughout the section, the investigator notes a decline in the barriers to voting in the urban industrial areas, while he observes but little change in the rural farm areas.

The change of mind which permits Negroes to vote in all elections in parts of the South has gone unnoticed by many professional writers and others concerned with suffrage. In 1946 one well known text-book

writer of American government stated in his unpublished manuscript that the Negroes of the region have no interest in voting and that they would never attempt to cast ballots if they were not stirred up periodically by Northern agitators. Without doubt, much of the lay public concurs with the opinion that the South of 1948 is the selfsame South of 1908. There are still those who believe in an "everlasting South" or the perpetuation of the period in which the Negro was completely disfranchised by the "grand-father clause," by character, property, and educational requirements, and by unfair registration practices. Unaware of court decisions intended to destroy discrimination in registration and other phases of the electoral process, numerous registration officials still refuse to enroll Negroes, while the applicants abide their action without protest. Both are thus ignorant of new practices on the question of who may vote.

Preceding the publication of this pamphlet is a report of investigations on suffrage made by Ralph Bunche and Gunnar Myrdal in 1940. These scholars then found few changes in the old system of race discrimination, but they did make observations which were prophetic of a better day in race relations with respect to the suffrage. The gradual weakening of the poll tax and the abolition of the white primary, which Myrdal forecast, have now been wholly or partly realized. It is the purpose of the present writer, therefore, to reveal the lines and extent of progress since Bunche and Myrdal made their studies.

The advance in the number of qualified Negro voters since 1940 is shown here by one chart and the relative standing of the States is shown by the other. It is well to note, however, that the expression "qualified voter" has four different meanings in the twelve States under consideration. In one State a citizen must present a poll tax receipt before he is allowed to register and thus become a qualified voter. Conversely, in four States registration precedes poll tax payment. In five States registration completes the main requirement because there is no poll tax to pay. In two States the citizen first pays the poll tax and then must answer certain questions concerning his age, residence, occupation, and so forth, which is equivalent to registration. As used in the charts which follow, the significance of the term "qualified voter" is determined by the law of the particular State in question.

One method of showing the causes for the unprecedented gains of Negroes in the Southern States is to analyze the status of the poll tax, the system of registration, and the white primary as each has operated since 1940. Was there a relaxation of the bonds in these three areas of the electoral process, those areas which hitherto impeded the minority race?

Chart I
Qualified Negro Voters in Twelve Southern States: 1947

State	Number of Voting Age	Number Qualified	Percent
Alabama	521,080	6,000	1.2
Arkansas	270,995	47,000	17.3
Florida	316,640	49,000	15.4
Georgia	663,716	125,000	18.8
Louisiana	473,562	10,000	2.6
Mississippi	563,754	5,000	0.9
North Carolina	493,175	75,000	15.2
Oklahoma	168,849	50,000	29.6
South Carolina	383,686	50,000	13.0
Tennessee	309,456	80,000	25.8
Texas	540,778	100,000	18.5
Virginia	364,114	48,000	13.2
Total	5,069,805	610,000	12.0

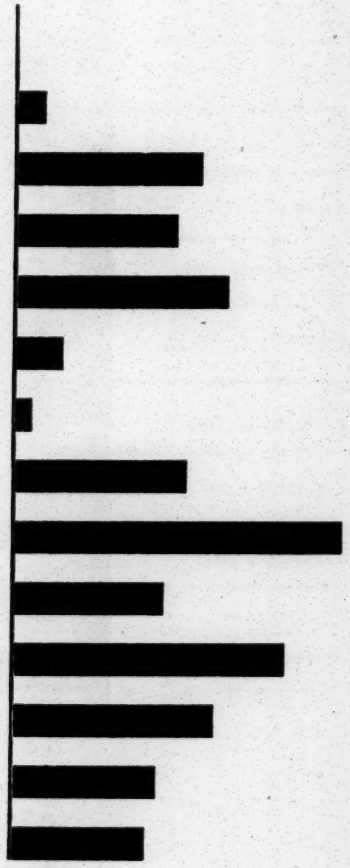
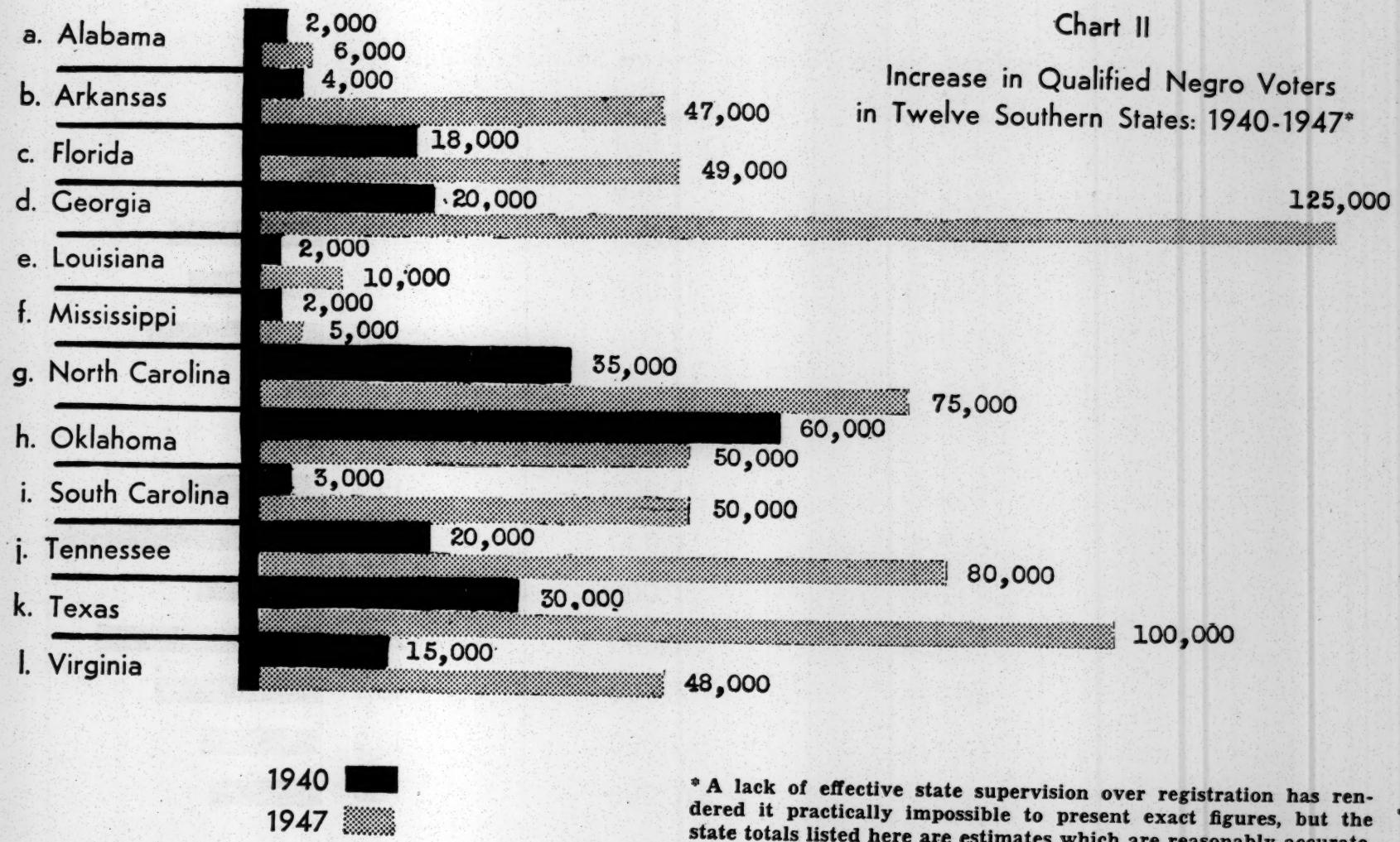


Chart II

Increase in Qualified Negro Voters in Twelve Southern States: 1940-1947*



*** A lack of effective state supervision over registration has rendered it practically impossible to present exact figures, but the state totals listed here are estimates which are reasonably accurate.**

Notes on Chart II

(a) The heavy poll tax, severe restrictions in registration, inadequate state-wide Negro leadership, and general apathy account in part for the low standing of Alabama. Nevertheless the number of qualified voters has trebled since 1940.

(b) Of the 47,000 in Arkansas, about 35,000 are registered as Democrats and 12,000 as Republicans. The 35,000 Democrates may be considered the only effective Negro voters in the State since the 12,000 Republicans are limited almost entirely to voting in the quadrennial presidential election.

(c) Of the 49,000 in Florida, 33,000 are registered as Democrats and 16,000 as Republicans. As in Arkansas, the significant voters are the Democrats, although in this State the Republican party runs candidates for office occasionally and offers token opposition to the Democratic party.

(d) The decided increase in Georgia rests on the following factors: (1) effective state-wide Negro leadership and liberal Southern white leadership, (2) the abolition of the poll tax and the lowering of the voting age requirement to eighteen, and (3) the unrestricted admittance of Negroes into the Democratic primary under the Arnall administration following the Supreme Court decision in the white primary case.

(e) Slightly more than one-half of the total in Louisiana are drawn from the city of New Orleans. In a majority of the sixty-four parishes in the State there are no qualified Negro voters whatever because registration in rural Louisiana is very difficult and the illiteracy rate is very high.

(f) Because of fear of intimidation and violence, there are no Negroes registered whatever in fully half the ninety-two counties of Mississippi. The cellar championship of this State is due also to the fact that no organized effort was made to qualify Negroes to vote until about 1945.

(g) Progress has been made in North Carolina, but not in proportion to the voting opportunities offered in this State.

(h) The decline in Oklahoma, the most liberal State of the twelve, is the result of the loss of ten or fifteen thousand Negroes by migration since 1940.

(i) The great increase in South Carolina is due almost entirely to the formation of the Progressive Democratic Party by a small group of courageous Negroes in opposition to the white Democratic party at the time when the latter group ruled that Negroes could not vote in their party primary.

(j) The relatively high standing of Tennessee is due partly to the fact that it is a two-party State with fewer barriers to voting than most Southern States.

(k) Excepting the white primary, the restrictions on voting in Texas have always been less than in most Southern States. Then with the abolition of the white primary, the doors were left wide open for Negroes to qualify as rapidly as they pleased.

(l) Negroes in Virginia have failed to make greater gains than in some other States for the reason that until very recently they have been seized with the apathy common to all citizens of this State. In primary elections Virginians have cast fewer votes per capita than any State of the South. In addition to the 48,000 who have fully qualified by having paid the poll tax and registered, there are about 7,000 who have paid the poll tax only.

The Poll Tax

THE USE of the poll tax has dwindled, though its severity varies considerably from State to State. Of the eleven Southern States which once required the payment of the fee, four have abolished it. These are North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana. South Carolina and Arkansas retain the levy, but in each instance the amount is only one dollar, it is non-cumulative, and it is payable only one or two months before the election. Moreover, in South Carolina the tax is payable only by males and only for general elections. Texas and Tennessee exact a larger sum of money than South Carolina and Arkansas, but the tax here is likewise non-cumulative. Oklahoma has never required a poll tax. Only Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama remain, then, where this celebrated instrument constitutes a significant barrier either by the amount of money to be paid, by the time and method of payment, or by its cumulative features.

In Mississippi the annual tax of two dollars is cumulative for two years and it must be paid in two separate years. In Virginia the tax of $1.50 is cumulative for three years, but it may be paid all at one time. In Alabama, by far the worst of the three, the tax of $1.50 is cumulative for as many years as a citizen has failed to pay since arriving at the age of twenty-one.

In recent years this tax has been tempered by laws affecting veterans. During the war period, each of the seven poll tax States exempted them from its payment, either temporarily or permanently. The increase in the number of qualified voters in these States, as shown in the preceding chart, is to be attributed partly to this action. In the State of Virginia, with its temporary provision, this legislation brought an increase of at least two thousand Negro voters for the period of time it lasted. In Alabama, with its permanent provision, this legislation can be made the basis of an increase of thousands of voters if they can cross the hurdle of registration and if they decide that they should vote.

Another aspect of the weakening of the poll tax has been the decline in value of the dollar. Poll tax legislation was enacted originally at a time when the dollar had four or five times the value which it has at present; thus the cheap dollar of today can be paid with less strain than formerly. As a result, it has not been uncommon for citizens of the cumulative poll tax States of Virginia and Alabama to pay all delinquent poll taxes at one time and, in each of the five

remaining States, for them to pay at a rate far above that of the 1930 decade when the dollar had higher value. The high wages paid thousands of industrial workers during the war placed them in a position to pay one or two dollars with comparative ease. Under the impact of the declining value of money, the one-dollar, non-cumulative poll tax of South Carolina and Arkansas, in particular, has become a very slight barrier to the ballot

Though held in restraint by the two-separate-year payment system in Mississippi, the Negro citizens of this State have also been finding the poll tax easier to pay than formerly. According to the estimate of one competent observer, five thousand Negroes had completed the two-year separate requirement in 1946. He predicts that during 1948 an additional 15,000 will have completed the two-year payment and will thereby raise the number of Negro voters in that State to 20,000.

In spite of the general decline of the poll tax as an obstruction to voting, it must be noted that some of its discriminatory features still exist, and they are used to good effect in certain States whenever the opponents of a large electorate feel it is necessary. The distinction arises in the administration of the law. Sometimes the distinction is purely racial in character; at other times it reflects the low economic status of a large group of people, both white and black.

The State whose system of poll tax administration strikes the low income group the hardest is Virginia. In this commonwealth, the poll tax assessment is merely one item in the general property tax bill. But since a majority of the poorer group, particularly the Negroes, own little or no taxable property, the tax assessor, or commissioner of revenue, seldom bothers to assess them for the poll tax alone. In those cases where the man of small means is assessed and seeks to pay the fee, he is sometimes told by the county or city treasurer that under the law he is not compelled to pay. At present in Virginia there are treasurers who always greet the Negro taxpayer with this pay-if-you-wish-to message. With the poll tax tied up in this manner with the general property tax, and with little or no stress laid upon its connection with voting by many officials, fully sixty per cent of the Negroes in Virginia and perhaps forty per cent of the whites are never brought up even to the poll tax stage in the voting requirement process.

The collection of the poll tax money presents a worse situation in Mississippi and Alabama than in Virginia. In these two States, as previously noted, the registration of the voter precedes poll tax payment. Frequently, to his disappointment, the registered Negro finds that the officials flatly refuse to accept his money. On more than one occasion recently in certain cities in Mississippi officials have refused to accept payment from Negroes on the ground that too many

of them were seeking to pay and vote. Such action, they exclaimed, endangers white supremacy. To be certain that this should not happen, they have sounded the alarm through newspapers, warning the whites to pay in larger numbers.

The poll tax is merely one of a series of schemes which were contrived a half century ago to reduce the size of the electorate and to keep it under machine control. This fact alone is sufficient for all parties concerned to demand its abolition at the present time in the remaining seven States where this admission fee to the ballot box is still collected. But such parties must recognize that it is only one link in a chain of disfranchising devices — a link which at times and under certain circumstances may be the weakest of them all.

Registration

GREATER than the poll tax as a barrier to voting, and far greater as an instrument for race distinction, is the registration requirement. Registration was first begun in the United States as a means of identifying voters at the polls rather than as a requirement for voting. But in the latter part of the last century, the Southern States seized upon it for its disfranchising value. It has been extended to embrace such tests of applicants as personal character, property ownership, and education; and it is commonly administered with an evil eye to discrimination between the races. Many Negroes of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana in recent years have declared that they would much rather pay a poll tax than endure the painful experience of registration.

This requirement entails hardship for many Negroes for the reason that every single registrar is a law unto himself. With very little centralized state control of registrations and elections, these officials are left free to do as they please. One registrar may require more or he may require less than the law of the State demands. At the present time, in considerable portions of about eight of the twelve States under consideration, the tendency is to require no more than the law requires.

Thinking of the time when registration was a severe undertaking throughout each of the Southern States, and of the present when it is less severe in most of these States, the writer submits the following list of nine discriminatory tactics which have at some time been

practiced upon Negro applicants. They are derived from a list given by Dr. Bunche following his investigation of the South in 1940:

1. Requiring one or more white character witnesses;
2. Severe application of property qualifications and requiring only Negro applicants to show property tax receipts;
3. Strict enforcement of literacy tests against Negro applicants;
4. Putting unreasonable questions on the Constitution to Negro applicants;
5. Basing rejection of Negro registrants on alleged technical mistakes in filling out registration blanks;
6. Requiring Negro applicants to suffer long periods of waiting before the officials attend them;
7. Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own blanks while those of whites are filled out for them by the officials;
8. Evasion — informing Negro applicants that registration cards have run out, that all members of the registration board are not present, that it is closing time, or that the applicant will be notified in due course; and
9. Deliberate insults or threats by officials and/or hangers-on.

In some places the act of registration becomes all the more forbidding for the reason that it involves a social relationship which Negroes have always been taught never to infringe. In Virginia and North Carolina, in particular, the registration in rural areas and in many towns is conducted not in a public office but in a private home. Under the unwritten laws of racial etiquette, the Negro is not supposed to go to the home of a white person except as a servant or on business. Ever mindful of this rule, many of them will hesitate to register and become voting citizens. Registration is sometimes more severe than the payment of the poll tax because it involves a personal relationship in an unfriendly atmosphere while the poll tax payment is satisfied by paying a sum of money in a public office, or by mailing it.

Among the States of the Solid South, a change toward greater equality in most phases of the electoral process has come first in the States of Virginia and North Carolina. But even in these States as late as 1932 the bulk of the Negroes faced all the hardships to registration enumerated above. College professors, as well as the uneducated masses, faced them in Virginia — particularly at Hampton Institute. By 1940 conditions had changed considerably, while in 1948 it is fair to say that in this State the act of a registrar refusing to admit a Negro to the voting list is the exception rather than the rule. Negroes encounter no obstacles whatever in the twenty-four incorporated cities (where thirty-five per cent reside); they meet almost none in the

entire area of the State north of the James River, and only an occasional denial in the black belt counties to the south. It is a safe rule to follow that only about one registrar in every twenty in Virginia hesitates to register an applicant because of race. Even in such "Negro-majority" counties as Southampton, Nansemond, Mecklenburg, and Halifax in the southern part of the State, the doors of registration are open to Negroes on the same plane with whites.

In the middle section of North Carolina — including the cities of Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and Charlotte — a condition prevails which is equal or superior to that in Virginia. In the western counties of a sparse Negro population, in contrast to the corresponding section of Virginia, the members of this race experience difficulty; and, in a number of counties of the tide water area, registration is as difficult as in Louisiana or Mississippi.

The reins are tightened on Negro registration in South Carolina, but here again not so tight as a decade ago. In Florida, likewise, there is a letting down of the bars except in most of the counties in the northern part of the State; of the sixty-seven counties in the entire State, less than one-third give trouble. In Georgia, a similar change has come, particularly in the cities.

The old time devices hang on most tenaciously in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. These are the States of today which most nearly conform to the list of discriminatory tactics shown above. The State of Texas is one of the most advanced in the entire South in the attitude of officials toward the registration of Negroes. And a similar condition is developing in Arkansas. Indeed, in these two States the acts of poll tax paying and registration are combined in such a way that registration is merely incidental to the payment of the poll tax. In Oklahoma race distinction in registration disappeared some time ago, while a similar condition exists for Tennessee, except for two or three river bottom counties.

Some of the decline in the rigidness of registration is due to factors similar to those which have lightened the poll tax. The laws on registration, as on the poll tax, were made fifty years ago. At that time, illiteracy among Negroes was widespread and property was owned by only a few. In the face of a distinct improvement in these two areas, it is quite difficult today for any fair minded registration official to refuse an applicant solely because of his race. Knowing that numerous individuals of the Negro race possess education and hold property, these officials make not the slightest pretense of exacting more of a Negro than of a white person. Indeed, one such official in a North Carolina city informed the writer that she usually does not have the colored people of her precinct actually write their names as the law requires, because the very appearance and manners of these

people is sufficient indication to her of their fitness to vote. In some instances, the schooling of some Negro applicants is so much higher than that of the registrar himself that he feels duty bound to treat them the same as white persons.

To generalize for the whole region, it would be difficult to point to more than a handful of Southern cities with a population of 25,000 or more in which there is vigorous opposition to Negroes becoming registered voters. In Memphis, Atlanta, Jacksonville, or New Orleans they may qualify with as much ease as they may in any northern city. The only complaint coming from registration officials in some of the metropolitan centers is that too many persons near the border line of illiteracy apply rather than the better educated class. To say that Negroes may qualify without vigorous opposition in most cities is highly significant in that today thirty-four per cent of Negroes in the twelve States under consideration are classified by the census as urban dwellers. In order of rank, from lowest to highest, the percentage of Negro urban dwellers in each State is roughly as follows: Mississippi, 20; Arkansas, 22; South Carolina, 24; North Carolina, 27; Alabama, 30; Georgia, 34; Tennessee, 35; Virginia, 35; Oklahoma, 38; Louisiana, 41; Texas, 45; and Florida, 55.

It is in the rural South, as indicated previously, where sixty-five per cent of the Negroes reside, that the greatest difficulty in meeting voting requirements is encountered. But even here there are exceptions to the rule. In the counties of northwestern Alabama, for example, they are welcomed. In one central Alabama county with a population thirty per cent Negro, the writer found that any failure of Negroes to register is no fault of the registration board in question.

The leading member of this board had the following to say to the writer about Negroes voting in his county:

> The colored people of ..... County are the best colored people in the world. We are glad to make voting citizens of them. In sixteen years I have refused to register only three. If any show any sign of nervousness I have them to take the form and fill it out at home . . . We pay no attention to the Boswell amendment to the constitution of Alabama because we know how to run our own affairs.

The entire South presents variations in practices, and in some instances they are so different that the investigator in the area is left confused. The best practices in Alabama are found in the places indicated above; the worst in this State, and among the worst in the entire South, are found in Macon County, the seat of the town of Tuskegee and nationally-known Tuskegee Institute. Instead of finding the best practices here, in the tradition of Booker T. Washington, the Negro citizens of this county, town, and institution find it extremely difficult to qualify. In spite of the fact that the several hundred persons on the Tuskegee Institute faculty and the employees

of the Veterans Hospital are highly educated, most of them encounter obstacles at the registration office.

The chief difficulty in the Tuskegee office has lain in the fact that until recently every Negro applicant has been compelled to find two white persons to vouch for his character. Since many of the Negroes of the Tuskegee area have little contact with the whites — and since the average white person, because he is too busy, will not give this assistance even if he knows the applicant — registration for voting in Tuskegee has been very low. In recent years, as the result of a law suit, a change has been made from white "vouchers" to Negro "vouchers". But even they must not vouch for too many. This procedure is in accord with Alabama law, but it appears that the law is more rigidly enforced here than in many other places. The tension between the races on the suffrage question has been so great here in recent years that at the time of this writing no registration board has been appointed by the Governor for Macon County. The defense which the Tuskegee town officials probably offer for this state of affairs is that the Negroes constitute eighty-two per cent of the population. But to inflict such severity on the educated Negro group of this county is obviously unfair.

Very much like the situation in the greater part of Alabama with respect to obtaining character witnesses is the situation in the rural section of the State of Louisiana. Here the applicant must bring along two "vouchers" who must themselves be registered voters. Since there are no registered Negro voters in about half the parishes of the State and since most white persons do not want him to vote anyway, the potential voter is left well-nigh helpless. In view of these and other conditions in Louisiana, it is the belief of one competent observer in this State that it is more difficult for a Negro to qualify in Louisiana — excepting New Orleans — than in Mississippi, which is reputedly the most difficult of them all.

The White Primary

TO MAKE certain of the disfranchisement of Negroes — even though some of them might pay the poll tax, register successfully, and surmount all barriers to the ballot box — the state Democratic organizations of the South forty years ago adopted the "white primary," whereby only white Democrats could vote in this, the only meaningful election of the region. In view of the fact that there were only a handful of black Republicans left who could vote in

the weakened Republican party, following the disfranchisement of around 1900, this racial requirement of the Democrats inflicted the most fatal blow which the Negro had yet received.

In order not to violate the Fifteenth Amendment, the party leaders retained the meaningless November general election, in which Negroes presumably might vote, while they used the previous primary election to settle within the confines of the white race every political issue which might exist. The state Democratic organizations thus sailed under the color of private clubs with the privilege of admitting whom they pleased. This exclusive policy sounded the death knell of Negro participation in all elections except the presidential election.

To this state of political bondage the mass of Negroes in the South submitted for a generation. It was only here and there, among small groups, that they contemplated court action as a means of elevating their status. The most determined of these groups sprang up in Houston, Texas, about 1920. Spearheaded by Richard R. Grovey, a barber of that city, they fought battle after battle in the state courts of Texas and then switched to the federal courts, winding up finally in the Supreme Court of the United States. In this tribunal they won partially in two of the Texas white primary cases, lost in another case, and won completely in the final case of *Smith vs. Allwright* in 1944.

Among all of the barriers erected in the South to prevent Negroes from voting, the white primary was probably looked upon as the one barrier which would stand for many years to come. Safely protected behind this wall, four of the Southern States were even willing to surrender the poll tax as a requirement for voting, since it was felt that the contemplated larger electorate would come from white citizens only.

The abolition of this electoral device struck at the root of most of the former difficulties of Negroes in their efforts to attain citizenship status. On the one hand, it ushered them into the Democratic party, the only strong party in the South; on the other hand, it gave them an inducement to pay the poll tax and to register. After the court victory, no person among them could any longer offer the excuse of the white primary as his reason for not qualifying. The victory thus paved the way for a decided increase in the number of citizens voting in Southern elections and for the Negro to enjoy every advantage resulting from the use of the ballot. Among the factors which led to a twenty-six per cent increase in the number of qualified Negro voters, as represented by the chart on page 4 of this pamphlet, none exerted a more powerful influence than the elimination of the white primary.

The *Smith vs. Allwright* decision affected the twelve States under consideration unevenly. In Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee the primary had already been abandoned since about 1930, either as

the outcome of court action or as a mere change of public sentiment. In Oklahoma this instrument had never been applied as an organ of racial discrimination, since Oklahoma is a two-party State. Significantly then it was in the far South alone that the end of the white primary introduced the possibility of a decided change in race relations with respect to the suffrage and participation in the affairs of government.

The possible influx of Negroes into the Democratic party in the one-party States of the South raises the question of their relationship to the Republican party. As long as the Grand Old Party possessed even a skeleton organization in the Southern States, the predominant white Democrats, whenever placed under criticism by Northerners, always pointed to the Republican party as an agency of reception for the blacks they refused. And, in answer to similar criticism from Southern Negroes, the Southern Democrats replied that they might form a Negro Democratic party of their own.

With only a handful of white Republicans in any of the States of the Solid South, and with these few holding racial views about the same as those of the Democrats, the former solution proposed by the white Democrats served as no solution at all. And because of the poverty of the Negroes, the proposal that they should organize a political party of their own proved to be just as unfeasible. The only exception to the actual organization of a party of their own, as noted above, came in South Carolina with the formation of the Progressive Democratic Party. This action served the very useful purpose of arousing a political consciousness among the Negroes of that State, but the permanence of the new party is doubtful. Its chief aim — admission of Negro voters to the primary — is rapidly nearing realization.

However, it is well to note that throughout the South, in spite of the opportunity presented to affiliate with the only party which commands power in these States, a few Negroes are retaining their traditional attachment to the Republican party. The State of the lower South where Republicanism appears to command the greatest following is Florida. But the difficulty of reaping benefits from this party in Florida lies in the fact that of the 700,000 white qualified voters in this State only about 30,000 are registered as Republicans. It is obvious that unless the limited number of Negro Republicans can be associated with a much larger proportion of white Republicans their efforts to gain benefits in state and local elections by this scheme will be futile.

When the Supreme Court handed down its decision in 1944, all Americans who believe in an unfettered franchise became jubilant. But their joy was short-lived, because the proponents of the white primary proceeded immediately to defy the court verdict. In spite of the decision, Negroes were kept out of the primary elections of 1944 in most of the States of the lower South, on the ground that the decision

applied only to Texas. In South Carolina they were excluded on the ground that in law no white primary existed at the time, since a special session of the Legislature had just deleted from its code of laws every section pertaining to primaries.

Then came the year 1945 and with it the effort of the vote-conscious Negro citizenry to strike back. They proceeded to sue registrars and judges of elections. In succession there came the Primus King and Wallace Van Jackson cases of Georgia; the Arthur H. Madison and William P. Mitchell cases of Alabama; the Davis, Cromwell, and Dallas Graham cases of Florida; and the Edward Hall case of Louisiana. Retaining chiefly the attorneys of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and basing their contention to register and vote on the strength of the decision in *Smith vs. Allwright,* each of these plaintiffs either won his case or advanced the voting status of members of his race. Observing the handwriting on the wall, the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana bowed to the inevitable and permitted Negroes to vote in large numbers in the primaries of 1946 for the first time since the days of Reconstruction.

In South Carolina, the United States Supreme Court has upheld the decision of Judge J. Waites Waring that Negro voters cannot be excluded from the primary by the evasion that it operates as a "private club" privileged to restrict its membership as it pleases. A subsequent attempt at evasion in that State appears to be proving equally unsuccessful. A discriminatory oath required of voters has been repudiated by a number of white South Carolina Democrats; the Greenville County Democratic Executive Committee recently broke with the state organization on the question and set aside the registration oath. Indications are that Richland County, where Columbia, the state capital, is located, will soon follow suit.

Matching South Carolina in a continued effort to restrict the voting of Negroes are the States of Alabama and Mississippi. The former seeks to apply the brakes at the registration office and the latter at the polls on election day. Amending their constitution in 1946 to require applicants to understand and explain the Constitution as well as to be able to read it, the Alabama white Democrats are now making their last stand for the suppression of the Negro vote. At the moment, another court battle is looming, the fight this time being led by the Alabama State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Associated with them are certain fraternal and civic bodies and groups of liberal-minded whites. The Mississippi Democratic organization seeks to check the black voter at the polls by requiring that he take an oath swearing that he opposes Fair Employment Practice legislation, the anti-lynching bill, the anti-poll tax bill, and, above all, that he cherishes the customs and the time-honored traditions of the old South.

Arousing a Voting Consciousness

ONE of the shortcomings of democracy in America today is the habit of non-voting by a large proportion of its citizens. This is a nationwide failing which embraces all sections, but it finds its worst expression in the South. In many elections in this region, only five or ten per cent of the potential voters exercise the right of franchise. In the meantime, neither race seems deeply concerned. Among the Negroes, the cause usually given is the maintenance of the several barriers to the ballot box; among the whites, it is the one barrier, the poll tax. The writer contends that without these obstructions the South would have more voters, as the abolition of the poll tax in former poll tax States has demonstrated. But to say that a removal of all the barriers would completely solve the problem is a mistake.

Supporting this assertion is the fact that in the States of the upper South, where the restrictions are generally of a non-racial character, thousands of Negroes have not qualified, in spite of a new freedom which beckons them. In many counties in Virginia, for example, as many as fifty per cent of the Negro poll tax payers have never registered. In North Carolina a condition exists which is still more unfortunate. In this State the poll tax has been abolished since 1921, yet the voting record of its Negro citizens is hardly better than that of Virginia. In the cities of the poll-taxless States of Florida and Georgia, a similar disinclination to register and vote has been widely prevalent. In all of these places many whites have also failed to register, but not on so large a scale.

A change of attitude by the whites toward allowing Negroes to vote finds its highest expression in the practice of candidates for office soliciting votes from them. This relationship has developed in several States of the lower South as well as in those of the upper South. In Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and North Carolina the act of a candidate seeking the support of qualified Negro voters is a common occurrence. Like white citizens, Negroes receive letters from candidates, are visited at their homes, and are addressed in public assemblies. Under these circumstances, a bargaining situation is created whereby Negroes might gain benefits for themselves if they only realized it. Schools, parks, playgrounds, and other facilities might well be the result of this new awareness of the Negro ballot. But office seekers

are frequently disappointed to find so few colored persons qualified to participate in a forthcoming election.

A lack of interest in voting by Negroes has shown itself also in referendums on bond issues to finance the building of schools. In some instances, both races have been scheduled to benefit from the revenue obtained; in others, one race only. A bond issue of the former type was presented to the voters of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1946. On this occasion the school authorities expected Negroes to vote in large numbers in favor of the proposal, but only a handful appeared at the polls on the day of the referendum. A bond issue of the latter type was presented to the voters of Princess Anne County, Virginia, in 1947. Held for the sole purpose of making possible a new high school for Negroes, the referendum drew less than 150 Negro voters. This failure to vote contributed heavily to the defeat of the bond issue. In the light of these strange happenings, one finds considerable truth in the statement of Roscoe Dungee, Negro newspaper editor, that "the spirit of [many Negroes] today is not up to the level of white liberalism."

These illustrations are perhaps sufficient to prove that it is not always the barriers to voting which disqualify the colored people, but sometimes the absence of a voting consciousness among them. Assuming that Negroes prized the ballot during the Reconstruction period, and that they lost interest in voting when disfranchisement came, it still remains to be shown why they do not advance faster in the more tolerant atmosphere of the present time.

The Negro community contains in its schools, and particularly in its colleges in the South, a basic institution for the increase of civic education. It will be generally agreed that aloofness and timidity with respect to civic participation have all too frequently characterized the Negro educational forces of the South. This is evident from the poor voting record of Negro teachers themselves. In the States of Texas and Virginia fifty per cent or more of the teachers are qualified voters, but in the South as a whole the number drops to less than twenty per cent.

Another institution of a democratic society upon which falls some of the responsibility for stimulating a voting interest is the church, through its ministers. Unfortunately, the record of the churches as a whole is no better than that of the colleges or the public schools, because the vast majority still adhere to the old belief that the affairs of the church and those of the civil state should never mix.

To this general charge that teachers and ministers make no contribution to the problem of arousing a voting consciousness there are, of course, some noteworthy exceptions. A dozen or more colleges

foster lectures on the subject of citizenship, their presidents advocate the use of the ballot, and one or more of the members of their faculties forsake the campus and enter campaigns for a larger electorate in the community. Helping the movement also are a few ministers. In all of the larger cities of the South where one may find as many as fifty pastors, about five of the group can be counted upon to urge members of their congregations to become qualified voters. Some ministers set the example themselves by assuming the leadership of registration campaigns.

One reason why the will to vote is not stronger among Negroes at the present time is the tradition of non-participation in voting and politics which had its beginning at the turn of the twentieth century. The whites then compelled this policy and race leaders, from Booker T. Washington at the top to the thousands below, all advised that under the prevailing hostile environment Negroes should abandon any effort to participate in elections. It was during this stormy period that they adopted the slogan, "Politics is the white folks business."

Living in a new day, politics seems now to be everybody's business. Teachers and other leaders have previously failed to vote or to urge others to vote for fear of loss of jobs. But the growing tendency among superintendents of schools not to interfere with the outside citizenship activities of teachers in their school systems means that in the future teachers will not be able to offer this excuse. Those of Texas, Virginia, and several other States can offer no such excuse now. Even in the relatively backward States of Alabama and Louisiana there are instances of superintendents actually encouraging their Negro teachers to qualify to vote. According to an authoritative report, there is one recent case of a superintendent in Alabama actually offering to take his teachers to the registration office, but they refused to go.

If there has been a lag in the execution of citizenship rights and duties by the mass of leaders in school and church, their places have been ably filled by other individuals and organizations. These groups embrace both races, a union which in itself is indicative of a new day in race relations in the South with respect to participation in politics.

Leading all other groups in a stimulation of voting interest in the lower South is a small band of militant Negro newspaper editors. From their vantage-ground in the larger cities, they have been conducting unrelenting campaigns through the columns of their papers to awaken the members of their race to the value of the franchise. Though threatened at times with the loss of their lives by the Ku Klux Klan, these editors have continued their crusade for a larger Negro electorate.

Working with them as agencies for awakening the Negro from his slumber are the state voters' leagues which exist in most of the

Southern States. In Virginia, there is the Virginia Voters League; in Georgia, the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs; in Florida, the Progressive Voters League; and in Arkansas, the Negro Democratic Association. Though as yet employing no paid executives, these bodies have been very helpful in the matter of publishing literature containing voting requirements and procedures; in promoting citizenship schools to instruct adults in the rudiments of government; and in expanding their efforts by establishing county and city units of the state organization. Of all the Southern voters leagues, the Georgia Association has done perhaps the most effective job in establishing local branches. It has to its credit sixty affiliated clubs. Most of these organizations are primarily educational; others are educational and political.

South Carolina is unique, in that the state organization there has been not simply a civic club but a political party sailing under the name of the Progressive Democratic Party with headquarters at Columbia. It was organized in 1944 by John H. McCray and Osceola McKaine immediately upon the refusal of the white Democratic party to admit Negroes into the so-called white primary. The group made an attempt to get recognition as a state political party by the National Democratic party at its convention in 1944, but failed. Though halted in this effort, the delegation which attended the convention returned home with the avowed purpose of building a body of voters such as the State had not known since Reconstruction days.

A group of speakers toured the State carrying the message that every respectable citizen should qualify to vote. The fruits of their labors may be seen by an examination of the charts in this pamphlet.

Interlocking with these civic and political organizations has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In some instances the individual who is a newspaper editor or a lawyer is also a leader in the state voters league and at the same time the head of a branch of this militant body. Though the NAACP seeks to protect the rights of Negro citizens in every area of the broad field of civil rights, its leaders have always placed great emphasis on voting. So strong has been this emphasis that in some localities the NAACP has overshadowed other civic groups as an instrument for forging a voting consciousness among Negroes. As a body, it endorses no candidates for office, but it does make the plea that all of its 175,000 members in its seven hundred branches in the South use the ballot as a way out of their difficulties.

Other groups which have been diligent in stimulating voting among Negroes are labor unions — particularly the Political Action Committee of the CIO; the Southern Negro Youth Congress of Birmingham, Alabama; and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

No less important than the preceding bodies in showing hundreds of thousands of voteless Negroes the error of their way have been courageous groups of Southern white people. Gripped with fear, and always anticipating intimidation for venturing into a field previously forbidden, the Negro has had to have the backing of sympathetic whites, as well as the support of members of his own race, to enable him to advance.

Toward a Fuller Citizenship

THIS REPORT shows that, with the decline of barriers to voting in the South and with the institution of a campaign of education to arouse interest in the suffrage, the twelve States under consideration underwent an increase of twenty-six per cent in the total number of qualified Negro voters during the seven years following 1940. Have there been other advances in the participation of Negroes in the political affairs of the region? Have they been admitted to positions within the ranks of the Democratic party organizations of their States? Have they attempted to offer themselves as candidates for public office? And finally, what benefits, if any, have they enjoyed as a result of their voting?

Negroes have been admitted into the ranks of the Democratic party in about half of the States of the South. The greatest integration has taken place in Tennessee and Oklahoma. Next to these States rank Virginia and North Carolina, where they have advanced from the point of serving as committeemen in city precincts to representation as delegates to the state party convention. Six Negroes served in this capacity at the convention held in Richmond in 1946 to elect a United States senator. On the whole, however, their affiliation is confined to the lower positions of party organization.

In the service of registration of voters and in the operation of the polls on election days there has been some participation. Registrars for the Negro districts have been appointed in Raleigh, North Carolina, while Negroes have served on mixed registration boards in West Palm Beach, Florida. The position of judge of election has been held in Norfolk, Virginia, and in other cities of the South.

Office-seeking by Negroes has become fairly common in Texas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. In most of the larger cities of these States they have sought election to city councils, city commissions, and school boards. On a smaller scale, they have

sought election to county offices. In recent elections there were Negro candidates for city council in six cities of Virginia. The most notable of these races occurred in Richmond, when Oliver W. Hill was elected city councilman, with considerable support from white voters. Within recent years Negroes have likewise sought to obtain seats in the state legislature in at least four of these six States.

Altogether, no less than one hundred Negroes have been candidates for election to county, city, and state office in these States since about 1935. But of this number who have offered, only three or four have won. North Carolina has one to its credit in the person of the Reverend Kenneth Williams of Winston-Salem who was elected to the board of alderman in 1947. Virginia has two to its credit — the election of William Lawrence to the board of supervisors of Nansemond County in 1947, and the election of Oliver W. Hill to the Richmond City Council in 1948.

For the general failure to attain public office there are several causes. Among them are (1) a limited number of qualified Negroes from whom to draw support, (2) a still more limited number of white voters from whom to draw support, (3) personal dislike for the candidate, (4) dissipation of Negro voting strength because of the presence of two candidates for the same office, and (5) a further dissipation of voting strength through the affiliation of a few Negroes with the Republican party, thereby rendering themselves ineligible to vote in Democratic primaries. The State of the lower South which has the greatest amount of division based on parties is Florida. In Jacksonville, for instance, about one-fourth of the 12,000 registered Negro voters in 1946 were Republicans.

As evidence of a trend toward political equality between the races in a majority of the Southern States, the Negro candidates for office mentioned above have faced no open disapproval from members of the white race. In contrast to the misfortune of a Mississippi Negro who was driven out of the State a few years ago for daring to offer himself for national office, the one hundred or more candidates for state and local office have generally received no reprisals whatever. Indeed, in almost every case they have received some support from white voters. In 1947 a Negro attorney running for the Raleigh, North Carolina, city council actually received more votes from white citizens than he did from Negro citizens.

To point out the benefits which have come to a people as a result of their voting is to move into the dual realm of the tangible and intangible. The leaders of the Negro suffrage movement in the South usually testify that the lot of their people has been improved, but frequently they cannot indicate the direction or nature of this improvement. No doubt it is a spiritual achievement whereby the

whites have become more civil in their dealing with Negroes. Of great importance in this connection is the more humane treatment from the police. One city of the South in particular in which the Negro citizens lay claim to less police brutality because of their voting is Savannah, Georgia.

Moving into the realm of the tangible, in many cities of the region parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, community centers, golf course, and schools have been secured in late years partly or wholly because of the demands made by Negroes as a price of their voting. Leading all States of the South in this regard is Georgia.

Of equal importance to these material gains which Negroes have made in some Southern cities is the power they have exercised over city officeholders. In some cities of Georgia, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas, their vote has determined the outcome of elections. Holding the balance of power in many instances, their vote has been a factor in driving out of office city machines of long duration, in favor of more liberal office holders. One of the most outstanding cases of this kind occurred in Savannah, Georgia, in December, 1946, when 20,000 Negroes went to the polls to do their share in removing a machine which had been in office for twenty years. Similarly, in Augusta, Georgia, the Cracker Party was driven from office in 1947 when thousands of Negroes voted against this machine which had been in office for twenty-four years. Similar feats have been achieved in Macon, Brunswick, Athens, and Albany, Georgia.

For the efficiency and high moral tone of its leadership, for the number of Negroes per capita qualified to vote, and for benefits received from participation in elections, the city of the South which leads all others is not Richmond, Virginia, or Nashville, Tennessee, but Savannah, Georgia. In this city of southeastern Georgia among a voting population of 45,000 there are 20,000 qualified Negro voters, most of whom have been qualified since 1944. A school, a swimming pool, a recreation center, nine Negro policemen, two jail matrons, and a few other city positions are some of the rewards which have come to Savannah Negroes as a result of their participation in politics. Along with these achievements, and perhaps more important for all concerned, was the establishment of a mayor's Negro advisory committee which meets regularly with this official to keep before the city government the problems and needs of Negro citizens.

Negroes in Florida, as in Georgia, have recently become politically active, particularly in the central and southern sections. One of the leading demonstrations of Negro voting strength in the cities of this State was made at Tampa in 1947, when more than 3,000 voted for the first time in the Democratic primary. Satisfied in this instance with the mayor in office, their vote contributed heavily to his return to

office. Beginning earlier perhaps than most cities of Florida, Daytona Beach has been the scene of operation of a series of important elections in which Negroes voted in large numbers and gained certain public facilities and services for their group.

Into this movement of a show of strength among Negroes in the cities of the South has come Arkansas. Lagging behind other Southern States for a number of years, Arkansas has recently made great progress. Negroes in Arkansas appear now to be on the verge of commanding as much respect from city officials as Negroes in any other State. According to a news article in the *Birmingham World* of November 25, 1947, the number of Negroes who turned out to vote in the Democratic primary at Pine Bluff the week before was a surprise to party officials. "One estimate," states this paper, "placed the number of Negro votes at 500 out of a total of 2,767. Other estimates were higher." Continuing its account this paper says that "many Negroes came to the polls with mimeographed lists of candidates endorsed by the NAACP pinned to their poll tax receipts." Reviewing his twenty year career to organize the Negroes of Arkansas for voting, a physician of Little Rock makes the following report in a letter to the writer:

> This has been no bed of roses, neither is it a crown of thorns, for it has been a pleasure to build this organization in defense of my own people, thereby releasing us from political serfdom and economic paucity. We now have Negro police in our major cities, Negro sanitary officers, deputy sheriffs, etc.

To the readers of the daily newspapers of the rest of the United States these political developments in Arkansas, Georgia, Florida and other States of the South are perhaps unknown. Thoroughly familiar with certain gubernatorial and senatorial elections in which the issue of white supremacy has been pressed, the people of the country at large have not been aware of the advancement made by Negroes in certain cities of this region. The widespread use of Negro policemen in the cities of most of the States of the South is no doubt due directly or indirectly to the voting activity of Negro citizens of these places within late years.

In the pursuit of these efforts toward a fuller citizenship for themselves, the Negroes have received considerable encouragement from some Southern whites. As noted in the preceding section of this pamphlet, a few white persons have advanced to the point where they have not only sought to stimulate Negroes to vote, but in the midst of party campaigns have sought to have them vote for particular candidates. A much larger number has merely endorsed the voting aspirations of these people through such channels as the resolutions of organized bodies. Sitting in statewide or Southwide conventions,

the Baptist and Methodist churches, for example, have on more than one occasion taken the side of admitting Negroes as voters in all elections — and at the very moment when this right was being challenged by the politicians. State leagues of women voters have taken a similar stand.

Wielding perhaps a greater and more direct influence than the preceding groups in developing a body of opinion favorable to voting by Negroes have been the editors of newspapers. Beginning with ten or more each in Virginia and North Carolina, every State of the South has one or more newspapers which have consistently advocated the use of the ballot by all citizens. Even in those States where party leaders have tried every means to evade the mandate of the Supreme Court in the white primary cases, certain editors have held to their liberal views, regardless of the fulminations of these leaders.

So firm has been the belief of a number of newspapermen that the Southern States should discard their restrictions on voting that, on at least one occasion, they have assembled as a body to express their views and to make a written report to the general public. In 1944 a group of thirty-two editors and writers met at Atlanta, Georgia, and frankly revealed how the poll tax, registration practices, and the white primary bar hundreds of thousands of citizens, white and Negro, from voting. One of these editors, from the State of Georgia, expressed himself as follows:

> I want to see the poll tax abolished and the Negro enfranchised; and there is not anybody afraid of either one of those propositions in the State of Georgia except politicians who don't know anything has happened in the last hundred years . . .

Proceeding beyond the level of mere voting on election day, some newspapers have placed the stamp of approval on Negroes running for public office. Among this number is the Richmond *Times-Dispatch.* Commenting on the attempt of Oliver W. Hill to win a seat in the General Assembly of Virginia in August, 1947, the editor of this paper wrote:

> Since Richmond and Virginia are almost one-third colored, there is nothing revolutionary in the idea that Negro citizens of the city and State desire to have representation in the Legislature by their own people . . . Today all the instruments of power in the South are in the hands of the Southern whites. Yet we do have a democratic tradition which holds that American citizens are entitled to vote and hold office. It is natural, then, that our Negro citizens should hope to exercise that right. Furthermore, it seems inevitable that as they rise higher in the educational and cultural scale, they will succeed in doing so.

Statements and points of view like these shown above have done much to boost the morale of Negroes and to cause them to discard

their fear of exercising political rights. To this extent, the individuals indicated above have been indispensable in creating the larger body of Negro voters which emerged between 1940 and 1947.

Conclusion

WITH considerable emphasis laid in this report on the decline of barriers to voting in the South to the advantage of the Negro, it is in order at this point to evaluate this new development and suggest procedures for the future. One pertinent question is: What does the new day represent in terms of the relative advance in the number of Negro voters and white voters? Does the increase in the number of Negro voters in any way endanger the superior position of the white man, popularly known as "white supremacy"? A related question in this connection is the permanence of the suffrage movement among Negroes as described in these pages. Is it likely to continue, or will reactionary forces gain the upper hand and throw the Negro back to the position he held before 1940, particularly in the lower South?

In spite of the gains made by Negroes as voters during the decade of the 1940's, it is correct to say that the whites have likewise been advancing, and in most States at a faster rate. In Florida, for example, while the Negroes were undergoing an increase of 31,000 voters between 1940 and 1947, the whites were adding 50,000 or more during the same period. In the South at large, Negroes advanced during this period from two per cent qualified in 1940 to twelve per cent in 1947. But, notwithstanding this growth, the proportionate number of qualified voters among the whites is still overwhelming. In Florida the ratio is about 14 to 1; in Virginia, 20 to 1; and in Louisiana, 100 to 1.

In no State of the South does the Negro population exceed the white, and in no political subdivision of a State does the number of qualified Negro voters exceed the white. In the black belt of Virginia, where the races are about equally divided in number, the white qualified voters outnumber the Negro 6 to 1. In all the other black belts of the South, the ratio in favor of the whites is probably much greater. It would therefore require a stretch of the imagination for anyone to assert that white supremacy is threatened by the present size of the Negro electorate; for the developments of the 1940 decade represent not a fulfillment of political equality, but only a beginning toward its realization.

Because of the poverty and limited education of hundreds of thousands of white Southerners, the forces of reaction in the South have always been powerful. This group stands ready to fight any movement which seems directed to the advancement of the Negro. This position is strengthened by the fact that it is from the reactionary element that the demagogues and many of the politicians draw their strength. Public officials demand a strict observance of the traditional registration practices, or, if these fail, they demand amendments to the state constitutions in an effort to restrain the potential Negro voter. It is in line with this trend of thought that Alabama added the Boswell Amendment in 1946 and that other States are contemplating similar measures.

Regardless of reaction and demagoguery, it seems highly improbable that the progress made by the Negroes as voters during the 1940 decade will wane. At one time, in a considerable portion of the South physical violence was inflicted upon any Negro who attempted to register; later, brutality was discarded in favor of a policy of evasion; today registration officials will enroll some or all of the Negroes who apply. Improvement in education, a growing urbanization, and above all a greater appreciation for democracy in the light of world conditions are some of the factors which have wrought changes at the registration places.

For some time now electoral reform organizations and advocates of a free ballot generally have attempted to abolish the poll tax, either by an act of Congress or by the state legislatures. In this effort they have enjoyed considerable success, and to this extent all believers in the free exercise of the electoral processes in our country must be grateful. But now, with the possibility of this fee being wiped out as a result of their efforts, it would be well for them to consider levelling their guns at the discriminatory registration practices in a half dozen Southern States. While attempting to abolish the poll tax, the reformers have apparently overlooked the registration barrier which has stood as a veritable mountain to prohibit many who have been able and willing to pay the tax.

Since it is registration which is now the greatest deterrent to voting by Negroes, and since the law of all the Southern States, as well as that of the Federal Government, provides remedies for the numerous instances in which these officials wilfully debar many potential voters, the parties aggrieved should make a much wider use of the courts — state and federal — than they have in the past. These agencies wiped out the white primary; they have diminished the rigours of registration in some places; and, above all else, they have been largely responsible for creating the favorable public opinion noted throughout this pamphlet.

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Making Democracy Work In South Carolina

By Marion A. Wright

OF COURSE, no system of government will ever work perfectly in all places and at all times. Systems are man-made and, hence, imperfect. No odium arises from the failure of democracy to function perfectly; it may arise from the failure of men to strive at all times and to the limit of their powers to achieve perfection.

It has been 736 years since Magna Carta was signed; 166 years since the Constitution of the United States was adopted; 80 years since the 14th and 15th Amendments were added — all landmarks in the growth of democracy.

The fact that, after all of these years, we in South Carolina have not brought our public policy into accord with those declarations is proof of the slow and feeble operation of reason and religion on the human mind and heart. Truly, the mills of the gods —

We are still far, far away from that equality under law which is presumed and proclaimed to be one of the distinguishing characteristics and glories of a democracy. No citizen has a right to rest or possess his soul in peace until equal opportunity exists in fact as on paper. What may the private citizen — John Smith or Mary Jones — do to help make democracy work?

FIELDS FOR EFFORT

Few of us are governors, are worth a million dollars, or control great newspapers or radios. It is easy to say, "If I were one of those, if I had that power." Granted that power, station, eminence are desirable and do lengthen the reach of the individual, there still remain inexhaustible fields for application of the effort of little men and little women.

One of the great illusions we cherish is that our leaders actually lead. Without indulging in any disparagement, a leader can go no further and no faster than public opinion permits. Democracy, as contrasted with other forms of government, is fertilized with ideas from the bottom, not the top.

This article is drawn from a speech delivered recently at the 1951 annual meeting of the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Wright, a lawyer by profession, is a native and long-time resident of South Carolina; he now lives in Linville Falls, North Carolina. He is a member of the Executive Committee of SRC.

Public opinion is the result of accretion of opinions of individuals. Hence, to entertain correct opinions and to express them persuasively and without fear upon any appropriate occasion is among the first duties of the citizen. By such a process, generally followed over a sufficient period of time, is leadership educated and emboldened.

LEADERSHIP AND OPINION

At Chapel Hill — seat of one of our great universities — the authorities, out of ingrained habit, seated the recently admitted Negro law students in a grandstand set aside for Negroes. Fourteen organizations — white students — filed immediate and formal protest. The official action was promptly rescinded. The leadership had incorrectly gauged student opinion. It reacted when the true opinion was made manifest.

It is not enough to entertain correct opinions. They do but little good unless communicated. They must be tossed into the stream of opinion flowing and seething about us.

It has always seemed to me that those on the wrong side of an issue are much more vocal than those on the right. This may be entirely natural. It may be that you *have* to shout to rouse the rabble. Nevertheless, the still, small voice idea may be overdone.

Inborn gentility may cause one to speak quietly while others shout. Let us be sure it is gentility, not timidity.

Democracy means having opinions, not accepting them ready-made from others.

Years ago this state was served by an extremely able man, William Knox Tate. I think he came from Tennessee and was our first high-school inspector. He said that he noticed this peculiarity about South Carolinians: they sized up a cause or a policy upon the basis of who was for or against it. The correct procedure, as Mr. Tate pointed out, was to size up a man upon the basis of how he stood on the cause or policy. So, for example, our views on segregation should not be arrived at as the result of the positions of Governors Talmadge and Byrnes, but our attitude towards the two governors should be influenced by the positions they have taken on segregation and other issues. To accept the views of the two governors merely because of the source from which such views come is to attribute to the governors a degree of infallibility hardly claimed for any other mortal.

THREE GREAT MOVEMENTS

In college years ago I was taught that the three great movements which have rocked the world were the democratization of government, of religion, and of education. I thought of them as historical and accomplished facts, occurring in the Middle Ages, or, certainly, in the 18th or 19th centuries. It has taken a long time for me to realize that the process is not complete. It will probably never be complete. All of us still have roles to play in trying to bring these dreams to fruition. The South now, and more particularly South Carolina, is an area in which an effort is being made further to democratize education.

A cardinal feature of democracy is the position occupied by the courts. In the Communist and Fascist view, courts exist to enforce the will of the ruling class. Decisions are dictated by rulers and are designed to preserve the status, to strengthen the stranglehold which the leaders have on the

masses. With us, the function of the court is not to register the popular will, to enforce the desires of the majority, or for that matter, of the minority, but to determine what is right and just under the law of the land.

Untrammeled courts are an institution of democracy. We make democracy work by giving allegiance and support to its institutions.

The proponents of the effort to democratize education have turned to the courts, a normal, proper, and inevitable process. The court of last resort has the issue before it — the simple issue of whether or not every citizen shall have the right to use and enjoy all the institutions of the state upon precisely the same terms as every other citizen. Underlying that issue is the deeper one of whether or not a caste system may be maintained in a democracy. Shall the state drive or preserve lines of cleavage among its citizens?

FORMS OF ANARCHY

With that issue before the court, the elemental duty of leadership would seem to be to state sincerely that it will abide by the result, not grudgingly but graciously.

To announce in advance, as Governor Talmadge is said to have done, that if the decision is adverse to his views, his state will *flout* the decision, is of course, a form of anarchy. To announce in advance as Governor Byrnes is said to have done, that, if the decision is adverse to his views, his state will *circumvent* the decision, is anarchy in a subtler form. There is a difference in phraseology, in manners, but the two pronouncements spring from the same motive and seek to accomplish the same result. "Circumvent" is a three syllable word meaning flout.

We here are not especially concerned with the plans of Governor Talmadge, but we are critically concerned with how South Carolina is to circumvent the decision if it should be adverse to Governor Byrnes' contention.

I only know what I read in the papers, but I infer that school property worth some hundreds of millions of dollars is to be given or leased for a nominal sum to the churches which will conduct the schools.

The details of this broad and ambitious program have not been revealed. They must be perplexing to its advocates.

SOME QUESTIONS

Surely, on principles of elementary justice, the property would be divided between white and Negro churches. Upon what basis? What ratio? How shall it be divided among Jews, Catholics, and Protestants? And when you have decided what value or what facilities should go to Protestants, how will you break them down as between Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, A.R.P.'s, Seventh Day Adventists, Holy Rollers, Unitarians and all the other sects? If ability to conduct schools is a factor — and it would seem to be of maximum importance — who is to set up standards of fitness and determine when those standards have been reached? And when relative church membership fluctuates, as it constantly does, or when capacity to conduct a school diminishes or evaporates, what is to become of property conveyed or leased upon assuming a certain membership or a certain capacity?

To use Mr. Churchill's phrase, the

whole scheme is a mystery wrapped in an enigma.

The fundamental taint of the scheme is that, for one to have a voice in the conduct of school affairs, in determining the kind of education his children receive, he must be a member of a church. More than that, he must be a member of the particular church conducting the school in his community. As he moves from one community to another he must change his membership to accord with the prevailing sentiment or be disfranchised in so far as school affairs are concerned. Surely, religious convictions are not so lightly held!

The churches have full authority to prescribe qualifications for membership — financial, theological, or otherwise. One's right to a voice in education is subject to his meeting those qualifications. If he fails "to pay his preacher," or if he believes in sprinkling rather than immersion, he may find himself unable to send his children to the very school which he and other tax payers have built.

PROPOSED GIFT OF PROPERTY

In larger outline what is it the circumventists propose?

They propose to give away hundreds of millions of dollars of state property — a raid upon the treasury which would have been beyond the wildest dreams of Carpetbaggers. These physical assets occupy precisely the same status as cash or government bonds.

They propose to give this vast property to churches, although since Revolutionary days the state's organic law has forbidden gift of a thin dime to church institutions.

They propose to jettison a public school system developed over decades — with all of its trained personnel and increasingly higher standards, throwing thousands of devoted teachers out of employment unless their religious beliefs happen to appeal to a church board of trustees.

They would bring death, not only to public education, long regarded as a function of every civilized state, but to the ancient democratic principle of separation of church and state.

All of this to escape the possible consequences of a judicial decision!

When a debtor conveys property to escape a judgment, the courts describe his conduct by an ugly word — fraud. Surely no church wishes to be a party to so odorous a procedure.

FOR WHAT PURPOSE?

They propose to do all of this for what purpose? To keep democracy from working in South Carolina. To avoid application of Christian principles to conduct of human affairs.

It is hard to believe that the advocates of this scheme realize what is transpiring in the world about them. Catholic schools of college and graduate level in the South are now open to Negroes. A thousand Negro students attended white colleges in the South this past year. All Baptist schools of theology are now open to Negroes. The Episcopalians are rapidly moving in the same direction. The Emory University theological student body voted 210 to 13 to admit Negroes. There is little in the church picture to give comfort to advocates of segregation. The churches might be very unsafe custodians of property conveyed for the purpose of perpetuating a caste system. By lending themselves to such a scheme they would incur the contempt of civilized men throughout the world.

The courts speak the secular conscience. Surely it is not flattering to the church to intimate that the Christian lags behind in secular conscience.

It took some years for me to come to the belief that South Carolina made a great mistake when it attempted to secede from the Union. That was a political Union. It will make a vastly graver mistake if it attempts to secede from the union with the moral forces of this country. The moral forces — the conscience — of the country are resolved that the artificial barriers which men have reared between themselves shall be taken down. If we have a decent regard for the opinions of mankind we shall not attempt to obstruct that process.

A MORAL WRONG

If the court should now decide the issue favorably to segregation, the decision would represent a brief and transitory victory for the forces behind Governors Byrnes and Talmadge. The nation is resolved that there shall be no classes or degrees of citizenship, no special privileges or penalties arising from race. The nation is convinced that segregation is wrong in morals. The question will ultimately be decided on the moral, rather than the legal, issue.

Can South Carolina, if it would, isolate itself from the rest of the country? Can you quarantine against an idea? Can you lay an embargo on thought? Can you insulate against a moral principle?

But it does a great injustice to South Carolina to imply that these same forces are not operative here. It is true that a few misguided bigots sometimes parade in sheets. It is true that sometimes our leaders speak the language of seventy-five years ago. (It is amazing how some of them who have been exposed to so much have absorbed so little.) But no people excel us in church membership and in the sacrifices we make for our churches. And no churches excel our own in condemning the Ghetto — in Germany — and the caste system — in India. They have taught, and generations have come to believe in, the equality of men before the throne. It is but a step downward to believe in equality of men before the law, and from that to equality of men in all of life's relationships. When that belief is held there is no room in the mind for the antagonistic belief that men should be segregated from their brothers.

There exists, then, this factor of no small consequence in making democracy work — a nebulous belief flowing from religious training and conviction. Scattered throughout the state there must be many thousands of men and women who test the latest utterances of our politicians against the Sermon on the Mount.

VANQUISHED TABOOS

Anyhow, *some* forces are at work. Student publications in white universities in every Southern state have advocated admission of Negroes to their graduate schools. Student opinion polls favor admission on undergraduate levels also. A young man at the college at Charleston (South Carolina, that is, believe it or not) wins a medal in oratory for a speech advocating abolition of segregation. The walls crumble — at the polls, on the trains, in the dining cars, in the public libraries. Taboos sacred for centuries have been vanquished in stride and without incident.

What does it take to make democ-

racy work? Courage. The willingness to stand up and be counted. Writing, talking, speaking on every convenient occasion — even at the risk of being called a do-gooder (as though some stigma attached to doing good!) — or the not negligible risk of being branded a Communist or subversive. It calls for letting our politicians know that the jargon they utter fills us with dismay and disgust.

In exchange for an exhibition of courage what do we get? The prize is large. It is found in the enhancement of our self-respect, in an inner harmony which comes from reconciling our practices with our pretensions, in the sympathetic pride with which we observe a race wage successful struggle for its rights, and in the consciousness of having helped to create conditions which permit us to claim all men as friends and brothers.

On the Southern Scene

GROVELAND'S BITTER SEQUEL

THE Lake County, Florida, case — commonly known as the Groveland case — reached a shocking climax a few weeks ago, when Sheriff Willis V. McCall shot two Negroes in his custody, killing one and seriously wounding the other.

The two men, Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin, were on the eve of a retrial for the alleged rape of a Lake County white woman in 1949. The United States Supreme Court set aside an earlier conviction because of discrimination in jury selection; in a concurring opinion (reprinted in the August-September *New South*) Justice Robert Jackson severely criticized the sensational newspaper accounts which preceded the trial, as well as the failure of the trial judge to grant a change of venue.

The questionable circumstances surrounding the shooting of Shepherd and Irvin have attracted nation-wide publicity and protest. Sheriff McCall has testified that he was transporting the two prisoners in his car at night on a lonely road when a flat tire forced him to stop. As he prepared to change the tire, he declared, the handcuffed prisoners jumped him and he shot in self-defense. On the other hand, Irvin, the surviving member of the pair, has testified that the sheriff ordered them from the car and shot them without provocation. He also charged that a deputy who was leading the way in another car appeared a few minutes later and fired another bullet into the wounded Irvin.

On the basis of the evidence so far made public, no one can properly judge whether Sheriff McCall's act was one of self-defense or one of outright murder. But it can be said that the affair is a disgrace to a democratic nation in the twentieth century. Even if the sheriff's account is accepted word for word, he is guilty of an incredible breach of office; the rawest police recruit, in fact, the merest layman, could be expected to show more skill and discretion than Sheriff McCall claims to have shown.

Here are some of the questions that have been raised:

Why was the sheriff driving alone

at night with two prisoners who had been condemned to death and over whom public excitement had once before reached mob proportions?

Why was the only other escorting officer in another car?

Why were the prisoners moved at night?

Why did Sheriff McCall bypass the main thoroughfare in favor of a longer and less frequented back road?

To date, these questions have had no satisfactory answers. On November 10, a coroner's jury returned this finding: "Samuel Shepherd came to his death by gunshot wounds at the hand of Willis V. McCall. The said shooting was justifiable by reason that McCall was acting in line of duty and in defense of his own life." Circuit Judge T. G. Futch declared that the "thorough" probe by the coroner's jury removed any need for a grand jury investigation.

The United States Justice Department is also making an investigation. Perhaps its findings will throw a more satisfactory light on this shameful failure of local law enforcement.

* * *

PRAISE FOR NEGRO POLICE

Employment of Negro policemen in Southern cities drew unqualified praise at the 58th annual convention of the International Association of Police Chiefs, held in Miami early in November. Southern police chiefs attending the meeting were unanimous on the effectiveness of Negro officers in reducing crime and improving morale among Negro citizens.

Miami Police Chief Walter Headley spoke for many when he declared: "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers was sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about fifty per cent."

Miami, with a total of 41 Negro policemen, leads all other Southern cities in the number employed. The Southern Regional Council's latest tabulation showed 443 Negro officers (including plainclothesmen and policewomen) now serving in 82 towns and cities throughout the thirteen Southern states.

* * *

DEMOCRACY IN MEMPHIS

"In view of the fact that we live in a dual system in our society, simple justice requires that Negroes be represented on our school board." On this campaign note, Dr. J. E. Walker became the first Negro in recent years to seek office in Memphis, Tennessee.

Although he failed in his bid for election to the school board on November 8, Dr. Walker's candidacy set a wholesome precedent for Memphis and other cities of the deep South. His support was not wholly confined to Negro voters; the returns showed ballots cast for him in all the city's precincts, including those which are exclusively white.

That is not surprising in view of the persuasive arguments advanced by Dr. Walker and his supporters. In announcing his candidacy, the Negro educational and civic leader said, in part:

"There is a need for better contact between the board and the Negro schools. . . . There is not a single Negro high school in Memphis that is accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. I believe we should have some Negro high schools that are. . . . Without implying any criticism of the present school board, it is still my feeling that the Negro schools in Memphis should receive more sym-

pathetic attention.

"The way to achieve this, I believe, is through a member of their own race taking an active part and interest in the deliberations on school matters. With such a large minority of teachers and children Negroes — forty per cent — justice demands someone of their own people to speak for them."

* * *

THE SOUTH'S GROWING ECONOMY

The economy of the Southeast was described in a recent report of the U. S. Department of Commerce as "one of the most dynamic in the United States." Between 1929 and 1949 the eleven Southeastern states increased their share of the nation's total income from 10.5 per cent to 13.7 per cent.

The increase in per capita income, by states, was even more impressive. South Carolina showed an increase of 210 per cent; North Carolina, 175 per cent; Georgia, 160 per cent; Arkansas, Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, and Louisiana, about 150 per cent; Kentucky, Mississippi and Florida, about 140 per cent.

This is how the Department of Commerce explained these gains: "Industry, favored by available resources awaiting development, by low comparative costs and attractive market opportunities prevailing in the Southeast, expanded faster than the national rate of increase. Workers, afforded improved opportunities, migrated to urban areas and to other regions of the country. These local forces, as well as those operating nationally, tended to raise the level of output and of wages appreciably."

But this twenty-year record of progress, heartening as it is, leaves the South at the bottom of the nation's economic ladder; for in 1949 the Southeast's per capita income was still only 65 per cent of the national average.

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

"Sheriff John W. Lynch of Dade County, Georgia, announced that he plans to retain his office and run for re-election while serving a one-year sentence in a federal penitentiary. He was convicted of depriving seven Negroes of their civil rights. Before surrendering, he swore in his wife as chief deputy to carry on the office."

— News item

Voters, voters, hear my plea:
Though I'm distant, think of me
As you near election day;
I'm not gone — I'm just away.
(Under federal auspices.)

Voters, voters, never doubt
I know the law — inside and out.
I am doubly qualified,
Not only true, but lately tried.
(Just ask the jury.)

Voters, voters, never fear,
Though I'm absent for a year;
Should a thief invade your house,
You need only call my spouse.
(My chief deputy, that is.)

Voters, voters, I am sure
You'll protect my sinecure —
Each of you who understands
That the law's still in my hands.
(And vice versa.)

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New South

All material presented in New South *may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.*

A New Trend in Private Colleges

By A. A. Morisey

WHILE court action is cracking the wall of segregated education in state-supported institutions below the Mason and Dixon Line, private institutions in the South, in increasing numbers, are voluntarily opening their doors to Negro students.

A survey by the *Journal and Sentinel* shows that twenty private schools in most of the Southern states have admitted Negro students to their classes. Many of the colleges, however, restrict Negroes to study on the graduate level. Others admit them freely to all departments.

The policy on the use of dormitories and dining rooms varies. At some schools Negro students live in the dormitories and eat in the dining rooms while at others these facilities are denied.

Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, and non-denominational institutions are among those which admit Negroes. The complete list of institutions which formerly accepted only white students and now admit Negroes is as follows:

Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia

Berea College, Berea, Kentucky

Nazareth College, Louisville, Kentucky

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana

Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

Wayland College, Plainview, Texas

Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas

Austin Theological Seminary, Austin, Texas

Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland

St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

The long series of Federal court decisions opening Southern state universities to Negroes has attracted national attention. Not so widely noticed is the fact that a growing number of private colleges in the South — most of them church-related — have quietly begun admitting Negro students. This article is reprinted from the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel. Mr. Morisey is on the reportorial staff of that newspaper.

The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

Dunbarton College of Holy Cross, Washington, D. C.

American University, Washington, D. C.

St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri

Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana

Ursuline College, Louisville, Kentucky

Louisville Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri

Early Precedent

The two Catholic institutions, one in Washington and the other in St. Louis, reported the largest number of Negro students enrolled. The Catholic University of America, in Washington, has followed a policy of admitting both races since it was founded in 1889. The university keeps no record of nationalities or races but estimates that it has between 200 and 300 Negro students in all departments and schools of the university. Around 500 Negro students have received degrees from the school, an official estimated. The institution has no quotas or limitations and Negro students have access to all the services and facilities of the university.

St. Louis University, like its sister school in Washington, admits Negroes to all its facilities. "They have been fully integrated into the college program with no unhappy results," an official said. A total of 351 Negro students was enrolled last year and five Negro teachers were on the faculty.

"A trend toward acceptance of Negro students is being hastened," a spokesman for the university said, "by the experience of universities like St. Louis that the admission of Negro students poses no problem of acceptance by white students and no insurmountable problem of inferior secondary education background. The forthright pronouncement of the courts in recent months and the growing realization that the teaching of democracy in American colleges can be fostered by the admission of Negroes are other factors."

Another Catholic institution admits "a limited number of Negro students and is prudently increasing its quota" but because of local conditions prefers no publicity. "Let's break down prejudice, not write about it," an official suggested.

The four theological seminaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States admit Negro students to work on a graduate level. They are located in Richmond, Virginia; Decatur, Georgia; Austin, Texas; and Louisville, Kentucky.

Need for Contact

A Presbyterian official said, "Our denomination is sensing the need of a more definite contact between the Christian leadership of the Negro race and the white race. If we are to find a Christian solution for our problems it will be necessary for Christian leaders of both races to get together for study. For this reason, we feel that it would be to the advantage of all concerned if some way could be opened for our Negro ministers to be trained in our white seminaries."

Negro students at the Louisville Theological Seminary have access to all facilities, but those who attend the other three seminaries do not use the dormitories or dining rooms.

An official at one of the seminaries expressed the belief that a "definite

trend toward the admission of Negro students has developed" and explained it saying, "Christianity is filtering through slowly."

Three Baptist theological seminaries are admitting Negro students. They are located at Fort Worth, Texas; Louisville, Kentucky; and New Orleans, Louisiana. The latter institution voted to accept Negro students for graduate work last February but none entered during the past term.

'Recognition of Unfairness'

Wayland College, a Baptist institution, admitted its first Negro students in June. They have access to all facilities of the school. An official of the college said that the factors hastening the admission of Negro students are, "recognition of the unfairness of the present situation, a wish to equalize training facilities for all races, and an attempt to thwart communism as it tries to make inroads into democracy through the illiterate and suppressed peoples."

Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, admitted its first Negro student for the winter quarter last year, but the only department open to the race is the graduate school of theology. The three Negro students who enrolled lived in the city, but a university official said that the dormitories and dining rooms of the theological school would be available to Negro students. The university is owned by the South Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church.

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, has accepted colored students each year since World War II. The registrar said, "We do not hesitate to accept those who can meet the requirements and who seem likely to profit by their attendance here." The university is non-denominational.

St. John's College at Annapolis, Maryland, has one Negro student who expects to graduate next June. It is non-denominational and has a "four-year all-required program."

"The nature of the curriculum," the director of admissions said, "tends to exercise a certain natural selection among prospective students, but this in no way coincides with racial or social factors."

A prominent white churchman, active in Southern race relations, said that the "final hurdle to be cleared" is convincing trustees of small colleges that their difficult financial conditions will not be further increased by admitting Negro students.

Youth and Morality

"There is already," he said, "enough acceptance on the part of students and faculties to make the admission of Negro applicants quite an easy process. In my opinion, the factor of greatest importance in hastening these admissions is the very decided change in attitude on the part of large numbers of young, church-related students who no longer believe in the old theory of white supremacy.

"These youngsters do not control the policies of the colleges and universities, but their steady and natural demand to change the old patterns is being more and more felt in the decisions made by the boards of trustees.

"Basic to all this, however, and most important is the simple and undeniable fact that there is no moral ground on which to continue the policy of segregation in the field of education. In my opinion, this is the pressure which in the end is going to change the current pattern."

Postscript on Groveland

NEW SOUTH readers will recall that in August, 1949, we presented an account of mob activity in the Groveland, Florida, area. (One of the main conclusions reached in that account is reprinted below.) The incident which set off the disorders was an alleged rape of a white housewife by four Negro youths. One of the suspects was shot to death by a posse. The three others were found guilty in a hasty trial; two were sentenced to death and one to life imprisonment.

Last spring, the U. S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial for the condemned men, on grounds of discrimination in selection of the jury. A re-trial has been set for November.

Following are salient portions of Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson's concurring opinion in the Groveland case. His criticism of the original trial is a stern warning of the need for calm and impartial administration of justice in cases involving race.

Mr. Justice JACKSON, whom Mr. Justice FRANKFURTER joins, concurring in the result:

On the 16th of July, 1949, a seventeen-year-old white girl in Lake County, Florida, reported that she had been raped, at the point of a pistol, by four Negros. Six days later, petitioners were indicted and, beginning September 1, were tried for the offense, convicted without recommendation of mercy, and sentenced to death.[1] The Supreme Court of Florida, in reviewing evidence of guilt, said, "As we study the testimony, the only question presented here is which set of witnesses would the jury believe, that is, the State's witnesses or the testimony as given by the defendant-appellants."

But prejudicial influences outside the courtroom, becoming all too typical of a highly publicized trial, were brought to bear on this jury with such force that the conclusion is inescapable that these defendants were prejudged as guilty and the trial was but a legal gesture to register a verdict already dictated by the press and the public opinion which it generated.

. . . Neither counsel nor court can control the admission of evidence if unproven, and probably unprovable, "confessions" are put before the jury by newspapers and radio. Rights of the defendant to be confronted by witnesses against him and to cross-examine them are thereby circumvented. It is hard to imagine a more prejudicial influence than a press release by the officer of the court charged with defendants' custody stating that they had confessed, and here just such a statement, unsworn to, unseen, uncross-examined and uncontradicted, was conveyed by the press to the jury.

. . . No doubt this trial judge felt helpless to give the accused any real protection against this out-of-court campaign to convict. But if freedoms of press are so abused as to make fair trial in the locality impossible, the judicial process must be protected by removing the trial to a forum beyond its probable influence. Newspapers, in the enjoyment of their constitutional rights, may not deprive accused persons of their right to fair trial. These convictions, accompanied by

1. A recommendation of mercy was made as to defendant Charles Greenlee, a minor, and he does not appeal. The fourth suspect, Ernest Thomas, was killed resisting arrest.

such events, do not meet any civilized conception of due process of law. That alone is sufficient, to my mind, to warrant reversal.

But that is not all. Of course, such a crime stirred deep feeling and was exploited to the limit by the press. These defendants were first taken to the county jail of Lake County. A mob gathered and demanded that defendants be turned over to it. By order of court, they were quickly transferred for safekeeping to the state prison, where they remained until about two weeks before the trial. Meanwhile, a mob burned the home of defendant Shepherd's father and mother and two other Negro houses. Negroes were removed from the community to prevent their being lynched. The National Guard was called out on July 17 and 18 and, on July 19, the 116th Field Artillery was summoned from Tampa. The Negroes of the community abandoned their homes and fled.

'Prejudicial Publicity'

Every detail of these passion-arousing events was reported by the press under such headlines as, "Night Riders burn Lake Negro homes" and "Flames from Negro homes light night sky in Lake County." These and many other articles were highly prejudicial, including a cartoon published at the time of the grand jury, picturing four electric chairs and headed, "No compromise — Supreme penalty."

Counsel for defendants made two motions, one to defer the trial until the passion had died out and the other for a change of venue. These were denied. The Supreme Court of Florida, in affirming the conviction, observed that "The inflamed public sentiment was against the crime with which the appellants were charged rather than defendants' race." Such an estimate seems more charitable than realistic, and I cannot agree that the prejudice had subsided at the time of trial.

Concern About Violence

The trial judge, anxious to assure as fair a trial as possible under the circumstances, was evidently concerned about violence at the trial. He promulgated special rules which limited the number of visitors to those that could be seated, allowed no one to stand or loiter in hallways, stairways, and parts of the courthouse for thirty minutes before court convened and after it recessed, closed the elevators except to officers of the court or individuals to whom the sheriff gave special permit, required each person entering the courtroom to submit to search, prohibited any person from taking a "valise, satchel, bag, basket, bottle, jar, jug, bucket, package, bundle or other such item" to the courtroom floor of the courthouse, allowed crutches, canes and walking sticks only after inspection by the sheriff showed them to be necessary aids, prohibited demonstrations of any nature and made various other regulations, all of which the sheriff was charged to enforce and to that end was authorized to employ such number of deputies as might be necessary. Such precautions, however commendable, show the reaction that the atmosphere which permeated the trial created in the mind of the trial judge.

The situation presented by this record is not different, in essentials, from that which was found a denial of due process in Moore v. Dempsey, 261 U.S. 86, 43 S.Ct. 265, 67 L.Ed. 543. Under these circumstances, for the Court to

reverse these convictions upon the sole ground that the method of jury selection discriminated against the Negro race, is to stress the trivial and ignore the important. While this record discloses discrimination which under normal circumstances might be prejudicial, this trial took place under conditions and was accompanied by events which would deny defendants a fair trial before any kind of jury. I do not see, as a practical matter, how any Negro on the jury would have dared to cause a disagreement or acquittal.

The only chance these Negroes had of acquittal would have been in the courage and decency of some sturdy and forthright white person of sufficient standing to face and live down the odium among his white neighbors that such a vote, if required, would have brought. To me, the technical question of discrimination in the jury selection has only theoretical importance. The case presents one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice. It is on that ground that I would reverse.

From 'New South,' August, 1949

It is often said that the best deterrent to mob violence in cases of criminal assault is speedy trial and conviction of the culprits. This is a dangerous doctrine. Justice, in its proper sense, cannot be hurried; when it is, the result is frequently a violation of the judicial process. Our court system is designed to give the accused person the benefit of every doubt, but that does not occur when cases are tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and passion. Authorities are often swayed, consciously or unconsciously, by their desire to appease the wrath of the public.

We are not concerned here with the guilt or innocence of the three Negroes accused in the Groveland case. But it is obvious that they deserve a fair and objective trial. The grand jury, perhaps necessarily, made its investigation during a time of great public excitement; it was not even possible to hear testimony by the accused men, since they could not safely be returned to the county. The nature of public opinion was well illustrated by a cartoon prominently displayed by a daily newspaper in a nearby city. On the day the grand jury convened, the paper bore across its front page the picture of four empty electric chairs, under the imperative caption, "No Compromise!"

In view of all this, some of the statements made by local officials were disturbing. It will be recalled that the state attorney declared the accused men would receive an early trial; the circuit judge announced that he saw no reason why the trial should not be held in Lake County. In such a case, one might question the advisability of a hasty trial, however satisfying it might be to the relatives and friends of the assaulted girl. And, whenever the case may be tried, the need for a change of venue is obvious. Public sentiment being what it is in Lake County, a calm trial and unbiased consideration by a jury would be well-nigh impossible.

Negro Candidates in Southern Elections

With the growth of the Negro ballot in the South, Negro office-seeking has shown a moderate but steady increase in the past few years. During 1951 some thirty Negroes have sought public office in their communities. Leading the Southern states by far in this respect is North Carolina, where fifteen Negro candidates offered for city councils. They participated in primaries or final elections in Burlington, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, Madison, Monroe, Raleigh, Rocky Mount, Southern Pines, and Winston-Salem.

Although only five Negroes in the region were successful in their bids for office, others failed by narrow margins. In Jacksonville, Florida, for example, one of two Negro candidates for city council placed second in a field of four.

The successful candidates — in each case for city council or board of aldermen — were:

Dr. W. P. Devane, physician, Fayetteville, N. C.

Dr. William M. Hampton, physician, Greensboro, N. C.

Rev. William R. Crawford, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Robert E. Lillard, attorney, Nashville, Tenn.

Z. A. Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tenn.

Particularly notable was the election of Dr. Hampton. He is the first Negro in recent years to serve as councilman in Greensboro. In a field of thirteen candidates for seven vacancies, he won fifth place. This showing was partly due to the substantial number of white voters who supported him. Of 5,219 votes cast in his favor, only 2,393 came from the predominantly Negro precincts. It has been estimated that Dr. Hampton might well have won solely on the basis of white returns.

Also significant was the heavy support received by Dr. Devane, of Fayetteville. Having completed one two-year term, he was re-elected with the largest number of votes received by any of the ten candidates in the race.

Mr. Looby's election, followed shortly by that of Mr. Lillard, marked the first time in almost forty years that Nashville has had Negro representation on its city council. The change was made possible largely by the passage of an ordinance providing for election by districts rather than wards.

Winston-Salem has had a Negro alderman since 1947, when the Rev. Kenneth Williams set the precedent for North Carolina and other Southern states. At the end of two terms on the board of aldermen, Mr. Williams this year declined to seek a third and was succeeded by Mr. Crawford.

SRC ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

The Southern Regional Council's 1951 membership meeting has been set by the Executive Committee for Wednesday, December 12, in Atlanta. Members will be notified at an early date of the time and place of meeting.

Our Stake in Africa

By Emmett J. Murphy

THE United States has been traditionally unconcerned, for the most part, with Africa and its affairs. Even during the days of the slave trade our interest in the continent was confined to the procuring of slaves along the west coast of Africa.

A possible toehold for United States economic and political influence was gained when the Republic of Liberia was established in 1847, but events soon showed that our efforts would be confined to the minimum necessary to provide a bare level of existence for the Liberian colonists. To most Americans, Africa has been the "dark continent" for centuries.

Particularly in the last two decades, however, American business and governmental interests have begun to stir and cast wondering eyes toward Africa. During World War II, Liberia, Dakar, and the various areas of north Africa loomed in importance for military purposes. The Union of South Africa and the Belgian Congo, both producers of a variety of strategic minerals, were recognized anew in this country. By the end of the war, the United States military departments, the State Department, and several private economic interests took firm steps to insure an open door for American investments in all parts of Africa.

A few American universities are now, for the first time, beginning serious study of African affairs. Last summer Northwestern University arranged a six-week Institute on Contemporary Africa. The Southern Regional Council sought out a suitable Southern student to attend and obtained the necessary scholarship aid. The choice fell on Mr. Murphy. He is a Georgian who has done graduate work at Emory University and the University of North Carolina. He spoke with warm praise of the Institute and has written for New South this summary of his own conclusions about African matters.

A New Era

There seems little doubt that we are entering a new era of relations with Africa and its peoples, particularly since many of the European colonies are moving toward independence, taking with them a healthy desire to advance economically and reach a higher standard of living. Our motives for establishing and maintaining friendly relations with the various parts of Africa are primarily economic, but we also see clearly the importance of Africa's strategic location, its manpower potential, and the prestige value of being regarded favorably by its native leaders and peoples.

Africa's economic potential is enormous in a world torn by war and depletion of natural resources. It contributes to the world even now the following percentages of important products: uranium, 60%; diamonds, 99%; cobalt, 80%; gold, 58%; phosphates, 36%; chrome and manganese, 30%; copper, 18%; cocoa, 69%; palm oil, 70%; and hard fibers, 46%. Some coal deposits have been discovered, and iron deposits of great size and purity have been reported in parts

of west Africa.

In the last three years an American firm has begun a very successful operation of iron mining in the Bomi Hill deposits of Liberia; in addition, reports continually trickle in from the interior of deposits of various minerals in geologically unknown areas. As a potential food producer and as a consumer of a great variety of products, Africa has great possibilities. But at present many parts of Africa are subject to periodic food shortages and famines, due largely to the fact that native economy, efficient in terms of existing soil and climatic conditions, is not adequate to support large populations in the few fertile areas of the continent.

Experts from Europe and the United States feel that the construction of irrigation systems, the scientific control of erosion, the use of modern methods of fertilization, and the introduction of modern methods of work organization could increase food production enormously. In Liberia, for example, experiments in 1946 carried out by a U. S. economic mission showed amazing results in the successful adoption of scientific agriculture and new crops by natives of the interior.

Toward Independence

In another way, however, Africa is of even greater importance to the United States and the free world. From a huge, sprawling, primitive, and undeveloped area completely under the direction of European powers it is moving slowly but unmistakably toward modernization, political consciousness, and independence.

In this transition the struggling handful of literate African leaders place a great trust in the possibility of aid and guidance from the United States. They believe fervently in the democratic, self-determining ideology which this country represents for subject peoples all over the world. The dignity of man, the equality of all peoples, the worth of the individual — to African peoples, the United States stands for all these.

Students in U. S.

Until recently most Africans who went abroad to study went to Europe, usually to the universities of the colonial powers to which they were subject. The number of students studying in the United States is still very small (there were 410 in 1950), but the number promises to grow rapidly. Part of the increase represents the increased recognition of American world leadership, part a reaction against continued identification with colonial powers. African students in this country report that most of the better jobs in the civil services and governmental agencies are given to European-educated men, however, while the American-educated men usually go into the professions, business, ministry, or newspaper work.

Much good and much bad can be said about the activities of the European colonial powers in Africa. But, whatever is true, the many African leaders prefer not to be dependent in any way upon their present political guardians. A few of the leaders in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, for instance, are seeking investments and political advice from the United States, even though Britain has embarked on fairly speedy programs of investment and promises much greater political autonomy in the near future.

Few of them advocate complete

isolation from the Western world, because they desire the economic development which they know they cannot achieve unaided. But they prefer that the development take place under native direction and at native choice. To achieve both the freedom and the development of their countries, many African leaders look to the United States.

At the present there seems to be little likelihood of African leaders turning to Russia and communism for aid. In South Africa, for instance, a few of the literate natives have embraced communism, but the total influence of communism in the Union is almost negligible. Communism as an economic system holds little attraction for a people who have for centuries practiced a very successful type of communality of their own, and Russian technological and capital resources are not as appealing as those of the United States. What danger there is lies in communist efforts to exploit nationalist sentiment for liberation from European colonial powers. It is on this point that the United States must eventually take a crucial stand, if it is to fulfill the expectations held by Africans.

Racial Discrimination

Discriminations based on skin color and race have been practiced in Africa to a very wide extent; these are keenly resented by African peoples and their literate leaders. Although these same discriminations are part and parcel of the American race scene, fortunately for our prestige in Africa they have never been publicized to the fullest extent among Africans.

More and more, however, African students — the backbone of political leadership in modern Africa — who come to this country to study are disillusioned by being segregated and refused many public services. Few of them are disillusioned to the extent of totally rejecting further contacts with our country, but their experiences cannot but lessen their faith in the leadership of the United States.

American Shortcomings

Even more damaging to United States prestige in native Africa are the activities of many American business and governmental representatives in Africa and in such bodies as the United Nations. Many Americans in Africa feel it necessary to fit in with the established social patterns set by other whites, even when these are quite derogatory to native dignity. Africans, expecting men from the country which leads the fight for universal human rights to act out the ideals for which America stands, are surprised and hurt to find that Americans string comfortably along with the practices of British, French, Belgian, or South African whites.

In the United Nations and special international councils, Africans are confronted with the same situation. American representatives, arguing in the abstract for self-determination, freedom, and human rights are found either to pay little heed to appeals by African native representatives or to go along with the policies of the colonial powers on most issues.

The recent move of the Union of South Africa in annexing South West Africa, protested by natives and Europeans alike, met with no determined opposition in the UN, even though in open defiance of UN provisions. Many native leaders and Europeans are afraid that South Africa will attempt

to take over Southern Rhodesia or Bechuanaland; they express little confidence that the United States or the UN will take firm steps to prevent it. Further, appeals by native groups from French Togoland to the UN to act to force liberalization of French policies met with inadequate response. In all such cases the United States, as leader of the democratic world, is looked to for sympathetic action.

U. S. and Human Rights

As the masses of native Africa become more literate, more vocal, and more in communication with world activities, the policies of the United States in the matters of racial contacts, independence movements, and human rights will assume greater and greater importance. Race relations within the United States, even now beginning to figure prominently in our relations with Africa, will assume more prominence.

The appeals of communist representatives, ever ready for faltering steps on the part of the democracies, will grow more audible and perhaps more tempting to many African leaders. It is certainly within the ability of Americans to take steps to safeguard our interests and prestige in such vital matters, but we cannot continue to rest on our ideological laurels.

The world today is action-conscious, and although peoples may be attracted for a time by the lure of a high-sounding ideology and pretty words, they cannot be held for any length of time without constructive attempts to back up such promises.

Land alienation has been a serious problem in all parts of Africa wherever white settlers have entered, reaching its most alarming proportions in the Union of South Africa, where the vast majority of natives are either segregated on tiny reserves or live in squalid slums in the cities and industrial areas. Land alienation is still proceeding apace in Kenya and Tanganyika despite protests by the British colonial officers and the enactment of somewhat limited statutes. As yet the United States has exerted little pressure toward land reform and the prevention of alienation, although the problem is becoming increasingly recognized in governmental circles.

Fortunately, the picture has many bright aspects, particularly on the economic side. Through the facilities of the Marshall Plan, the Point Four program, and limited private enterprise, the United States has participated in many concrete efforts to develop Africa. It has insisted with some measure of success that social and political development be included with the economic programs. Although the latter aspects have not reached the pace desired by most native leaders, they have been warmly received.

Liberian Development

In Liberia, Africa's only truly independent Negro republic, the United States has showed many indications in recent years of acting positively to help in economic development, social development, and the promotion of a democratic society shared by all indigenous groups. The Firestone rubber plantations in Liberia, begun in 1936 and encouraged by the United States government, have helped greatly to provide government revenue and stabilize the national debt in that country. The rubber ventures have helped to build highways, hospitals, and other services badly needed in Liberia.

Since the war, the United States

government has constructed a modern port at Monrovia, helping to open the country to more trade. In 1950, the United States granted Liberia loans for highways and health services, and is planning to provide experts for a broad program of economic development. As a condition for this aid, our government has insisted that the franchise in Liberia be extended to the hitherto unrepresented native majority and that many measures of governmental reform be carried out.

A Testing Ground

To summarize, Africa is of great importance to America and Europe because of its economic potential, its important location, its manpower potential, and its position as a testing ground for the application of democratic ideals. The latter is in many ways the most important of all and can be crucial in the world struggle between West and East. Because it is more nebulous and less material than the other aspects, it needs even greater emphasis. The peoples of Africa after long centuries of simple tribal life dominated by European interests are beginning to absorb modern world ideals of democracy, human rights, and freedom, and their first moves are in the direction of removing the shackles of colonial rule which they feel bind them.

It is our duty to recognize these native desires and to cooperate actively in their realization. The actions of white Americans toward Negroes, in this country and in Africa, cannot continue to be contradictory to our professed ideals of human rights and democracy if we wish to develop warm and cordial relations with African peoples.

Past Year Shows Negro Police Gains

Employment of Negro policemen — now an accepted practice in most parts of the South — has continued to gain in the past year. Since NEW SOUTH published its last tabulation in September 1950, 7 Southern cities and one Southern county have increased the total by 16 uniformed officers, one deputy sheriff, and one policewoman.

These additions bring the grand totals for the South to 81 cities in 13 states employing 379 uniformed policemen, 44 plainclothesmen, and 18 policewomen. It should be noted that this is a conservative tabulation, since it includes only officially confirmed figures.

The cities newly employing Negro policemen are Augusta and Columbus, Georgia; Ocala, Florida; Greenville and Wilson, North Carolina. Guilford County, N. C., in 1950 employed the first Negro deputy sheriff in that state.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

1950 CENSUS OF POPULATION

ADVANCE REPORTS

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POPULATION 21 YEARS OLD AND OVER, FOR STATES AND CITIES OF 100,000 OR MORE: 1950

(This is one of a series of reports presenting summary statistics on selected characteristics of the population for various types of areas. The figures presented here are based on advance tabulations and may differ slightly from final figures. Estimates of the civilian population of voting age, by States, for November 1952 are given in Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 63)

The number of citizens 21 years old and over--94,802,019--constituted about 97.3 percent of the total population 21 and over on April 1, 1950, according to figures released today by Roy V. Peel, Director, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. These citizens 21 and over represent, in general, the potential voting population of the country. Among the regions, the percentage of citizens in the population 21 and over was highest in the South (98.9 percent) and lowest in the Northeast (95.5 percent) with the North Central Region and the West falling in the intermediate positions (table 1). In 1950, for the first time, men were outnumbered by women in the total population 21 years old and over. Of this population about 9.5 percent was nonwhite, but this percentage ranged from 4.8 in the West to 20.1 in the South. For the country as a whole, about 65.5 million, or 67.2 percent of the total, lived in urban areas. In the Northeast, however, the percentage urban was 80.9, and in the South it was 52.8.

The citizen population 21 years old and over represents the number of potential voters except in the State of Georgia where, in 1943, the franchise was extended to citizens 18 to 20 years old. Not all persons, however, who are eligible to vote on the basis of citizenship and age are able to vote in any given election, because they have not satisfied State requirements as to residence, registration, or payment of poll taxes. Also among citizens of voting age are those who may not vote because they are confined in penal institutions, mental hospitals, or kindred institutions. In all of these cases the eligibility to vote is determined by State laws, which vary from State to State.

In the total population 21 and over in 1950--97,403,307--women outnumbered men by about 1.7 million. This preponderance of women was characteristic of all regions except the West in which the traditional excess of males still persisted. Part of the female excess is due to the absence of men overseas in the armed forces.

Of the nonwhite population 21 and over in 1950--9,208,116--5,693,181, or 61.8 percent, were, as might be expected, residents of the South. This proportion, however, is appreciably lower than that for 1940--71.0 percent--and reflects the movement of nonwhite population out of the South during the decade 1940-1950. By 1950 there were 3,514,935 nonwhites of voting age living outside the South.

The figures on the population 21 years old and over presented here cover only those persons who were residents of continental United States on April 1, 1950. There were, addition, about 320,000 persons 21 and over in the population overseas on that date. Of these, approximately 200,000 were serving in the armed forces and the remaining group was composed of crews of merchant vessels, civilian employees of the United States Government, and dependents of armed forces personnel or civilian employees.

The age classification is based on the age of the person at his last birthday prior to the date of his enumeration, that is, his age in completed years. The nonwhite population is comprised of Negroes, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, and persons of other nonwhite races. The classification of the population by urban and rural residence is based on the new urban and rural definition and therefore is not strictly comparable with the corresponding classification used in earlier censuses. The classification of the population by citizenship embraces two major categories, citizen and alien. Citizens are subdivided into native and naturalized. It is assumed that all natives are citizens of the United States.

Table 2 presents statistics on the sex, color, and citizenship of the population 21 years old and over for cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants.

Table 1.--CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OLD AND OVER, FOR STATES: 1950

Region, division, and State	Population 21 years and over								Citizens 21 years old and over		
	Total	Sex		Color		Residence			Total	Native	Naturalized
		Male	Female	White	Nonwhite	Urban	Rural nonfarm	Rural farm			
United States	97,403,307	47,853,694	49,549,613	88,195,191	9,208,116	65,487,509	18,940,730	12,975,068	94,802,019	87,330,122	7,471,897
REGIONS:											
Northeast	27,019,598	13,053,220	13,966,378	25,642,897	1,376,701	21,858,199	4,061,167	1,100,232	25,811,998	21,857,790	3,954,208
North Central	29,242,427	14,482,761	14,759,666	27,722,586	1,519,841	19,382,145	5,418,213	4,442,069	28,664,224	26,577,867	2,086,357
South	28,309,493	13,872,281	14,437,212	22,616,312	5,693,181	14,945,221	7,068,396	6,295,876	28,009,111	27,593,087	416,024
West	12,831,789	6,445,432	6,386,357	12,213,396	618,393	9,301,944	2,392,954	1,136,891	12,316,686	11,301,378	1,015,308
NORTHEAST:											
New England	6,293,773	3,021,825	3,271,948	6,194,811	98,962	4,877,601	1,164,551	251,621	5,969,164	5,024,182	944,982
Middle Atlantic	20,725,825	10,031,395	10,694,430	19,448,086	1,277,739	16,980,598	2,896,616	848,611	19,842,834	16,833,608	3,009,226
NORTH CENTRAL:											
East North Central	20,123,858	9,951,845	10,172,013	18,909,518	1,214,340	14,432,588	3,449,690	2,241,580	19,662,232	18,010,411	1,651,821
West North Central	9,118,569	4,530,916	4,587,653	8,813,068	305,501	4,949,557	1,968,523	2,200,489	9,001,992	8,567,456	434,536
SOUTH:											
South Atlantic	12,812,841	6,259,942	6,552,899	9,991,837	2,821,004	6,897,047	3,509,741	2,406,053	12,698,787	12,447,297	251,490
East South Central	6,677,308	3,256,788	3,420,520	5,214,208	1,463,100	2,893,487	1,665,381	2,118,440	6,659,510	6,627,406	32,104
West South Central	8,819,344	4,355,551	4,463,793	7,410,267	1,409,077	5,154,687	1,893,274	1,771,383	8,650,814	8,518,384	132,430
WEST:											
Mountain	3,058,982	1,566,896	1,492,086	2,940,817	118,165	1,770,941	815,458	472,583	2,982,406	2,824,856	157,550
Pacific	9,772,807	4,878,536	4,894,271	9,272,579	500,228	7,531,003	1,577,496	664,308	9,334,280	8,476,522	857,758
NEW ENGLAND:											
Maine	576,840	283,509	293,331	575,223	1,617	308,890	196,059	71,891	552,096	504,964	47,132
New Hampshire	352,780	171,020	181,760	352,188	592	206,227	116,355	30,198	337,585	295,955	41,630
Vermont	237,552	116,599	120,953	237,165	387	91,570	98,965	47,017	229,500	210,298	19,202
Massachusetts	3,206,104	1,520,510	1,685,594	3,153,820	52,284	2,727,890	425,544	52,670	3,038,491	2,498,008	540,483
Rhode Island	538,124	259,666	278,458	529,172	8,952	458,441	72,903	6,780	514,009	425,657	88,352
Connecticut	1,382,373	670,521	711,852	1,347,243	35,130	1,084,583	254,725	43,065	1,297,483	1,089,300	208,183
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:											
New York	10,374,446	4,994,060	5,380,386	9,718,328	656,118	8,972,780	1,043,690	357,976	9,796,079	7,869,379	1,926,700
New Jersey	3,354,160	1,628,358	1,725,802	3,145,242	208,918	2,922,981	360,544	70,635	3,217,130	2,733,221	483,909
Pennsylvania	6,997,219	3,408,977	3,588,242	6,584,516	412,703	5,084,837	1,492,382	420,000	6,829,625	6,231,008	598,617
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:											
Ohio	5,279,761	2,586,095	2,693,666	4,942,126	337,635	3,823,079	937,623	519,059	5,181,253	4,844,999	336,254
Indiana	2,556,467	1,261,119	1,295,348	2,443,060	113,407	1,577,761	567,025	411,681	2,531,990	2,459,062	72,928
Illinois	5,958,601	2,925,046	3,033,555	5,514,184	444,417	4,714,652	770,384	473,565	5,801,882	5,183,837	618,045
Michigan	4,106,606	2,066,908	2,039,698	3,812,763	293,843	2,977,039	714,614	414,953	3,963,014	3,515,081	447,933
Wisconsin	2,222,423	1,112,677	1,109,746	2,197,385	25,038	1,340,057	460,044	422,322	2,184,093	2,007,432	176,661
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:											
Minnesota	1,910,153	958,369	951,784	1,893,582	16,571	1,093,970	391,548	424,635	1,873,326	1,703,035	170,291
Iowa	1,694,619	840,331	854,288	1,680,993	13,626	842,331	393,292	458,996	1,676,476	1,612,069	64,407
Missouri	2,643,129	1,281,239	1,361,890	2,447,662	195,467	1,692,255	427,500	523,374	2,619,739	2,553,444	66,295
North Dakota	366,590	194,439	172,151	361,871	4,719	103,620	122,825	140,145	358,562	318,208	40,354
South Dakota	401,146	209,349	191,797	390,016	11,130	139,417	116,093	145,636	396,511	371,156	25,355
Nebraska	860,391	431,142	429,249	845,337	15,054	417,599	209,160	233,632	846,047	804,295	41,752
Kansas	1,242,541	616,047	626,494	1,193,607	48,934	660,365	308,105	274,071	1,231,331	1,205,249	26,082
SOUTH ATLANTIC:											
Delaware	210,918	103,149	107,769	183,002	27,916	135,795	54,071	21,052	207,410	197,406	10,004
Maryland	1,527,089	752,882	774,207	1,290,514	236,575	1,083,975	335,741	107,373	1,500,329	1,445,339	54,990
District of Columbia	583,338	268,844	314,494	391,096	192,242	583,338	...	...	570,093	543,441	26,652
Virginia	2,025,339	1,011,519	1,013,820	1,602,669	422,670	1,029,248	588,826	407,265	2,013,357	1,992,413	20,944
West Virginia	1,171,878	587,373	584,505	1,103,681	68,197	462,104	488,499	221,275	1,160,622	1,138,367	22,255
North Carolina	2,311,071	1,130,024	1,181,047	1,761,330	549,741	869,695	742,919	698,457	2,304,999	2,296,783	8,216
South Carolina	1,150,867	554,085	596,782	760,843	390,024	475,268	343,343	332,256	1,148,289	1,143,909	4,380
Georgia:											
21 years and over	2,008,828	964,109	1,044,719	1,441,986	566,842	998,940	520,300	489,588	2,003,171	1,993,283	9,888
18 years and over	2,181,269	1,049,599	1,131,670	1,558,566	622,703	1,073,361	572,468	535,440	(1)	(1)	(1)
Florida	1,823,513	887,957	935,556	1,456,716	366,797	1,258,684	436,042	128,787	1,790,517	1,696,356	94,161
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:											
Kentucky	1,742,978	864,430	878,548	1,612,267	130,711	722,409	492,180	528,389	1,737,664	1,728,100	9,564
Tennessee	1,978,548	961,147	1,017,401	1,659,758	318,790	949,958	468,687	559,903	1,973,444	1,964,702	8,742
Alabama	1,747,759	843,927	903,832	1,231,514	516,245	837,453	425,258	485,048	1,743,611	1,734,473	9,138
Mississippi	1,208,023	587,284	620,739	710,669	497,354	383,667	279,256	545,100	1,204,791	1,200,131	4,660
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:											
Arkansas	1,112,866	550,158	562,708	880,675	232,191	410,342	278,981	423,543	1,109,935	1,104,029	5,906
Louisiana	1,587,145	770,580	816,565	1,105,861	481,284	940,248	360,095	286,802	1,577,244	1,559,048	18,196
Oklahoma	1,382,108	682,993	699,115	1,269,450	112,658	747,195	325,531	309,382	1,376,350	1,364,263	12,087
Texas	4,737,225	2,351,820	2,385,405	4,154,281	582,944	3,056,902	928,667	751,656	4,587,285	4,491,044	96,241
MOUNTAIN:											
Montana	372,345	198,368	173,977	363,414	8,931	171,512	119,960	80,873	364,203	329,984	34,219
Idaho	349,016	181,675	167,341	344,866	4,150	157,693	100,454	90,869	343,811	329,614	14,197
Wyoming	178,581	96,131	82,450	175,036	3,545	93,369	52,187	33,025	175,136	165,414	9,722
Colorado	844,748	420,846	423,902	826,007	18,741	560,304	173,506	110,938	826,964	785,632	41,332
New Mexico	375,387	192,582	182,805	351,740	23,647	201,398	107,741	66,248	367,433	359,683	7,750
Arizona	441,889	223,303	218,586	395,744	46,145	257,412	143,419	41,058	421,146	397,585	23,561
Utah	389,843	196,181	193,662	382,711	7,132	265,473	83,366	41,004	380,051	360,352	19,699
Nevada	107,173	57,810	49,363	101,299	5,874	63,780	34,825	8,568	103,662	96,592	7,070
PACIFIC:											
Washington	1,559,266	799,604	759,662	1,519,370	39,896	1,023,528	370,789	164,949	1,507,786	1,367,785	140,001
Oregon	1,001,716	509,726	491,990	986,848	14,868	569,349	290,638	141,729	980,192	918,268	61,924
California	7,211,825	3,569,206	3,642,619	6,766,361	445,464	5,938,126	916,069	357,630	6,846,302	6,190,469	655,833

[1] Not available.

Table 2.--CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OLD AND OVER, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 OR MORE: 1950

Cities	Population 21 years and over					Citizens 21 years and over		
	Total	Sex		Color		Total	Native	Naturalized
		Male	Female	White	Nonwhite			
Akron, Ohio	187,269	90,953	96,316	172,641	14,628	183,103	166,421	16,682
Albany, N. Y.	96,406	45,336	51,070	92,619	3,787	93,519	84,196	9,323
Allentown, Pa.	75,906	36,267	39,639	75,583	323	74,372	68,853	5,519
Atlanta, Ga.:								
21 years and over	225,481	101,506	123,975	146,992	78,489	224,340	221,444	2,896
18 years and over	242,866	109,392	133,474	158,072	84,794	(1)	(1)	(1)
Austin, Texas	85,954	41,891	44,063	74,439	11,515	84,284	82,518	1,766
Baton Rouge, La.	78,956	38,295	40,661	57,333	21,623	78,356	77,626	730
Baltimore, Md.	651,999	313,910	338,089	507,783	144,216	635,828	601,008	34,820
Berkeley, Calif.	83,705	39,936	43,769	71,757	11,948	79,864	72,371	7,493
Birmingham, Ala.	212,520	98,075	114,445	134,052	78,468	211,638	208,707	2,931
Boston, Mass.	556,040	264,147	291,893	526,895	29,145	523,066	410,921	112,145
Bridgeport, Conn.	111,768	54,717	57,051	107,331	4,437	103,797	83,352	20,445
Buffalo, N. Y.	405,872	195,591	210,281	381,109	24,763	392,782	336,432	56,350
Cambridge, Mass.	83,803	40,114	43,689	79,936	3,867	78,265	63,044	15,221
Camden, N. J.	84,384	41,219	43,165	73,544	10,840	81,824	72,274	9,550
Canton, Ohio	80,879	39,447	41,432	76,442	4,437	78,944	71,702	7,242
Charlotte, N. C.	87,838	40,466	47,372	64,593	23,245	87,503	86,639	864
Chattanooga, Tenn.	86,224	39,543	46,681	61,006	25,218	85,969	85,133	836
Chicago, Ill.	2,581,936	1,257,938	1,323,998	2,236,741	345,195	2,476,357	2,059,687	416,670
Cincinnati, Ohio	353,563	164,721	188,842	300,943	52,620	349,406	333,324	16,082
Cleveland, Ohio	644,743	314,347	330,396	544,836	99,907	614,888	513,363	101,525
Columbus, Ohio	263,505	128,398	135,107	231,540	31,965	260,994	252,793	8,201
Corpus Christi, Texas	64,440	31,663	32,777	59,783	4,657	61,814	59,753	2,061
Dallas, Texas	300,773	141,552	159,221	261,320	39,453	297,663	292,760	4,903
Dayton, Ohio	169,692	81,242	88,450	147,012	22,680	168,028	161,954	6,074
Denver, Colo.	288,726	137,131	151,595	276,345	12,381	282,142	266,157	15,985
Des Moines, Iowa	121,877	56,839	65,038	116,698	5,179	120,633	115,871	4,762
Detroit, Mich.	1,272,166	638,249	633,917	1,069,457	202,709	1,207,627	1,000,590	207,037
Duluth, Minn.	70,919	34,942	35,977	70,581	338	68,484	56,453	12,031
El Paso, Texas	78,369	37,227	41,142	76,014	2,355	64,280	58,213	6,067
Elizabeth, N. J.	79,595	38,848	40,747	75,065	4,530	75,312	61,447	13,865
Erie, Pa.	88,593	42,862	45,731	86,447	2,146	86,126	77,720	8,406
Evansville, Ind.	86,340	40,480	45,860	80,685	5,655	86,055	85,321	734
Fall River, Mass.	75,916	35,371	40,545	75,709	207	69,700	57,727	11,973
Flint, Mich.	106,560	53,106	53,454	97,779	8,781	103,781	94,071	9,710
Fort Wayne, Ind.	91,807	43,466	48,341	88,569	3,238	91,143	88,325	2,818
Fort Worth, Texas	188,642	91,342	97,300	163,842	24,800	186,736	184,636	2,100
Gary, Ind.	88,606	45,614	42,992	64,104	24,502	85,184	73,922	11,262
Grand Rapids, Mich.	118,901	56,197	62,704	114,506	4,395	115,436	103,188	12,248
Hartford, Conn.	126,799	60,528	66,271	118,714	8,085	118,279	94,770	23,509
Houston, Texas	397,823	194,764	203,059	315,168	82,655	391,247	380,935	10,312
Indianapolis, Ind.	295,271	138,437	156,834	252,770	42,501	293,097	286,555	6,542
Jacksonville, Fla.	138,895	64,814	74,081	91,508	47,387	137,875	134,716	3,159
Jersey City, N. J.	207,948	100,590	107,358	194,938	13,010	200,457	167,479	32,978
Kansas City, Kans.	85,987	41,237	44,750	68,968	17,019	84,740	81,215	3,525
Kansas City, Mo.	330,457	155,254	175,203	290,620	39,837	326,477	314,936	11,541
Knoxville, Tenn.	81,501	37,972	43,529	68,885	12,616	81,238	80,725	513
Little Rock, Ark.	71,314	31,971	39,343	55,827	15,487	71,094	70,401	693
Long Beach, Calif.	182,235	85,239	96,996	178,106	4,129	178,592	166,660	11,932
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,442,987	680,629	762,358	1,294,461	148,526	1,364,249	1,189,858	174,391
Louisville, Ky.	251,147	117,999	133,148	211,203	39,944	249,815	246,384	3,431
Memphis, Tenn.	264,888	123,773	141,115	170,974	93,914	263,618	260,489	3,129
Miami, Fla.	186,613	89,807	96,806	158,862	27,751	178,657	157,989	20,668
Milwaukee, Wis.	445,652	216,652	229,000	430,815	14,837	434,990	382,970	52,020
Minneapolis, Minn.	369,540	173,854	195,686	363,644	5,896	361,707	321,111	40,596
Mobile, Ala.	82,037	38,132	43,905	54,413	27,624	81,526	80,243	1,283
Montgomery, Ala.	68,133	30,536	37,597	42,642	25,491	67,862	67,373	489
Nashville, Tenn.	118,688	54,003	64,685	81,890	36,798	118,158	117,320	838
Newark, N. J.	307,660	149,727	157,933	258,078	49,582	290,305	237,888	52,417
New Bedford, Mass.	77,354	36,173	41,181	75,412	1,942	70,520	53,311	17,209
New Haven, Conn.	115,462	56,330	59,132	109,225	6,237	108,449	89,595	18,854
New Orleans, La.	384,662	179,173	205,489	271,421	113,241	380,086	370,333	9,753
New York, N. Y.	5,670,667	2,707,315	2,963,352	5,135,599	535,068	5,252,760	3,868,136	1,384,624
Bronx Borough	1,021,133	486,810	534,323	957,126	64,007	953,082	646,137	306,945
Brooklyn Borough	1,910,251	917,220	993,031	1,772,629	137,622	1,778,132	1,278,785	499,347
Manhattan Borough	1,508,062	714,388	793,674	1,214,852	293,210	1,357,506	1,026,186	331,320
Queens Borough	1,100,750	523,884	576,866	1,064,036	36,714	1,039,764	816,789	222,975
Richmond Borough	130,471	65,013	65,458	126,956	3,515	124,276	100,239	24,037
Norfolk, Va.	141,637	76,053	65,584	99,609	42,028	140,311	136,975	3,336
Oakland, Calif.	279,694	135,837	143,857	242,115	37,579	268,573	239,555	29,018
Oklahoma City, Okla.	164,118	77,438	86,680	149,477	14,641	163,242	161,485	1,757
Omaha, Nebr.	171,770	82,760	89,010	160,797	10,973	167,616	154,833	12,783
Pasadena, Calif.	79,323	33,885	45,438	72,668	6,655	76,462	69,083	7,379

[1] Not available.

Table 2.--CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION 21 YEARS OLD AND OVER, FOR CITIES OF 100,000 OR MORE: 1950--Con.

Cities	Population 21 years and over					Citizens 21 years and over		
	Total	Sex		Color		Total	Native	Naturalized
		Male	Female	White	Nonwhite			
Paterson, N. J.	99,845	48,146	51,699	94,537	5,308	93,252	73,003	20,249
Peoria, Ill.	77,419	37,851	39,568	73,760	3,659	76,588	73,224	3,364
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,446,724	688,893	757,831	1,198,968	247,756	1,396,890	1,215,476	181,414
Phoenix, Ariz.	73,047	34,833	38,214	68,791	4,256	70,881	65,802	5,079
Pittsburgh, Pa.	468,387	225,750	242,637	414,513	53,874	455,452	404,188	51,264
Portland, Oreg.	270,238	129,827	140,411	261,626	8,612	261,983	235,473	26,510
Providence, R. I.	173,257	81,487	91,770	168,079	5,178	164,690	134,296	30,394
Reading, Pa.	79,489	37,774	41,715	77,708	1,781	77,833	73,177	4,656
Richmond, Va.	163,502	74,822	88,680	115,245	48,257	162,459	159,887	2,572
Rochester, N. Y.	240,202	113,131	127,071	234,982	5,220	230,933	191,886	39,047
Sacramento, Calif.	99,925	49,620	50,305	92,843	7,082	94,709	85,897	8,812
St. Louis, Mo.	611,728	285,938	325,790	509,494	102,234	600,972	570,421	30,551
St. Paul, Minn.	210,590	98,819	111,771	206,378	4,212	205,606	186,538	19,068
Salt Lake City, Utah	115,057	55,913	59,144	112,851	2,206	110,910	102,655	8,255
San Antonio, Texas	250,286	117,463	132,823	230,214	20,072	231,467	218,859	12,608
San Diego, Calif.	225,923	110,208	115,715	214,029	11,894	219,448	202,202	17,246
San Francisco, Calif.	585,452	291,297	294,155	529,510	55,942	542,956	454,657	88,299
Savannah, Ga.:								
21 years and over	76,696	35,281	41,415	46,771	29,925	76,292	75,010	1,282
18 years and over	81,545	37,203	44,342	49,529	32,016	(1)	(1)	(1)
Scranton, Pa.	87,194	40,682	46,512	86,745	449	84,759	74,897	9,862
Seattle, Wash.	339,052	168,895	170,157	320,256	18,796	322,536	280,728	41,808
Shreveport, La.	83,907	38,630	45,277	57,980	25,927	83,465	82,389	1,076
Somerville, Mass.	68,691	32,263	36,428	68,433	258	64,645	49,031	15,614
South Bend, Ind.	80,041	39,402	40,639	74,921	5,120	78,486	71,016	7,470
Spokane, Wash.	111,293	54,724	56,569	109,407	1,886	108,173	99,024	9,149
Springfield, Mass.	114,855	54,348	60,507	110,771	4,084	109,526	91,633	17,893
Syracuse, N. Y.	154,671	74,706	79,965	151,423	3,248	149,772	131,620	18,152
Tacoma, Wash.	97,850	48,069	49,781	95,100	2,750	94,402	83,803	10,599
Tampa, Fla.	87,788	41,345	46,443	69,316	18,472	83,652	77,103	6,549
Toledo, Ohio	212,655	103,463	109,192	196,267	16,388	208,384	192,959	15,425
Trenton N. J.	91,695	45,235	46,460	82,451	9,244	87,191	74,305	12,886
Tulsa, Okla.	124,649	58,672	65,977	112,677	11,972	124,087	122,399	1,688
Utica, N. Y.	71,944	34,089	37,855	70,942	1,002	68,721	57,739	10,982
Washington, D. C.	583,338	268,844	314,494	391,096	192,242	570,093	543,441	26,652
Waterbury, Conn.	72,408	35,129	37,279	70,141	2,267	67,453	53,449	14,004
Wichita, Kans.	113,367	53,251	60,116	107,894	5,473	112,632	111,106	1,526
Wilmington, Del.	77,586	37,016	40,570	65,847	11,739	75,609	69,287	6,322
Worcester, Mass.	141,983	67,891	74,092	140,875	1,108	134,261	108,760	25,501
Yonkers, N. Y.	107,015	50,814	56,201	103,697	3,318	101,767	81,815	19,952
Youngstown, Ohio	116,428	57,610	58,818	102,541	13,887	112,227	95,296	16,931

[1] Not available.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Charles Sawyer, *Secretary*

BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Roy V. Peel, *Director*

CURRENT POPULATION REPORTS

POPULATION ESTIMATES

FOR RELEASE
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ESTIMATES OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF VOTING AGE FOR STATES NOVEMBER 1952

(This report presents estimates of the civilian population 21 years old and over for November 1, 1952 and 1948. The estimates for 1948 shown in this report are not consistent with those for July 1, 1948, published in Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 15, because the latter were computed before the 1950 Census. The total number of persons of voting age, by States, enumerated in the 1950 Census is given in Series PC-14, No. 4)

About 7½ million civilians will be old enough to vote for the first time in the next presidential election on November 4, 1952, according to estimates announced today by Roy V. Peel, Director, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce. In November of this year, the total number of civilians old enough to vote will reach about 98.4 million; in 1948 the corresponding number was 94.9 million. These totals include the civilian population 21 years old and over for all States and the civilian population 18 to 20 years of age for Georgia where persons as young as 18 years are permitted by law to vote. They do not include members of the armed forces.

Although the number of civilians who will be old enough to vote for the first time in a presidential election this November will amount to about 7½ million, the net increase between 1948 and 1952 in the total number of civilians of voting age will amount to only 3½ million. The difference of about 4 million represents the net decrease in the number of civilians old enough to vote in 1948 and is due largely to deaths during the four years.

The civilian population of voting age includes a great many persons who, although old enough to vote, cannot do so because they have not satisfied State requirements as to citizenship, residence, registration, or payment of poll taxes. It is estimated that there will be about 2¾ million aliens of voting age in the United States in November. Among the citizens of voting age, there are many persons who may not vote because they are confined in penal institutions or are inmates of mental hospitals and kindred institutions. In all these cases, eligibility to vote is determined by State laws, which vary in many respects. Furthermore, there is a substantial number of persons in the District of Columbia who lack voting residence in any State.

In the presidential election of 1948, the total vote cast was 48,833,680, which is equal to about 51.4 percent of the civilians of voting age (table 1). (A small part of the vote was cast by persons in the armed forces.) This percentage is the smallest of those in the last five presidential elections; the largest percentage occurred in the 1940 election when 49,820,312 votes were cast, or 59.3 votes per 100 civilians.

Table 1.--CIVILIAN POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, 1932-1952, AND VOTE CAST FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, 1932-1948

Date	Estimated civilian population of voting age[1]	Vote cast for presidential electors	
		Number	Percent of civilian population of voting age
November 1952.....	98,377,000	...	...
November 1948.....	94,916,000	48,833,680	51.4
November 1944.....	81,227,000	[2]45,285,000	55.8
November 1940.....	83,989,000	49,820,312	59.3
November 1936.....	79,962,000	45,647,117	57.1
November 1932.....	75,594,000	39,751,438	52.6

[1] Population 21 years old and over plus population 18 to 20 years in Georgia for 1944 to 1952 only.

[2] Vote cast by civilians. The total vote was 47,976,263. See U. S. Bureau of the Census, Election: 1944, Nos. 3 and 5.

In the presidential election of 1944, the total vote cast was 47,976,263, of which it is estimated that 45,285,000 represented votes cast by civilians. In forecasting the vote to be cast in November, account should be taken not only of the 3½ million increase since 1948 in the civilian population of voting age but also of the number of votes that may be cast by the armed forces in this country and overseas.

According to the estimates, the civilian population 21 years old and over will be greater in 1952 than in 1948 in all States except Maine, Massachusetts, the District of Columbia, and Washington. Among the States with indicated increases in the population of voting age only New York will have a gain of over 300,000; 5 States (Florida, Texas, Michigan, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) will have gains of between 200,000 and 300,000; 5 States (North Carolina, Illinois, Colorado, Wisconsin, and Indiana) will have gains of between 100,000 and 200,000; and the remaining 34 States will have gains of less than 100,000.

The number of votes cast for president in 1948, by States, varied considerably in relation to the civilian population of voting age in each State. In one-half of the States the vote was more than 59.4 percent of the civilian population of voting age. In general, the Southern States had the smallest ratios of votes cast to the population old enough to vote, and the North Central States had the largest ratios.

The estimates of the total civilian population of voting age in the United States presented in this release are based on data from the 1930, 1940, and 1950 Censuses; vital statistics provided by the National Office of Vital Statistics, United States Public Health Service; statistics on immigration and emigration provided by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice; and figures relating to the armed forces provided by the Department of Defense.

The State estimates of the civilian population 21 years old and over for November 1952 are based on statistics for the corresponding younger group in April 1950, adjusted for deaths, net movement of civilians into the armed forces, and net civilian migration between April 1950 and November 1952. The estimates for November 1948 were developed in a similar fashion. Since account was taken of both the 1940 and 1950 Censuses, they are not consistent with corresponding estimates for July 1, 1944, 1946, and 1948, published in earlier numbers of Current Population Reports.

The estimates of deaths since 1950 in the age group 21 years old and over in November 1952 are based on statistics of resident deaths by age for 1949, provisional statistics on total deaths between April 1950 and November 1952, and estimates of deaths of persons in the armed forces stationed in each State. The estimated net movement of civilians into the armed forces for each State was obtained as the difference between the estimated number of persons 21 years old and over in the armed forces in November 1952 and the number at the corresponding younger age in the armed forces in April 1950 adjusted for deaths of persons in this group while serving in the armed forces.

The estimates of net civilian migration since 1950 in the age group 21 years old and over in November 1952, by States, are based on estimated rates of net migration for the total population of each State. The rates of net migration for the total population, in turn, are based on statistics from the 1950 Census, statistics on enrollment in the elementary grades of public and private schools, statistics on civilian immigration and emigration, and birth and death statistics. The latest school data available for all States at the time these estimates were prepared related to the end of the school year 1950-1951. It was necessary, therefore, to extend our estimates of net internal migration from July 1951 to November 1952 without benefit of current school data for the intervening period. It was assumed in making the estimates that the rate of net migration for the population 21 years old and over was essentially the same as that for the population of all ages, but this assumption may not apply equally well to all States. Hence, the State figures on net migration may vary considerably in accuracy.

The net change between 1948 and 1952 in the number of civilians of voting age is the net result of deaths, net movement into the armed forces, net civilian migration, and the accession of persons reaching voting age. Errors in the estimates of these components of change will effect the figures for net change shown in table 2. The estimates of net migration are subject to a considerably greater percentage error than are the estimates for the other components of population change. For some States, net migration is relatively large, and hence the estimates of net change between 1948 and 1952 for these States are subject to substantial error. Percentagewise, however, the errors in the estimates of total population will probably be considerably smaller than those in the estimates of net change.

Table 2.--ESTIMATES OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF VOTING AGE, NOVEMBER 1952 AND 1948, AND VOTE CAST FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS, 1948

(Each estimate has been independently rounded to the nearest thousand from figures computed to the last digit; hence, the sums of parts shown may differ slightly from the totals shown. Amounts and percentages of change are based on unrounded numbers)

Region, division, and State	Civilian population of voting age[1]				Vote cast for presidential electors, 1948	
	November 1, 1952	November 1, 1948	Increase (+) or decrease (-), 1948 to 1952		Number[2]	Percent of civilian population of voting age
			Amount	Percent		
United States	98,377,000	94,916,000	+3,462,000	+3.6	48,833,680	51.4
REGIONS:						
Northeast	27,322,000	26,506,000	+816,000	+3.1	15,943,803	60.2
North Central	29,606,000	28,620,000	+987,000	+3.4	17,540,437	61.3
South	28,364,000	27,133,000	+1,231,000	+4.5	8,141,753	30.0
West	13,086,000	12,658,000	+428,000	+3.4	7,207,687	56.9
NORTHEAST:						
New England	6,325,000	6,279,000	+47,000	+0.7	3,984,572	63.5
Middle Atlantic	20,996,000	20,227,000	+770,000	+3.8	11,959,231	59.1
NORTH CENTRAL:						
East North Central	20,458,000	19,808,000	+649,000	+3.3	11,962,740	60.4
West North Central	9,148,000	8,811,000	+337,000	+3.8	5,577,697	63.3
SOUTH:						
South Atlantic	12,993,000	12,313,000	+681,000	+5.5	3,833,997	31.1
East South Central	6,470,000	6,383,000	+87,000	+1.4	1,780,111	27.9
West South Central	8,901,000	8,437,000	+463,000	+5.5	2,527,645	30.0
WEST:						
Mountain	3,174,000	2,830,000	+344,000	+12.1	1,757,010	62.1
Pacific	9,912,000	9,827,000	+84,000	+0.9	5,450,677	55.5
NEW ENGLAND:						
Maine	545,000	561,000	-16,000	-2.9	264,787	47.2
New Hampshire	351,000	340,000	+12,000	+3.4	231,440	68.1
Vermont	231,000	230,000	+1,000	+0.6	123,382	53.7
Massachusetts	3,220,000	3,249,000	-29,000	-0.9	2,155,347	66.3
Rhode Island	533,000	530,000	+2,000	+0.5	326,098	61.5
Connecticut	1,445,000	1,368,000	+77,000	+5.6	883,518	64.6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC:						
New York	10,478,000	10,155,000	+323,000	+3.2	6,274,527	61.8
New Jersey	3,476,000	3,249,000	+227,000	+7.0	1,949,555	60.0
Pennsylvania	7,043,000	6,823,000	+219,000	+3.2	3,735,149	54.7
EAST NORTH CENTRAL:						
Ohio	5,350,000	5,340,000	+9,000	+0.2	2,936,071	55.0
Indiana	2,626,000	2,517,000	+109,000	+4.3	1,656,214	65.8
Illinois	5,967,000	5,810,000	+157,000	+2.7	3,984,046	68.6
Michigan	4,264,000	4,009,000	+255,000	+6.4	2,109,609	52.6
Wisconsin	2,251,000	2,132,000	+119,000	+5.6	1,276,800	59.9
WEST NORTH CENTRAL:						
Minnesota	1,899,000	1,869,000	+30,000	+1.6	1,212,226	64.9
Iowa	1,688,000	1,643,000	+45,000	+2.7	1,038,264	63.2
Missouri	2,656,000	2,564,000	+92,000	+3.6	1,578,628	61.6
North Dakota	350,000	346,000	+3,000	+0.9	220,716	63.7
South Dakota	398,000	376,000	+22,000	+5.7	250,105	66.5
Nebraska	882,000	823,000	+59,000	+7.1	488,939	59.4
Kansas	1,276,000	1,189,000	+87,000	+7.3	788,819	66.3
SOUTH ATLANTIC:						
Delaware	220,000	212,000	+8,000	+3.6	139,073	65.5
Maryland	1,570,000	1,498,000	+72,000	+4.8	596,735	39.8
District of Columbia	566,000	593,000	-27,000	-4.5	...	...
Virginia	1,979,000	1,942,000	+38,000	+1.9	419,256	21.6
West Virginia	1,128,000	1,120,000	+9,000	+0.8	748,750	66.9
North Carolina	2,326,000	2,167,000	+159,000	+7.3	791,209	36.5
South Carolina	1,112,000	1,042,000	+70,000	+6.7	142,571	13.7
Georgia	2,114,000	2,057,000	+57,000	+2.8	418,760	20.4
Florida	1,978,000	1,683,000	+295,000	+17.5	577,643	34.3
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:						
Kentucky	1,655,000	1,655,000	(3)	(4)	822,658	49.7
Tennessee	1,930,000	1,911,000	+19,000	+1.0	550,283	28.8
Alabama	1,709,000	1,676,000	+33,000	+2.0	214,980	12.8
Mississippi	1,176,000	1,141,000	+35,000	+3.1	192,190	16.9
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:						
Arkansas	1,070,000	1,048,000	+22,000	+2.1	242,475	23.1
Louisiana	1,613,000	1,522,000	+91,000	+6.0	416,326	27.4
Oklahoma	1,372,000	1,295,000	+77,000	+5.9	721,599	55.7
Texas	4,845,000	4,573,000	+273,000	+6.0	1,147,245	25.1
MOUNTAIN:						
Montana	362,000	347,000	+15,000	+4.2	224,278	64.6
Idaho	352,000	339,000	+13,000	+3.9	214,816	63.4
Wyoming	180,000	169,000	+11,000	+6.5	101,425	59.9
Colorado	880,000	761,000	+119,000	+15.7	515,237	67.7
New Mexico	376,000	317,000	+59,000	+18.6	185,767	58.6
Arizona	495,000	416,000	+80,000	+19.2	177,065	42.6
Utah	414,000	377,000	+37,000	+9.7	276,305	73.3
Nevada	115,000	105,000	+10,000	+9.9	62,117	59.3
PACIFIC:						
Washington	1,543,000	1,565,000	-23,000	-1.5	905,059	57.8
Oregon	1,035,000	1,025,000	+10,000	+1.0	524,080	51.1
California	7,333,000	7,237,000	+97,000	+1.3	4,021,538	55.6

[1] The population figures for all States except Georgia relate to civilians 21 years old and over. For Georgia the figures are for the civilian population 18 years old and over.

[2] See U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1951.

[3] Less than 1,000.

[4] Less than 0.1.

11-2-52

144,828 Negroes Registered in State

Group Forms 11 Pct. of Voter Total; 19,362 in Fulton, Fortson Reports

Georgia has 144,828 Negroes registered to vote—slightly more than 11 per cent of the state's 1,293,315 registered voter total, Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson reported Saturday.

His office released figures on the total Negro and white voter registration, county by county, the first such compilation ever made.

It showed that in one Georgia county more Negroes than whites are registered to vote and in two others they lack only a few hundred equalling the whites.

The reports listed 2,123 potential Negro votes for the coastal county of Liberty to 1,859 white. McIntosh, another coast county, reported 1,270 Negroes registered to 1,466 whites and Hancock, 1,569 to 2,022.

* * *

SEVERAL COUNTIES, on the other hand, failed to list a single Negro. Most of these—but not all—were in north Georgia where the Negro population is relatively small.

In populous Fulton, the ratio of Negro to whites is smaller than in some of the other large counties. Fulton has 19,362 Negroes registered to 111,164 whites — slightly less than 15 per cent.

The Negro enrollment in three other big counties runs about 20 per cent Negro. These are Chatham, Muscogee and Richmond. In Bibb it is around 17 per cent.

REGISTRATION BY COUNTIES

White and Negro registration by counties as reported to the secretary of state:

County	White	Negro
Appling	7,663	1,132
Atkinson	4,700	468
Bacon	5,106	10
Baker	1,880	0
Baldwin	6,416	2,188
Banks	3,200	50
Barrow	5,807	394
Bartow	10,601	1,020
Ben Hill	5,263	658
Berrien	7,302	340
Bibb	28,251	5,814
Bleckley	5,109	30
Houston	4,446	208
Irwin	4,200	750
Jackson	8,147	333
Jasper	2,097	367
Jeff Davis	5,755	32
Jefferson	6,080	206
Jenkins	2,565	723
Johnson	4,559	333
Jones	2,318	876
Lamar	3,289	505
Lanier	1,888	392
Laurens	12,319	2,079
Lee	1,035	30
Liberty	1,859	2,123
Lincoln	2,542	4
Long	1,785	894
Lowndes	11,066	2,485

SEVERAL COUNTIES, on the Bibb it is around 11 per cent.

REGISTRATION BY COUNTIES

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County	White	Negro
Appling	7,663	1,132
Atkinson	4,700	468
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Bartow	10,601	1,020
Ben Hill	5,263	658
Berrien	7,302	340
Bibb	28,251	5,814
Bleckley	5,109	30
Brantley	3,616	152
Brooks	4,000	300
Bryan	2,320	893
Bulloch	8,994	1,646
Burke	3,420	427
Butts	3,490	937
Calhoun	1,803	76
Camden	2,248	1,025
Candler	3,230	2,053
Carroll	15,118	713
Catoosa	6,500	100
Charlton	2,367	68
Chatham	36,473	9,920
Chattah'ee	303	6
Chattooga	10,612	1,446
Cherokee	10,124	203
Clarke	11,075	2,483
Clay	1,096	77
Clayton	9,312	238
Clinch	2,913	262
Cobb	31,156	2,358
Coffee	9,862	403
Colquitt	11,633	710
Columbia	2,810	425
Cook	4,000	1,000
Coweta	9,751	803
Crawford	1,922	79
Crisp	5,198	903
Dade	3,815	44
Dawson	1,890	0
Decatur	7,077	771
DeKalb	49,564	1,464
Dodge	8,689	1,658
Dooly	4,450	850
Dougherty	18,006	4,190
Douglas	5,572	586
Early	3,706	195
Echols	820	5
Effingham	3,218	343
Elbert	7,672	955
Emanuel	6,627	1,354
Evans	2,561	577
Fannin	No report	
Fayette	3,269	8
Floyd	24,187	1,949
Forsyth	3,994	0
Franklin	5,200	310
Fulton	111,164	19,362
Gilmer	5,296	6
Glascock	1,450	40
Glynn	6,970	2,064
Gordon	7,878	287
Grady	6,170	905
Greene	4,484	1,464
Gwinnett	15,292	853
Habersham	8,200	174
Hall	14,500	950
Hancock	2,022	1,569
Haralson	10,600	604
Harris	3,000	100
Hart	6,458	300
Heard	3,278	272
Henry	4,981	1,006
Houston	4,446	208
Irwin	4,200	750
Jackson	8,147	333
Jasper	2,097	367
Jeff Davis	5,755	32
Jefferson	6,080	206
Jenkins	2,565	723
Johnson	4,559	333
Jones	2,318	876
Lamar	3,289	505
Lanier	1,888	392
Laurens	12,319	2,079
Lee	1,035	30
Liberty	1,859	2,123
Lincoln	2,542	4
Long	1,785	894
Lowndes	11,066	2.485
Lumpkin	No report	
Macon	3.121	72
Madison	5.201	79
Marion	1.504	50
McDuffie	4.564	256
McIntosh	1.466	1,270
Meriwether	6.743	920
Miller	3.451	6
Mitchell	8,210	253
Monroe	3,508	522
Montgomery	2.948	973
Morgan	3.355	916
Murray	4.636	24
Muscogee	26.500	6,500
Newton	9,000	950
Oconee	3,060	332
Oglethorpe	3,096	162
Pauiding	4,638	312
Peach	2,855	719
Pickens	4,464	84
Pierce	5,120	380
Pike	2,822	175
Polk	12,564	1,348
Pulaski	2,926	225
Putnam	2,636	354
Quitman	714	39
Rabun	5,089	25
Randolph	3,700	700
Richmond	25,181	6,055
Rockdale	3,618	399
Schley	775	90
Screven	4,992	946
Seminole	3,183	46
Spalding	10,551	1,196
Stephens	8,187	488
Stewart	2,109	18
Sumter	6,110	291
Taliaferro	1,142	658
Tattnall	7,575	1,218
Taylor	3,314	293
Terrell	3,088	96
Thomas	11,566	2,007
Tift	6,496	881
Toombs	7,585	104
Towns	2,795	0
Turner	3,462	269
Twiggs	2,282	325
Union	4,087	0
Upson	9,613	983
Walker	22,185	1,170
Walton	6,800	1,500
Ware	14,119	3,150
Warren	2,152	188
Washington	6,193	1,262
Wayne	5,546	997
Webster	1,293	0
Wheeler	3,084	385
White	3,830	221
Whitfield	19,254	907
Wilcox	4,345	428
Wilkes	3,659	146
Wilkinson	3,162	232
Worth	5,606	320

Estimated Negro Registration in 12 Southern States, 1952

Alabama	30,000
Arkansas	60,000
Florida	120,900
Georgia	146,200
Louisiana	120,000
Mississippi	23,000
North Carolina	100,000
Oklahoma	65,000
South Carolina	110,000
Tennessee	150,000
Texas	205,000
Virginia	70,000
	1,200,000

SOURCE: Henry Lee Moon, "The Southern Negro Vote, 1943-53," Paper presented July 10, 1953 at 10th Annual Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University

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Commission
ON
Interracial Cooperation

409 PALMER BUILDING

TELEPHONE WALNUT 0352

ATLANTA, GA.

SOURCE: MARY ALICE HUNT

STATE OF FLORIDA

REGISTERED VOTERS --------1952

COUNTY	WHITE DEMOCRATS	COLORED DEMOCRATS	WHITE REPUBLICANS	COLORED REPUBLICANS	MINOR PARTIES
ALACHUA	17,788	2,237	504	232	36
BAKER	2,533	110	1	3	---
BAY	15,040	2,145	242	62	55
BRADFORD	4,600	500	65	8	14
BREVARD	9,030	2,031	733	11	31
BROWARD	32,519	3,277	6,253	265	269
CALHOUN	3,889	58	5	---	---
CHARLOTTE	2,676	120	50	58	5
CITRUS	3,301	471	50	25	2
CLAY	4,619	828	156	15	25
COLLIER	2,788	124	62	6	4
COLUMBIA	7,225	739	15	6	6
DADE	218,783	15,880	20,938	2,700	1,378
DESOTO	3,814	747	23	4	---
DIXIE	2,334	241	4	---	---
DUVAL	84,684	20,192	2,220	1,158	424
ESCAMBIA	38,154	5,639	181	130	48
FLAGLER	1,238	1	13	1	1
FRANKLIN	2,572	342	5	14	3
GADSDEN	5,471	5	16	1	39
GILCHRIST	1,694	8	4	2	---
GLADES	805	262	2	---	---
GULF	3,786	239	14	11	1
HAMILTON	3,158	130	4	40	2
HARDEE	6,536	246	65	34	12
HENDRY	2,108	308	15	16	3
HERNANDO	3,062	386	59	10	---
HIGHLANDS	8,000	1,103	284	8	12
HILLSBOROUGH	71,757	5,374	3,432	398	232
HOLMES	6,476	148	33	8	6
INDIAN RIVER	4,271	270	290	6	20
JACKSON	13,021	2,060	42	119	15
JEFFERSON	2,544	115	11	10	---
LAFAYETTE	2,140	---	2	---	---
LAKE	15,636	1,256	1,054	71	2
LEE	11,389	1,342	698	59	20
LEON	18,031	3,548	211	160	4
LEVY	4,253	446	28	26	4
LIBERTY	1,820	---	5	---	---
MADISON	4,631	---	11	---	---
MANATEE	13,454	987	1,183	44	4
MARION	13,619	3,716	236	175	21
MARTIN	3,761	549	77	2	1
MONROE	10,346	1,224	267	15	39
NASSAU	5,151	908	8	13	---
OKALOOSA	10,119	302	78	4	128
OKEECHOBEE	1,981	368	7	---	---
ORANGE	36,131	2,247	5,164	294	173
OSCEOLA	7,694	246	417	50	81
PALM BEACH	38,815	5,126	4,601	79	350
PASCO	10,200	650	437	1	---
PINELLAS	51,341	3,317	21,455	356	1,915
POLK	37,910	3,745	1,996	190	189
PUTNAM	8,721	980	167	322	7
ST. JOHNS	10,306	2,058	303	231	30
ST. LUCIE	7,524	1,606	387	42	7
SANTA ROSA	8,978	508	52	8	---
SARASOTA	9,395	525	3,247	61	22
SEMINOLE	7,038	3,172	352	76	56
SUMTER	4,893	477	22	3	---
SUWANNEE	7,769	317	9	64	---
TAYLOR	4,822	92	28	17	1
UNION	2,043	---	7	---	---
VOLUSIA	28,945	5,218	1,795	217	152
WAKULLA	2,312	114	7	7	4
WALTON	8,237	710	83	15	15
WASHINGTON	6,812	778	6	32	
TOTAL	1,006,493	112,868	80,191	8,045	5,[illegible]

GRAND TOTAL ------ 1,213,472

112,868
8,045
120,913

GROWTH OF THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH, 1940–1952

STATE	1940	1947	1950		19[illegible]	
	SOURCE: Jackson, RACE + SUFFRAGE, New South, June, July, 1948					
ALABAMA	2,000	6,000	50,000	Source: ANP story, 1950 taken from story in Montgomery Advertiser, based on survey by Gov. Folsom of voting lists all over state	51,000	N[illegible] correspondent JOURNAL + GUIDE 4-19-52
ARKANSAS	4,000	47,000	65,000	Source: GSM estimate	65,000	
FLORIDA	18,000	49,000	116,000	Source: AP story 1950	121,000	List of Registered Voters in Fla. 1952 obtained from MA Hunt
GEORGIA	20,000	125,000	133,000	Source: Local person, well informed, 1950	150,000	"Expected" vote in Ga. 1952 elections. NNPA Press correspondent JRNL + GUIDE 4-12-52
LOUISIANA	2,000	10,000	55,000	1950 estimate by informed citizen	86,500	Chatt Times 4-17-52 Reported 86,486 Negroes registered at time of Dem. primary (Gov. election)
MISSISSIPPI	2,000	5,000	8,000	GSM estimate	20,000	NVT 8-12-51 reported an estimated 15-20,000 Negroes voting in Aug. 1951 gubernatorial run-off (Dem primary)
NORTH CAROLINA	35,000	75,000	100,000	ASC-NAACP "Civil Rights in 1950"	100,000	
OKLAHOMA	60,000	50,000	55,000	GSM estimate	55,000	
SOUTH CAROLINA	3,000	50,000	73,000	AP story, 1950	110,000	"possible registration" NNPA correspondent JRNL + GUIDE 3-29-52

NORTH CAROLINA	85,000	75,000	100,000	ASC-NAACP "Civil Rights in 1950"	100,000	
OKLAHOMA	60,000	50,000	55,000	GSM estimate	55,000	
SOUTH CAROLINA	3,000	50,000	73,000	AP story, 1950	110,000	"possible registration" NNPA correspondent JRNL + GUIDE 3-29-52
TENNESSEE	20,000	80,000	86,000	GSM estimate	85,000	
TEXAS	30,000	100,000	110,000	GSM estimate	150,000	Estimated 1952 Negro vote - NNPA correspondent WUML 4-24-52
VIRGINIA	15,000	48,000	66,000	Luther Jackson's 1949 report	76,500	Paid poll tax in 1950 NNPA correspondent JRNL + GUIDE 3-22-52
Kentucky			33,000	Informed local citizen (Louisville), 1951		
TOTAL	211,000	645,000	949,000	(incl. Ky.)	1,070,000	

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

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JOHN LONG, President

W. L. CODDINGTON, Dean

January 15, 1953

Under the Auspices of
THE UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The best guess as to the number of registrations seems to be 20,000.

Negroes voted in about twelve of the 82 counties this last election. There were token votes of less than 100 around Natchez to 10 or 12 times that many around Jackson. The State total was under 15,000, probably about 12,500.

This is far from scientific, but may be of some help to you.

I hope to see you in February.

Cordially,

John

AH –

This figure is suspect – seems abnormally high. Wouldn't put much stock in it.

HCF

January 16, 1953

Mr. Christopher Crittendon
State Dept. of Archives & History
Box 1881
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Chris:

That was mighty nice of you to shoo the facts smack on down here.

Exactly what we wanted. Nothing like knowing the archivist!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

State of North Carolina

Department of Archives and History

Raleigh

January 15, 1953

RECEIVED
JAN 16
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

According to our State Board of Elections, there were approximately 1,600,000 registered voters in 1950. They have never been able to obtain an official compilation from the county registrars.

The Board said that they make no separate compilation of Negro voters.

We hope that this will be what you need.

With best wishes from all of us to all of you, I am

Yours cordially,

Christopher Crittenden
Director

JANUARY, 1953
Vol. 8 No. 1
New South

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

A Progress Report

Race and Suffrage Today

"IN ANY future history of suffrage in the South, the decade of the 1940's will probably be known as the time of an awakening among Negroes and of a change of attitude by many whites toward Negro participation in this phase of government." So began *Race and Suffrage Since 1940,* a study prepared for the Southern Regional Council in 1948 by the late Dr. Luther P. Jackson.

The claim seems an understatement from the vantage point of 1953. Faced today with the tedious and long-range task of achieving full enfranchisement in every part of the region, we can see even more clearly how far and how fast Negro suffrage advanced in the Forties. In 1940, Southern Negroes who had got past the barriers of poll taxes, qualifications tests, and unfriendly election officials numbered about 250,000 — and most of these had been able to vote only in meaningless general elections. Then, as now, the all-important decisions in the one-party South were made in the Democratic primaries. For practical purposes, the Negro was completely disfranchised.

There was nothing new about this dismal state of affairs; it had existed for a generation. But the complacency with which Negroes had once accepted it was rapidly giving way in 1940 to a new determination. The onset of World War II with its emphasis on democratic values lent added force to the demand for full citizenship, and also did much to prepare the white South for the impending change.

The great achievement which followed was a triumph, in law, for a free ballot unhampered by racial restrictions. As a result, Negro registration in the Southern states climbed to more than a million, bringing in its wake substantial gains in public facilities and an improved political climate in many urban areas.

But those who rejoiced in the early victories have been sobered by the vexing problems which have persisted. There are still broad stretches of the South where Negroes can vote only with great difficulty, or not at all. And, even where the right to vote is secure, ignorance and apathy — those age-old enemies of popular government — seriously impede the Negro's civic progress.

THE "WHITE PRIMARY"

More than fifty years ago, Southern states sought to guarantee the exclusion of Negroes from effective political participation by decreeing that Democratic primaries — the only meaningful elections—should be limited strictly to white voters. The rationalization behind this move was simple — the primary was a purely private affair, and the political party holding it had absolute power to say who might and who might not participate.

Several earlier court decisions weakened this discriminatory arrangement, but it was the *Smith* v. *Allwright* decision of 1944 that finally toppled it. In an 8-to-1 decision, the U. S. Supreme Court declared: "The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election."

This decision sounded the death-knell of the "white primary," but the end did not come immediately. Diehard leadership in the lower South was not yet convinced that Negroes had to be admitted to the state Democratic parties. South Carolina put the courts to the test with its "private club" plan, which consisted in the repeal of all state laws governing primaries, in order to buttress the argument that the "white primary" was a private function immune to legal action. This subterfuge was struck down by Federal Judge J. Waties Waring in 1947, as was a later requirement that all would-be voters subscribe to an oath of allegiance to "states' rights" and segregation.

Other Southern states which had kept a speculative eye on the South Carolina schemes were forced to abandon all hope of retaining the "white primary." Instead, they turned their attention to Alabama, where a different approach to Negro disfranchisement was showing considerable promise.

REGISTRATION

Unlike the South Carolina plan, which sought to bar Negro voters at the ballot box, the Alabama strategy was to eliminate them at the registration place. The notorious Boswell Amendment, passed in 1946, provided that an applicant must be able not only to "read and write" but also to "understand and explain" any article of the United States Constitution "to the reasonable satisfaction of the board of registrars." The significance of this measure lay in the arbitrary power which it granted local registrars to accept or reject whatever applicants they wished. It meant that they could — and usually did — find that no Negro, however well-informed, could explain the Constitution to their "satisfaction," while all white voters, however uneducated, "satisfied" them perfectly.

So effectively did the Boswell Amendment work that other states, like Georgia, began readying similar measures. But the prospect of a foolproof system of disfranchisement was dashed in 1949 by a federal court decision outlawing the Boswell Amendment as "an attempt to obviate the consequences" of the *Smith* v. *Allwright* decision. Alabama has since adopted a watered-down version of the Boswell Amendment, not yet tested in

the courts, but its lack of popular support is evident in the fact that it was passed by a scant majority of a few hundred votes.

Unfortunately, however, discriminatory registration practices can exist without the sanction of law. Local registrars are frequently a law unto themselves, particularly in rural areas, since they are subject to no close supervision or direction. They are likely to be heavily influenced in their decisions by the attitudes toward Negro voting which prevail in their communities. Both before and after the Boswell ruling, these officials have served as the custodians of disfranchisement in many a rural county.

The following discriminatory tactics, cited by Dr. Jackson, are still to be found in parts of the South:

(1) Requiring Negro applicants to produce one or more white character witnesses.

(2) Applying severe property qualifications and requiring only Negro applicants to show property-tax receipts.

(3) Strictly enforcing literacy tests against Negro applicants.

(4) Putting unreasonable questions on the Constitution to Negro applicants.

(5) Basing rejection of Negro applicants on alleged technical mistakes in filling out registration blanks.

(6) Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own blanks, while those of whites are filled out for them by the officials.

(7) Requiring Negro applicants to suffer long waiting periods before the officials attend them.

(8) Evasion — informing Negro applicants that registration cards have run out, that all members of the registration board are not present, that it is closing time, or that the applicant "will be notified in due course."

(9) Deliberate insults or threats by officials or hangers-on.

THE POLL TAX

For many years, the poll tax was popularly regarded as the supreme method of restricting Negro suffrage. This notoriety was not wholly deserved for, though the poll tax does have racial significance, its discriminatory value has never approached that of the "white primary" and biased registration practices. It should be remembered that the poll tax was maintained in the Southern states throughout the years when there was little prospect of mass Negro voting. Its effect then was to restrict the existing electorate by imposing a heavy burden on low-income whites who might wish to vote.

By the time the Negro won the right to vote in the primary, rising incomes and the declining value of the dollar had made the poll tax less of an economic hardship. True, in Alabama where the tax is cumulative, a middle-aged new voter of either race might be faced with a bill for $36.00 — a formidable barrier indeed for many. But more important in terms of discrimination are the red-tape the poll tax imposes and the opportunities it gives biased officials to discourage or disqualify Negroes.

Today, only six Southern states cling to the poll tax in one form or another, and of these, Tennessee has limited the requirement almost to the vanishing point. In the other poll-tax states — Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia — there is strong public sentiment favoring repeal, but so far it has not found effective expression. Attempts to secure federal anti-poll tax legislation have

ESTIMATED NEGRO REGISTRATION IN 12 SOUTHERN STATES, 1947-1952

State	Negroes Registered in 1947	Negroes Registered in 1952
Alabama	6,000	50,000
Arkansas	47,000	65,000
Florida	49,000	125,000
Georgia	125,000	145,000
Louisiana	10,000	100,000
Mississippi	5,000	20,000
North Carolina	75,000	100,000
Oklahoma	50,000	60,000
South Carolina	50,000	115,000
Tennessee	80,000	85,000
Texas	100,000	175,000
Virginia	48,000	70,000
TOTALS	645,000	1,110,000

been equally unsuccessful, though there have been indications that Southern Congressmen would agree to submit the question to the voters as a Constitutional amendment. This would seem a peculiarly cumbersome way of ridding the South of an old evil that has little popular support.

CONTINUING PROBLEMS

If the 1940's are to be remembered as the decade of legal enfranchisement, it is to be hoped that the 1950's may be a decade of citizenship fully realized. There are still a few lingering examples of voting discrimination practiced under cover of law, but the main problems today must be solved in the community rather than the courts. It is well-nigh impossible to find legal remedies for petty evasions, delays, and "errors" of courthouse officials; for disapproving frowns and veiled threats; for routine, but highly selective, purges of registration lists.

This "cold war" of the ballot is now found chiefly in the old plantation areas or "black belt" of the South where Negroes make up a large part of the population. There, a quasi-feudal economy still hangs on. Most Negroes are tenant farmers or hired laborers whose landlords and employers do not look kindly on their voting. Moreover, the Negro who undertakes to qualify and cast his ballot usually must brave the organized resistance of the whole community. He can seldom rely on law enforcement officers and other public officials to support him in his effort to assert his rights.

Shifts in population and agriculture and farm ownership are moving the South steadily away from these outmoded conditions toward a more modern society. As more and more Negroes emerge from dependency to self-sufficiency, from farm tenancy to economic independence, from poverty to basic well-being, obstacles to the ballot prove less formidable. Meanwhile, however, discrimination in rural areas continues to be the most serious voting problem in the region.

By contrast, widespread opposition to Negro registration and voting has all but disappeared in the larger

Southern cities. Even six years ago, Dr. Jackson found that, in such metropolitan centers as Atlanta, Memphis, Jacksonville, and New Orleans, Negroes "may qualify with as much ease as they may in any Northern city." Further evidence is afforded by the election of Negro candidates to local offices in nine Southern cities within recent years.

But this admirable state of affairs has not meant in every case the normal integration of Negroes into public life that might have been expected. Again, Dr. Jackson sized up the problem, then just emerging:

'VOTING CONSCIOUSNESS'

In parts of the South, he wrote, "the act of a candidate seeking the support of qualified Negro voters is a common occurrence. Like white citizens, Negroes receive letters from candidates, are visited at their homes, and are addressed in public assemblies. Under these circumstances, a bargaining situation is created whereby Negroes might gain benefits for themselves if they only realized it. Schools, parks, playgrounds, and other facilities might well be the result of this new awareness of the Negro ballot. But office seekers are frequently disappointed to find so few colored persons qualified to participate in a forthcoming election. . . . . It is not always the barriers to voting which disqualify the colored people, but sometimes the absence of a voting consciousness among them."

This problem has, if anything, grown more pronounced in the past few years. Far from becoming a mass threat to white political control, as the demagogues warned, Southern Negroes have not voted in sufficient numbers to assure themselves of impartial treatment. Hence, it is still possible for unscrupulous politicians to use race prejudice as a campaign weapon, even in some areas where Negroes can vote without hindrance. In such cases, the candidate who has decent attitudes on race, and would welcome the support of Negro voters, faces a difficult situation. He is caught between the race-baiting of his opponent and the lack of substantial Negro support at the polls. All this has the unwelcome effect of causing office seekers to conceal or repudiate their enlightened racial views.

Oddly enough, the proportionately small size of the Negro electorate has lent plausibility to the "bloc vote" charge so dear to the hearts of the race-baiters. As every informed person knows, members of any group will vote as a bloc whenever they are singled out for special attack. Negroes are no exception. When they vote solidly against a candidate it is because he has abused their race and opposed their legitimate aspirations. When race is not an issue in a campaign, their votes are distributed about the same as those of white voters.

But the politician who hopes to benefit from race prejudice finds it useful to cry out against "bloc voting." He knows that by doing so he will incur the opposition of almost every Negro voter, but he counts on gaining more votes than he will lose. Too often, that is the outcome. Negroes do vote solidly against the prejudiced candidate, but in too small numbers to insure his defeat. Ironically, he then points to the election returns as proof of his "bloc vote" allegations.

Where does the Negro vote stand today? It is all but impossible to get

(*Continued on page* 8)

From the *Asheville Citizen*

'THE SOUTH LIFTS ITS HEAD'

Tuskegee Institute has no lynchings, as such, to report for 1952, *according to criteria used in our Department of Records and Research. This is the first time such a report has been made in the* 70 *years of lynching record keeping,* 1882-1952. — Press release, Dec. 31, 1952.

The nation, and thus the South, turned a corner in 1952. As the report of the much-respected Tuskegee Institute, quoted above, so plainly indicates, a form of crime once prevalent in the United States and often peculiar to the South has been "wiped out." In all soberness and conscience it might be said that nothing more astonishing — and heartening — has happened in human relationships in America within the lifetime of most of us now living.

We use the term "wiped out" advisedly. Of course, there may be more lynchings. Yet . . . if it would be reasonable to say that not a single case of cancer or heart disease or tuberculosis occurred within a year, and that hence cancer or heart disease or tuberculosis had been "wiped out," it would be reasonable to say that the ugly crime of lynching has been expunged from the record in America. . . .

To place Tuskegee's report in its proper perspective it is necessary to go back a few years. As recently as 1933 there were 28 lynchings spread over 11 states. By 1946 the incidence of the crime had been reduced to six cases. . . . There was one case in 1947, two in 1948, three in 1949, two in 1950 and again only one last year. Contrary to the fears of sociologists and others who study human behavior patterns, the postwar period did not bring the expected tensions which are manifest in crimes of racial passion.

It may well be argued that the mob with the rope and the torch has been replaced by more subtle forms of group violence against persons. Tuskegee properly calls attention to bombings and attempted bombings directed for the most part against minority groups in the last four years. Sixty-eight instances are cited in 13 states, including five states outside the South. . . .

These crimes are no less sordid or reprehensible in their way. Yet if it is possible to draw a distinction, it is the distinction between the howling, lustful mob and the covert attack by one or more individuals seeking not merely to usurp the function of the law but to vent a warped kind of vengeance on a racial or religious group. This kind of violence has taken place in North Carolina and it has taken place in Ohio. . . .

For the moment, however, we are concerned with overt mob violence. In its old aspect, it is a thing of the past. . . . Education, respect for the law, and most of all an awareness of the rights of the human person under the law — these things have prevailed. The record of a year is a record to be viewed at length with pride just as in the unhappy past it was viewed at length with sorrow and humiliation. The South can lift up its head.

U. S. Secretary of State Tells How Discrimination Hurts World Relations

What effect do racial discrimination and segregation in this country have on our foreign relations? Not long ago, the U. S. Attorney General put this question to the Secretary of State. The Secretary's reply, which was quoted in the Government's brief on the school segregation cases, is here presented.

* * * I wrote the Chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee on May 8, 1946, that the existence of discrimination against minority groups was having an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. At that time I pointed out that discrimination against such groups in the United States created suspicion and resentment in other countries, and that we would have better international relations were these reasons for suspicion and resentment to be removed.

During the past six years, the damage to our foreign relations attributable to this source has become progressively greater. The United States is under constant attack in the foreign press, over the foreign radio, and in such international bodies as the United Nations because of various practices of discrimination against minority groups in this country. As might be expected, Soviet spokesmen regularly exploit this situation in propaganda against the United States, both within the United Nations and through radio broadcasts and the press, which reaches all corners of the world. Some of these attacks against us are based on falsehood or distortion; but the undeniable existence of racial discrimination gives unfriendly governments the most effective kind of ammunition for their propaganda warfare.

The hostile reaction among normally friendly peoples, many of whom are particularly sensitive in regard to the status of non-European races, is growing in alarming proportions. In such countries the view is expressed more and more vocally that the United States is hypocritical in claiming to be the champion of democracy while permitting practices of racial discrimination here in this country.

The segregation of school children on a racial basis is one of the practices in the United States that has been singled out for hostile foreign comment in the United Nations and elsewhere. Other peoples cannot understand how such a practice can exist in a country which professes to be a staunch supporter of freedom, justice, and democracy. The sincerity of the United States in this respect will be judged by its deeds as well as by its words.

Although progress is being made, the continuance of racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment to this Government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations; and it jeopardizes the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world.

Race and Suffrage

(*Continued from page* 5)

exact figures for each state, since registration and election results are seldom recorded by race. The accompanying table, however, gives the Southern Regional Council's best estimates of Negro registration in 1952, as compared with Dr. Jackson's figures for 1947.

Although the five-year increase is substantial for some states, the overall gain is disappointing. It is particularly so when we consider that the 1947 registration was, in most cases, the fruits of a few months' intensive effort following the enfranchising court decisions. The Georgia drive, for example, was spectacularly successful, coming as it did in the period of initial resistance to Negro balloting. The slight advance made since that time, under much more favorable conditions, appears puny by contrast.

TODAY'S CHALLENGE

To generalize for the whole region, registration among Negro citizens of voting age is only about half as widespread as among white citizens. Virginia furnishes a good example. Of the white citizens of voting age in that state in 1949, 39 per cent were registered; of Negro citizens of voting age, 16 per cent. It must be remembered, too, that registration is not an accurate measure of ballots actually cast. In many recent elections, the proportion of registered Negro voters who have turned out at the polls has been substantially below that of white voters, thus further widening the gap.

Negro organizations and community leaders are not unaware of these problems; in some states they are waging or planning registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. But there is a pressing need for more such effort, carried on unremittingly in every part of the South.

Twenty years ago, the great roadblocks to Southern democracy were poverty and official denial of constitutional rights. Economic growth and sweeping court decisions have put us well on the way to surmounting both. The challenge now is to build a common citizenship which will make our state and local governments truly responsive to the wishes and needs of all the people. That can be achieved only by informed community action and the fullest and wisest use of the ballot.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JANUARY, 1953

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Va - 1949

671,800 tot.
66,409 N. (16%)
605,391 W (39%)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

9-16-55

Ga. Negro registration according to Secy of State's Office:

148,164

HCF

Oct. 7, 1950

	Total Registered	Registered Whites	Registered Colored
La.	818,031	M – 423,812 F – 332,544 756,356	M – 36,482 F – 25,193 61,675

Source: Louisiana Almanac, 1951-1952 (Stuart O. Landry, Ed.)
p. 484

	Registered	Responsible for Voting Statistics
Ala.	—	
Ark.	522,783 (1951)	Dept. Archives & History Secty of State
Fla.	1,067,155 (1950)	"
Ga.	1,213,000 (8/10/52) – [120,913 Negroes] 1,229,164 (1950)	Dept. Archives + Hist
Ky.	—	Secty of State
La.	818,031 (1950)	" " "
Miss.	—	" " "
NC.	—	" - "
Okla.	—	State Bd of Elections
SC	267,467 (1950)	Secty of State
Tenn	app 1,400,000 (1952 - 10/25)	" " "
Tex	—	" " "
Va	671,800 (1949 Estimate)	State Bd of Elections

Lists gens. vote (no) 1948, vote in most recent gov. elections (primary + gen'l)

Council of State Govts, Book of States, 1952-1953. Chicago: The Council, 1952. [page 88]

SUFFRAGE, NEGRO

Florida and Louisiana both keep consolidated voting registration figures by race.

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May 19, 1959

Professor C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of Sociology
Sacramento State College
6000 Jay Street
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Professor Record:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 15 and its enclosures. The Comillion letter has been getting some worthwhile circulation down here. Both Harold Fleming and I are looking forward to reading the three articles which you mentioned and which promise to be of great interest.

Other than things which have appeared in the standard magazines or in well-publicized books we have no essays on Little Rock. On the chance that they may be useful to you, I am enclosing one of Ashmore's editorials which seemed to be especially good; and the partial text of Judge McFadden's dissenting opinion in the recent state Supreme Court case, which possibly exemplifies one variety of conflict of principles which bother at least some segregationists leaders. In this latter connection, I have always thought that the one respectable - because candid and clear about its premises - statement in defense of the Little Rock defiance was the amicus curiae brief of Senator Fulbright (Congressional Record, September 4, 1958).

About de Jouvenel, my half-formed query, stimulated by your discussion of Negro intellectuals, was more or less this: has the Negro community tended always to find its rex in white leadership? has it shown a disposition to want to find its dux there also - e.g. the widespread and somewhat undeserved acclaim for F.D.R.? has the tendency to

adopt values from the white community made it (sometimes heartbreakingly) difficult for Negro leaders - e.g. Douglass, Washington, du Bois, King - to act as duxs? These are the merest beginnings of questions.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. It occurs to me that you might not have received our report of May, 1958 on Little Rock, which I am enclosing also.

Enclosures: Some General Observations in the Negro Community of Little Rock, Arkansas
Ashmore editorial, thermafax
Judge McFadden's dissenting opinion, thermafax

MH file

C. WILSON RECORD
Sacramento State College
Sacramento 19 California

January 30, 1960

Sociology

Editor
San Francisco Chronicle
San Francisco, California

Sir:

In your January 29 account of the hearings conducted in San Francisco by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, I am quoted to the effect that statistics relating to crimes committed by racial and ethnic minorities are the "most inadequate and misused of any statistics on any public activity." I would like to use your letter columns to extend my remarks and support that generalization. First, however, I emphasize that what follows is not intended as a blanket indictment of all recording and statistical proceedures followed by law enforcement agencies. Further, I do not imply that all such organizations are incompetent or unfair where racial and ethnic minorities are concerned. Indeed, as Chief Cahill indicated in his testimony, the San Francisco Police Department is attempting through special staff training and advisory committees to develop more effective prevention and enforcement programs, particularly so far as concerns the 60,000 Negroes within the Department's jurisdiction. Too, I recognize that other police departments over the country have introduced similar programs.

While in recent years some law enforcement agencies have improved their reporting and statistical methods, one should be extremely cautious in interpreting and using the published results. Particularly is this true where data relating to violations by Negroes are concerned. Such data can be no better than the original documents on which they are, necessarily, based. Such documents are strongly influenced by a number of distorting variables which, all too frequently, are minimized or ignored when the final results are released. Accordingly, the public, and even the police agencies themselves, are likely to form a highly inaccurate picture of the general as well as the Negro crime rate. Why is this the case?

I believe one would find near unanimity among my fellow criminologists that basic records of crime generally are highly distorted by many factors, some of which I shall discuss here. Negroes, particularly recent migrants, have less knowledge of the law in their new environment. Negroes are more likely than whites to be suspected of crimes in circumstances where whites would not be doubted. Negroes are more likely to be arrested and booked where the discretion of the officer is a

significant element. Further, Negroes are not as cognizant as are others of their rights when apprehended and may be unable to respond effectively and possibly avoid arrest. If the perpetrator of a crime is known or thought to be a Negro, policemen are more apt to arrest all Negroes in the vicinity even though it may be demonstrated subsequently that they are not involved. In similar circumstances, involving whites, only prime suspects might be held.

When one looks at basic records on Negroes held in jail, weight should be given these considerations: Proportionately more Negroes are retained simply because they lack money for bail. Court officials are reluctant to release Negroes on their own recognizance. Also, judges, aware that Negroes if released might be less coerced to appear for trial by social pressures, are hesitant to reduce or waive bail. Moreover, the crowding of the court dockets delays trials, and this results in more and longer incarceration of Negroes. Thus, if one looks at jail records only, he gets the impression that Negroes perpetrate more and greater crimes and, further, are poor bail risks. Such inferences are, of course, quite unwarranted.

The bare figures for indictments and convictions are also misleading. Cases involving Negroes have less chance of being nol prossed or dismissed. On equivalent charges Negroes are more likely to be indicted. After indictment, the possibility is greater that Negroes will be convicted. As in the matter of bail, Negroes frequently lack funds for a good counsel who might be able to obtain a dismissal or acquittal. If Negro cases are handled by the public defender, his investigative and trial staff may be too small to develop and present evidence clearing the new offender, in which circumstance the public attorney may conclude that the best interest of his Negro client is served by pleading him guilty to a lesser charge acceptable to the court and the prosecution. Moreover, after Negroes are convicted, they are less likely than whites to be placed on probation, the judge concluding that the offender, forced to live in a high crime area, is a greater recidivist risk.

Prison records of Negroes also give a false impression, for colored inmates are more likely than others to serve their full terms, or to be assigned longer terms under indeterminate systems. Negroes are generally considered poorer parole risks. Why? Because when released, they don't as readily find suitable employment and living conditions necessary to success on parole. Moreover, as a result of poorer social and educational backgrounds, they are harder to reach through the overall correctional program. Thus, their chances for parole, to say nothing of their chances for success if paroled, are markedly reduced.

And so at every step -- from arrest to release from prison -- raw data on Negro offenders are misleading because of distortion by hidden variables. It must be obvious from the above discussion that many aspects of "Negro crime" are economic rather than racial. Yet official agencies and public media, as well as individual citizens, commonly accept such records at face value. The result is a highly inaccurate picture of not only the Negro crime rate but the general crime rate as well. The "high rate of Negro crime" in San Francisco and elsewhere is, I suggest, primarily a bookkeeping and statistical phenomenon.

Over-emphasis on Negro crime is accompanied by under-emphasis on white crime, a point suggested by Father Hesburg in his questioning of witnesses before the Commission, and a claim borne out by the testimony of Joseph Kennedy of the San Francisco Public Defender's staff. For example, racketeering, fraud, embezzlement, and similar white-collar crimes are difficult to en-enforce against, and, consequently, are under-prosecuted. Such violations are committed by proportionately many more whites than Negroes. If adequate enforcement and prosecution could be carried out, and I am the first to concede that it is a most difficult task to accomplish, it might be found that in total crime the white rate is equal to that of the Negro; nay, in fact, be higher.

Negroes tend to commit "lower-class" crimes because Negroes are over-represented in the lower socio-economic categories. Such crimes are more "conventional." They are more easily detected by policemen who are trained to enforce against "conventional" offenses. Finally, conventional violations are more readily established with routine and standardized evidence. Hence a "high" Negro crime rate may reflect only an unwillingness or inability among law enforcement people to deal effectively with those violations more likely to be committed by whites than by Negroes.

The task of determining "true" general crime rates, and specific rates for racial and ethnic minorities, is a challenging one, Eventually, it may be solved, but the solution will take time and skill. Meanwhile, the people who administer justice -- from the policeman on the beat to the member of the parole board -- would in performing their duties and reporting their activities do well to show a modicum of judicial restraint in compiling and interpreting data on Negro crime.

Sincerely yours,

Wilson Record

Wilson Record
Associate Professor

August 16, 1960

Professor Adolph L. Reed
Department of History and
Political Science
Southern University
Southern Branch Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Professor Reed:

How goes the voting study?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 7, 1960

Professor Adolph L. Reed
Department of History and
Political Science
Southern University
Southern Branch Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Professor Reed:

I hope that by this time you have recovered from your illness during the past summer. I am wondering about the voting study, and would appreciate it if you could give me some indication as to when we might expect to receive it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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March 19, 1963
Dict. March 15

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I was indeed pleased to see the draft of the report by Hayes. I think it is unusually well written, factual and easy to read.

The suggestions that I have to make (see attached sheet) should be considered in the light of what you wish to do with this report. As it is presently written, the report is factual as to what the programs are and leaves the impression with me that all that is required is an awareness of the program and application to the nearest office.

My own feeling, however, is that the report should be a much more hard-hitting one, indicating where federal support is involved, how locally administered programs are by and large by-passing the Negro, and what the individual can do to take advantage of the programs. However, I will leave this decision with you, and the enclosed comments will have little bearing, should you follow the type report the draft consists of.

I believe I told you that Tom Barnwell and I would be leaving for Puerto Rico on the 16th, to return on the 28th. There would be no need of your submitting a revised draft. I suggest that you duplicate the report when ready.

Incidentally, in the distribution, I think each of the participants would want a copy. I have sent a list of those registered to Alice Spearman, with the addresses we had, asking her to fill in any additional ones. We have not received this back from Alice, and perhaps she can supply it directly to you.

As to the report itself, I am raising questions with several of the programs. I am fairly sure of my statements, but they would probably need to be checked with the regional offices in Atlanta. I find that local officials here have only the haziest notions of the various programs.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Courtney

Courtney Siceloff

enclosure
cs/es

MDTA - TRAINING AND PROPOSALS - SOUTH CAROLINA

MARCH 1, 1963

		No. Weeks	No. Trainees	Training Costs	Allowances And Subsistence	Training Began	Training Completed
SC-1	Machine Tool Operator (Entry) Columbia Area Trade School	12	20	$ 3,560.00	$ 6,795.00	10-8-62	12-28-62
SC-2	Arc Welders Columbia Area Trade School	12	20	$ 7,325.20	$ 5,940.00	10-8-62	12-28-62
SC-4	Machine Operators General (Entry) Parker High, Greenville	12	25	$ 5,757.00	$ 7,500.00	10-22-62	1-27-63
SC-5	Draftsman (Entry) Columbia Area Trade School	24	20	$ 5,824.00	$13,200.00	10-29-62	
X SC-6	Arc Welders Denmark Area Trade (Columbia)	24	20	$13,264.00	$20,562.00	11-26-62	
* SC-7	Machine Operator General (Entry) Parker High, Greenville	20	50	$26,200.00	$27,500.00	2-4-63	
* SC-8	Clerk-Stenographer (Entry) Parker High, Greenville	20	50	$ 9,945.00	$27,500.00	1-14-63	
X SC-10	All-Round Farm Machinery Operator Denmark Area Trade School For Orangeburg, Bamberg and Hampton	16	18	$ 5,150.00	$ 7,920.00	1-14-63	
SC-11	Automobile Mechanic Public Schools Anderson	36	18	$12,899.00	$17,820.00	2-25-63	
* SC-12	Clerk-Stenographer Columbia High School	20	50	$12,707.00	$27,500.00	2-25-63	

X denotes classes for Negroes

		No. weeks	No. Trainees	Training Costs	Allowances And Subsistence	Training Began	Training Completed
* SC-13	Machine Tool Operator (Entry) Area Trade School Columbia	24	50	$19,687.00	$33,000.00	2-11-63	
X SC-14	Automobile Mechanic (Entry) Denmark Area Trade (Charleston)	36	18	$14,432.00	$34,182.00	2-25-63	

SC-3 withdrawn replaced by SC-6.
SC-9 withdrawn replaced by SC-14.

* Represents two classes to be run consecutively.

Additional Proposals Submitted to Vocational Education

Sheet Metal Worker (Entry), Rock Hill
Body and Fender Repairman, Florence
Practical Nurse, Columbia
Machine Tool Operator, General (Entry) Spartanburg
Practical Nurse, Charleston
Clerk-Stenographer, Charleston
Clerk-Stenographer, Spartanburg
Machine Tool Operator, Anderson
Machine Tool Operator, General (Entry) Greenwood

NOTES AND COMMENTS ON MIZELL DRAFT REPORT ON FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Rural Areas Development

RAD: It would seem to me advisable that a clear definition be made between RAD and ARA. The first paragraph on page 4 might well come at the beginning of the description of the program to make it clearer. This program is available in every county, whereas ARA is limited to certain specified counties. RAD has no new money or program but is a coordination of existing federal agencies.

In the third paragraph on page 2, it mentions that RAD will "train and retrain." RAD in itself does not have a training program, whereas ARA does. Of course, the MDTA is available everywhere, and by coordinating these agencies, perhaps RAD could enlist the MDTA. To me, however, the statement is misleading when it says RAD will train.

Perhaps items that can be listed under RAD would include:

(1) An RAD committee may already exist in one's own County, but Negroes and others might well be unaware of it. The County Agent, of course, would be able to say.

(2) While it is stated in the third paragraph on page 3 that RAD should be representative of all persons, most committees are without Negro representatives, but I do not know of specific figures in this respect. An individual could seek such representation through the County Agent and if with no result, then through Farmers Home Administration -- first on a local, then state, then federal level.

(3) Since the RAD has no special funds, one does not have the leverage that exists in specific programs as ARA and retraining. Of course these coordinating agencies are federally financed, but they do not seem very sensitive in the matter of having full representation, as brought out in Ira Kaye's report.

Farmers Home Administration

In the second sentence of the second paragraph on page 4, I believe the correct term is "technical action panels."

In the same paragraph, three communities are mentioned as being helped by RAD. I would think that this would have come from ARA instead. Perhaps a regional person could confirm this.

ARA: I wonder if the ARA should not be discussed beginning at the bottom of page 4, since there is such a parallel, program-wise, between ARA and RAD. If done in this manner, the training programs would be described later.

MDTA: On page 5, the second paragraph beginning "There is no cost..." In line 8 of that paragraph, I believe the word should be employed rather than unemployed. This appears to describe the on-the-job training. Here are some other comments on MDTA:

(1) In addition to the statement of need for a demand in the area, mentioned in the last sentence of paragraph 3 on page 5, the one beginning "In order to apply...", I believe it would be necessary that a sufficient demand be needed in that community to set up a class, rather than on an individual basis.

(2) In the same paragraph, it states that an individual should apply to the local employment office. I cannot be sure, but I believe most classes are made up of local persons, and that there are few referrals to training classes elsewhere. It would seem to me that emphasis should be toward setting up a class in one's particular area. Since the employment office is supposed to make a labor survey of the area to determine needs, an individual should ask for a survey and its results, with a class or classes to be set up following this.

My understanding is that the selection of the trainees by the employment office does not depend only on the initiative of the unemployed. The manager is to go through the rolls and suggest application. However, the director of Employment Security in South Carolina stated that a referral of a Negro to a "white" course would kill the program. Employment Security is already under a prohibition against discrimination in referrals, but blatantly follows this practice in the set-up of the training programs.

(3) On page 5, second paragraph begins "There is no cost for this training..." To me the big factor here is that the program is 100% federally financed, and individuals should use this leverage. MDTA operates with Employment Security determining the need, selection of enrollees, and placement. The Department of Education, with its segregated policy in the South, has responsibility for setting up the course, instruction, and location of training. Provisions of this act call for a contract with HEW, which is signed for each course and includes the provision of no discrimination permitted in the program. This is completely ignored here, where the dual system of classes is followed. I am enclosing a list of MDTA programs in South Carolina. Note the type of instruction, as well as proportion of programs available to Negroes.

(MDTA, continued)

(4) The program is directed to unemployed and under-employed. It was stated at the conference that in South Caroline the median Negro income is one-third that of whites. Yet under the dual system in South Carolina, only three of the twelve existing programs are for Negroes.

(5) Page 6, third line from top of page: it is stated that the trainee will be placed. Of course Employment Security has responsibility, but does not guarantee placement of all trainees.

Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA)

Page 5, second paragraph, 5th line: I would substitute for "Such loans" the words "grants up to 50%." I believe this percentage (50%) of grant and program comes under the Accelerated Public Works provision.

On page 7, paragraph 3, are described loans for "public" facilities. My impression is that these loans are different from those grants for Accelerated Public Works, which I believe is referred to on page 5. If there is this difference, then I believe it would be better to find a better term than "public facilities", used in both instances.

In this connection, I am not sure if the words "public facilities" correctly describe the loans described on page 7. The draft indicates that they are to "promote the tourist industry" and I would assume that this does not mean it would be municipally owned.

Page 7, first paragraph, line 9: Should this not read, "why ARA assistance is necessary." Period, not question mark.

I think the important factor about ARA is that assistance in rural areas is given where the income is below a certain level. Studies have shown that many counties in the South are eligible only because of low Negro income. Yet when the OADP is drawn up, usually by an all-white committee, it decides on a factory to employ all-white personnel, and the group who should be benefitting from this act are completely by-passed. There is no provision whatsoever for equal employment opportunity in industries set up with ARA assistance.

ARA loans to these industries require community and owner participation up to 35%, so that there is not as much leverage as in other fully financed programs. However, the ARA training is fully federally financed, but most often limited to white persons only, for training in factories.

The technical assistance mentioned on page 8, second paragraph, should be particularly stressed. Those not in the power structure are hardly in position to recommend an industry to the ARA committee that would employ Negroes. However, a local committee or individual could request the ARA committee for the technical assistance whereby a consultant would come in to the area to make a survey and make recommendations on the type of industry for that area. This is what happened in Fayette County, Tennessee, where the local ARA committee was composed of persons strongly in opposition to Negroes involved in the voter registration campaign. Federal personnel surveyed the area, drew up the plan, located an industry (which subsequently did not come) and then obtained acceptance from the local ARA committee. This was to have been described at our conference, but Fay Bennett could give you further information if you felt it helpful to give an example of how to get around local barriers.

Title VIII

The description of Title VIII on page 8 is very good. However, I think it should be pointed out concerning the extent of federal participation (I believe it to be 100%). Likewise, these courses are held in high schools and the new vocational training centers. As yet, there are no high school programs for Negroes under this Act and no Negro has been admitted to the one technical education center already opened in South Carolina. In an obvious move in the technical education center in Greenville, qualifying

scores were set at such a level as to have the effect of excluding Negroes. It would appear that Negroes have been excluded completely in the Title VIII program in South Carolina.

List of Names in Appendix

I would make several changes in the list of names. For instance, if this is to be distributed in places other than South Carolina, three of these persons are local officials -- Mr. O. W. LLoyd, Gorden Berry, and Sidney Gillikin. It might be well to list a state position rather than the name and address of these individuals.

Likewise, I would substitute Mr. William Batt, Administrator, ARA, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., for the name of Wayne Shields. Another substitution would be for MDTA, Title VIII. Instead of Dr. Roy Dugger and Dr. Edwin L. Rumpf, I would substitute this name:

Dr. Walter M. Arnold
Assistant Commissioner for Vocational and Technical Education
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

I would insert "MDTA" ~~under~~ over the name of Mr. William Mirengoff.

Bibliography

In place of giving a page and a half to cooperative booklets, I would state that there is a packet containing booklets on cooperatives and credit unions, to be obtained from Farmer~~s~~ Cooperative Service, rather than listing each one.

I would reduce or omit the pamphlets on migratory labor, which was only briefly touched on in one of the workshops, and not referred to in this report.

Courtney Siceloff

Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore, S. C.
March 15, 1963

27

FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

by 2

M. Hayes Mizell 15

Within the next ~~fifteen~~ 15 years the rural South will be less populated, will have fewer small farms, practically no sharecroppers, and there will be a considerable decline in the demand for unskilled laborers. These ~~facts~~ predictions were recently ~~discussed~~ made by Dr. J. Gilbert Hardee, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at North Carolina State College. ~~When he spoke~~ Dr. Hardee spoke at the "Conference on Training Programs and Jobs for Rural South Carolinians" sponsored by Penn Community Services and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

~~Dr. Hardee~~ He pointed out that just as the rural South has become less populated during the past ten years, so will this trend continue in the next ~~fifteen~~ 15 years. As small farms become less profitable, many people will move to the urban areas to find employment which yields a higher guaranteed income. Thus as the remaining farms grow in size and make technological improvements in order to receive a higher profit from the increased capital expenditure which will be required, more labor will be released for other employment. Much of this surplus labor will be poorly educated, untrained for any position other than agricultural employment, and unable to keep pace with the rapid technological changes occurring in all fields of employment.

The federal government has recognized that unless this surplus labor is provided with the training and skills required for productive employment in the farm and nonfarm areas, unemployment can be expected to increase. In order to meet the challenge of this problem, the government has established a number of agencies to aid in training and retraining those workers who have been displaced by the revolution in rural farming. So that these people will then have a place to work, these agencies also aid and encourage the establishment of industries and commercial enterprises in rural or underdeveloped areas. But the

agencies seek not only to create industry and equip the workers with the necessary skills for employment, they are also vitally interested in helping to improve the life of the small farmer who is still in operation and living in the existing rural community. ~~It is~~ The government ~~is desire~~ desires to do all that is possible to help the farmer ~~so that~~ make his business ~~will be more~~ productive, and his life more pleasant for his family and meaningful to his community.

One such government AGENCY IS the Rural Areas Development program under the administration of the United States Department of Agriculture. This program is primarily concerned with the total economic development of the rural community. It assists rural communities in developing the total resources of the area, helps to discover the conditions that cause low income and unemployment, and establishes the organizational framework necessary for the people to unite and improve the economic development of their community. With the help of Rural Areas Development (RAD) officials, the people of a rural area can work to develop an awareness and understanding of unemployment and how this critical problem can be solved.

RAD seeks to create more rural industry to absorb the unemployed. ~~and they also train and retrain the unemployed so that they can work in this industry. RAD~~ IT ALSO examines public facilities to see which ones are missing and how they can be brought in to the community. In order to provide more recreation and more jobs through recreation, RAD encourages the expansion of recreational facilities in the rural area.

The key to the success of the RAD program is local initiative. Rural Areas Development can ~~only~~ be truly effective ~~and significant~~ to the whole community ONLY if it is begun in the local rural area by ~~the local~~ people who are thoroughly familiar with the problems and potentials of their region. In no event will RAD try to come in to the local

community and tell the people what to do. Such an action would be completely contrary to the whole RAD program.

In some instances the local county extension agent (sometimes called the "farm agent") will call a meeting of rural citizens ~~so that they can~~ (IN ORDER TO) discuss the present ecomonic situation in their area and ~~find out what are~~ (DETERMINE) the potentials for their community. In other cases, the initial meeting is called and organized by one or more local leaders who are interested in improving the economic status of their area. In any event, the extension agent should be consulted and brought in on the first meeting. ~~It is the agent who~~ He can offer his experience and education in this field ~~in order to make~~ (in making) the establishment of a productive project a much smoother and efficient operation. The agent should also be contacted for any information concerning RAD.

At the initial meeting of interested citizens a temporary chairman is usually selected to call other meetings. Every effort should be made to encourage <u>all</u> interest groups of the area to attend this meeting so that they ~~will have an opportunity to~~ (can) learn of the nature of the movement and contribute their ideas to it. Interest and participation in these meetings should not be restricted because of race* and the appointment of anyone to a committee should be based strictly on ability.

As this local committee becomes increasingly cohesive, it is important that it also becomes more organized. A chairman, an executive secretary, a steering committee, and a number of sub-committees should be selected. The sub-committees have the responsibility for making surveys and studies of special problems in their specific area of interest. Finally, the findings of these sub-committees are reported to the whole committee and specific proposals and long and short range goals are established.

* It should be noted, however, that most RAD local → (over)

committees in the South do not have Negro representatives, even though Negroes actually form the segment of the community most in need of better jobs and expanded recreational facilities. Individual Negroes could seek such representation through the county agent and if with no result, then through the Farmers Home Administration - first on a local, then state, then federal level.

When the local committee has selected a project, it ~~then~~ contacts the RAD office, usually through the county agent. The RAD office works primarily with the other federal agencies within the Department of Agriculture, and these agencies in turn assist the local communities in carrying out their selected project. Thus the RAD program is concerned, for the most part, with coordinating the myriad operations and agencies of the Agriculture Department so that they can better serve the local community.

The Farmers Home Administration, for example, ~~provides~~ coordinates educational leadership on the state and local levels in the form of "technical action panels" which then offer technical advice to the local committees. FHA also makes loans to farmers for nearly every type of home and farm improvement as well as loans to develop water supplies, disaster loans, loans for housing for senior citizens, etc. (See bibliography under FHA) The Rural Electrification Administration, the Forest Service, the Farmer Credit Association, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Farmer Cooperative Service are but a few of the more than twelve different agencies that work with the RAD program in order to improve the economic structure of the rural community. With the cooperation of these agencies, RAD has helped people in Summerville, Texas, to obtain a dependable water supply; it has helped citizens in Lyons County, Alabama, to get water ~~up~~ for their homes; and it has aided the people of Chesterfield, South Carolina, in their project to establish a garment plant.

As has already been pointed out, there are many unemployed people who need to be trained or retrained ~~for~~ in a marketable skill. ~~so that they can find employment.~~ In order to do this, the Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA) was passed in 1962 to provide for the training and retraining of workers who are unemployed but who have the ability

to learn a skill needed in his area.

To be selected for training under the MDTA, a person must be unemployed or a member of a farm family with less than $1200 annual net family income. The act also provides for those persons who are working or who will be working less than full time or will become unemployed because their skills have become or are becoming obsolete. There is also a provision for those who are 16 years old but not yet 22 and who need further schooling or occupational training. Those persons who are working below their skill capacities also qualify for training.

There is no cost for this training, and in fact the trainees may be paid allowances during their training period if they qualify. Trainees are eligible for allowances if they are selected and enrolled in a training course, ~~and~~ are UNEmployed, are the head of a family or household, and have at least three years experience in gainful employment. There is also an allowance available to persons between 19 and 22 years of age who are unemployed, and there is a reduced allowance for those who are taking training while they are unemployed. When the training facility is not located within commuting distance of the trainees residence, there is a transportation and subsistence allowance for those who qualify.

In order to apply for training an individual should first visit his local State Employment Service office. Prospective trainees will be interviewed and counseled, and they will also be tested to determine their interests, suitability and aptitude for job training. It should be understood, however, that the trainee will receive training only for a skill for which there is a demand in his area.

If the trainee is selected by the State Employment Service, he will be referred to a specific vocational training course. The training period will vary depending on the skill that is being taught, but

trainee will be expected to maintain satisfactory attendence records and to make satisfactory progress in the course pursued. Following his training, the trainee will be ~~placed~~ assisted finding in a job by the State Employment Service.

The Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) is another agency which makes an effort to encourage the establishment of local industry, reduce unemployment, and raise family incomes. Created in 1961, the ARA's primary functions are to give long-term, low-interest loans to help create new industry or expand existing industry. Grants up to 50% ~~Such loans~~ also are made to finance the building of ~~help build~~ public facilities which are needed by communities to help new industry. The ARA also provides programs to retrain jobless workers and provides subsistence allowances while these workers are in training. Technical assistance is also available so that communities can find answers to their economic problems.

See insert over

Before an area can be designated as elgible for ARA help, it must ~~first~~ meet certain requirements. The ARA provides two sets of criteria for such a designation--one for urban areas and one for rural areas. Briefly, in the urban area there must be a current unemployment rate of 6% or more, or the annual average rate of unemployment must have been 50% above the national average in three of the preceding four calendar years; 75% above in two of the preceding three years; or 100% above in one of the preceding calendar years. For rural areas, there must be a low median farm income of $1,170 a year or less, a low median family income of $1,500 a year or less, or the area must be one with a labor force under 15,000 with substantial and persistent unemployment, or it must be an area of low production farming.

Like the RAD program, the success of the ARA hinges on the initiative and hard work of the local community. Before any community can be granted an ARA loan or any other form of ARA assistance, ~~that~~

¶

Insert: ARA differs from RAD in one notable respect: its programs are limited to certain selected and specified counties whereas any rural county is eligible for RAD assistance. Another important point to be noted about ARA is this: ARA assistance in rural areas is given where the income is below a certain level. Studies have shown that many counties in the South are eligible only because of low Negro income. Yet there is no provision whatsoever for equal employment opportunities in industries set up with ARA assistance.

~~community~~ it must first prepare and submit to the ARA an Overall Economic Development Program (OEDP). The OEDP is evidence that the community has carefully organized and planned its project so that it will know what steps must be taken to reach the objective. Essentially, then, the OEDP is a description of the organization and people behind the movement for community improvement and it is an assessment of the resources and facilities in the community. The OEDP also, however, is an evaluation of what roadblocks impede the progress the area wishes to make; in other words why ARA assistance is necessary. Too, the OEDP provides the ARA with the community's concrete program of action for creating new employment opportunities.

One of the Area Redevelopment Administration's most important functions is to provide loans. ~~These~~ commercial and industrial loans can run for as long as 25 years, have an annual interest rate of 4%, and can possibly provide as much as 65% of the total cost of the project. These loans are made, however, only in those cases where it is evident that the project cannot be financed from some other source.

The ARA also makes loans available to communities ~~who wish to~~ wishing to improve or extend their public facilities. Such loans are made only when it is clear that such an improvement of public facilities will make some contribution to permanent industrial and commercial employment. These loans are also available to projects which will promote the tourist industry and thus cause more people to be employed because of the increased tourist trade. The public facility loans also are given only when it is shown that alternative financing is not available. Grants will be made when there is no other source available to pay for the project and it appears that the project cannot be completed without ARA assistance.

The ARA also provides for a job retraining program quite similar

to the same type of program offered by the Manpower Development Training Act. The greatest difference between the two programs is that the ARA provides for a maximum period of training of only 16 weeks while the MDTA program offers a maximum training period of 52 weeks.

The ARA offers technical assistance to the local community too. Such assistance may be given when the community knows of the existence of a natural resource but does not know how such a resource can be properly exploited in order to offer more jobs. When a community redevelopment group is confronted by a lack of essential information necessary for the fullfillment of its project, then the ARA can provide technical assistance to obtain such information. In special cases technical assistance can be provided to help a community prepare an Overall Economic Development Program.

Title VIII of the National Defense Education Act is a training program geared to meet the demands for highly skilled workers. These skilled technicians are employed in such work as data processing, electronics, and even the maintenance of manned rockets. Such work, of course, requires individuals of above average intelligence. This program is usually instituted in high schools with the teaching of technical drafting, physics, technical report writing and technical math. For teaching electronics and others technical courses that require technical equipment, the program should not be begun if this equipment and proper financing is not available. More information concerning this program can be obtained from the United States Office of Education.

It should be pointed out that in each of the programs mentioned there is a need for close cooperation between the community and county, state, and federal officials. Such programs usually require patience and hard work on the part of the local community or the individual

INSERT NEW GRAF, PAGE 8, TO FOLLOW FIRST GRAF DISCUSSING TITLE VIII

Courses offered under the Title VIII program are held in high schools and the new vocational training centers. As yet, however, there are no high school programs for Negroes in South Carolina, to cite one southern state, and no Negro has been admitted to the one technical education center already opened in South Carolina. Indeed, at this center, located in Greenville, qualifying scores were set at such a level as to have the effect of excluding Negroes. Thus it would appear that Negroes have been excluded completely in the Title VIII program in South Carolina.

citizen. It has been emphasized that RAD, FHA, etc. are aimed primarily at helping the little people, ~~and~~ giving them a larger share ~~in~~ of the nation's prosperity. ~~and standard of living which is often taken for granted by so many people of the United States.~~ But such aid is not forthcoming without a great deal of effort by the interested citizens.

It is unfortunate, however, that more of the people who need to take advantage of these government programs do not know that these programs exist. Our government now has programs for most every need. The problem is that many people do not know how to institute the proceedings for beginning such a program or how to find out that such a program exists. We would suggest that when an individual or community has exhausted every local and state agency without finding some means of remedying his problem, the agencies of the federal government should then be contacted.

13

ABBREVIATIONS

ARA	Area Redevelopment Administration
FHA	Farmers Home Administration
NDEA	National Defence Education Act
RAD	Rural Areas Development
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
MDTA	Manpower Development Training Act.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography lists those publications which give detailed and specific information concerning the government and private programs mentioned in this report. Except where otherwise indicated, the publications may be ordered directly from the agency preceding each group listing. Where the information is given the publications should be ordered by title, publication number, and publication date. There is no charge for most of the publications listed.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION. United States Department of Commerce. Washington 25, D.C.

Financing Area Redevelopment. 1962. 11 pages. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 15 cents.

Investing in Jobs. 1962. 18 pages. ARA Publication Number 62-B. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 15 cents.

Planning for New Growth--New Jobs. 1962. 28 pages. ARA Publication Number 62-A. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 15 cents. (Excellent explanation of OEDP function and procedure.)

Q(uestions) & A(nswers): The Area Redevelopment Act. (All leaflets in the Q & A series have three pages.)

Q & A: Commercial and Industrial Loans under the Area Redevelopment Act.

Q & A: Designating Areas under the ARA.

Q & A: Job Retraining under the ARA.

Q & A: Local Planning under the ARA. (Explains the OEDP)

Q & A: Public Facilities under the ARA.

Q & A: Technical Assistance under the ARA.

Training Jobs in Redevelopment Areas: A Report of Occupational Training and Related Activities Under the Area Redevelopment Act, for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1962. 36 pages. Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D.C.

Farmer Cooperative Service. United States Department of Agriculture. Washington 25, D.C.

Cooperatives Are Essential to the Family Farm. Reprint 247. News for Farmer Cooperatives. December 1962. 2 pages.

FARMER COOPERATIVE SERVICE (continued)

Cooperatives--A Force for Stronger Rural Communities. By John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Rural Development and Conservation. Reprint 248. News from Farmer Cooperatives. November 1962. 2 pages.

Co-Ops Have a Place in Rural Community Progress. Information 23. December 1961. 7 page leaflet.

Economic Considerations in Marketing Sweetpotatoes from the Eastern Shore of Virginia. By Clyde B. Markeson, Frank W. Bell, Leo F. Zimmerman. Marketing Research Report 487. August 1961. 46 page booklet.

Financing Farmer Cooperatives. FCS Educational Circular 5. 1955. 13 page booklet.

Forest Products Co-op Shows Sturdy Growth. Reprint 243. News for Farmer Cooperatives. September 1962. 4 pages.

Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Marketing Organizations in the Northeastern and Central States. By Martin A. Blum. General Report 84. July 1960. 63 page booklet.

Good Management Key to Co-op Success. Reprint 52. 23 page booklet.

List of Publications of Farmer Cooperative Service. Information 4. July 1962. 109 page booklet. (This booklet is indispensable to those interested in obtaining more information on all phases of the farm co-op program.)

A Livestock Market Is Born. By C.G. Randell. General Report 96. August 1961. 29 page booklet.

Loans to Farmers' Cooperatives. Circular 6. 1956. 6 page leaflet.

"Mr. Chairman..." By Irwin W. Rust. Information 6. December 1957. 12 page booklet (on parliamentary procedure.)

Organizing a Farmer Cooperative. FCS Circular 18. November 1956. 39 page booklet.

Recent Developments in Farmer Cooperative Meat Packing and Processing. By R.L. Fox. Information 18. September 1961. 19 page booklet.

The Rural Credit Union, A Place to Save and Borrow. By Arthur H. Pursell. Information 20. 7 page leaflet.

Some Reasons Why Farmer Co-ops Fail. Reprint 149. January 1958. 12 page booklet.

Using Your Fruit and Vegetable Co-op. FCS Educational Circular 7. June 1955. 15 page booklet. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 15 cents.

FARMER COOPERATIVE SERVICE (continued)

Using Your Rural Credit Union. FCS Educational Circular 16. September 1959. 9 page booklet. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. 10 cents.

What is a Co-op? Bulletin Reprint 6. 7 page booklet.

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The following list of names is provided so that interested parties will know where to write in order to find out more information about any of the programs mentioned in this report. These persons should be contacted only when this information is not available from a local office or official.

Mr. A.T. Mace
Director of RAD
USDA
Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. O.W. Lloyd
RAD Specialist
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Clemson, South Carolina

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USDA, Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. John Baker
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
USDA
Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. P.F. Aylesworth
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USDA
Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. John M. Lovorn
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Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. Job K. Savage
Farmer Co-op Service
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Coordinator, Center for
Continuing Education
Room 243
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Mr. William Mirengoff
Deputy Assistant Director
Manpower, Automation and
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Washington 25, D.C.

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Dr. Roy W. Dugger
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Mr. Arthur Chapin
Bureau of Employment Security
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. Alvin Stortroen
Domestic Farm Service
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. Sidney Gillikin
Federal Examiners for Credit
Unions
2009 Sein Place
Savannah, Georgia

REPORT ON MEETING "THE FUTURE OF THE GEORGIA PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM"
held Jan. 8, 1959 at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, 8:30 p.m.

This meeting was a public forum sponsored by the Omicron Delta Kappa honor fraternity and held in Glenn Memorial Church. Speakers were: James Mackey, representative of DeKalb County; Hamilton Lokey, representative Fulton County (past, not reelected this year); vs. R. Carter Pittman, past president of the States Rights Council of Georgia. Charles Bloch, who was to have been on the program, was detained in Jacksonville by bad flying weather and did not appear on the program.

The auditorium was more than half-full ten minutes before the scheduled start of the program, and (as nearly as I could tell) completely full as it began. Judging by the applause, more than 60% were FOR maintaining the public schools; a smaller but very noisy group applauded Pittman. But the applause diminished, the more he talked.

Mackey opened the discussion, with a resume of southern reaction in general to the 1954 Supreme Court decision regarding segregation in the public schools, and Georgia reaction in particular, listing the first manifesto, signed by southern senators and representatives (national government), the plans for Interposition, the plan for Impeachment proceedings against the Supreme Court, and the latest plan, now being propounded nationally by Senator Russell, for Relocation. Mackey said he thought it highly unlikely that the United States Government would spend tax money "displacing persons". He said Bodenhamer would be missed this year in the Georgia legislature, with his imaginative ideas of ways to combat integration such as cutting down the college enrollment by making it illegal for anyone to go to college after age 21, and to enter graduate school after age 25.

Mackey said after years of cussing and discussing the supreme court decision, thoughtful people are now called upon to read the decision and try to live with it. He then went into his familiar theme of the "no school" plan of Georgia, and contrasted it with the "some school plans" of Alabama (pupil placement plan), North Carolina (plans for limited and controlled integration), and the Florida plans. He said under present Georgia laws we have looming before us the "no school plan", and this will almost certainly result in no schools in Atlanta by the fall of 1959. He expressed a hope that the Georgia legislature would re-think its present laws and work things out so that we would have a "some school plan" and promoted the Alabama pupil placement plan with its 17 qualifications for judging any student applying to enter another school. In reply to a question, he said he thought this would also apply to white children seeking to transfer to another school, since the criteria do not depend on color or race, but on 17 other factors.

Carter Pittman spoke next, and his main defense of segregation was based on quotations which he read as excerpts from about ten books which supported his contention that Negroes are inferior to whites. He even used a quotation from Albert Sweitzer, which he said proved that Africans were like children and needed authority. During the question period he was asked just how serious he thought the threat that African children would be going to school with Georgian children. Mr. Pittman also stated that he could prove that the Negro intelligence rose in proportion to the amount of white blood, and that mulattos were superior to Negroes, but still inferior to whites. He also stated that Negroes mature two years earlier than white children; that they are three years behind white children in school and this would create grave problems in any mixed schooling. He said in the North the Negro children were three years older than white children in the same grades and this, plus the earlier maturing, had created the problems there. He said a good many other similar ridiculous things, and people laughed at him. He said children were not learning to read and write in the schools today, and so it would be a good thing to have a "holiday" and even to have no schools for 20 years--to get Karl Marx and John Dewey out of the school books. He said we did not need fancy buildings and highly-paid teachers and bands and majorettes and driver training. "If necessary the parents can take the children up in the attic and whisper to them what they need to know."

At one point in his diatribe re the inferiority of Negroes, there were boos from some of the audience. To those who came expecting a good and logical defense of segregation, and some hope for the Georgia Public School system as a segregated institution, his oration must have been disappointing.

Lokey spoke calmly and reasonably, and apparently with good effect, of the need for a workable plan acceptable to the Supreme Court that would limit integration--he spoke of the need for facing the facts, the desirability of keeping the school system in operation, and the necessity for the state to present a more workable plan that would not be declared unconstitutional and thus result in no schools at all. He said "halitosis is better than no breath at all". He, too, thought the Alabama law would be the best plan for Georgia, and went into some detail regarding the 17 qualifications, emphasizing that they were not based on color or race and that the law would have to be fair in its application.

He said that someone in the public school system, qualified to make the statement, had told him that it was estimated that one-third of the Atlanta teachers would leave the system this summer unless assured that there would be schools in operation during 1959-60. Some have left already; others are making plans to leave.

During the question period, there were several questions addressed to Mr. Bittman asking for assurance for segregated schools, or for schools. His answers were vague: he thought the people of Georgia would see that their children would be educated; he thought private schools were far better than public schools; he thought they would be cheaper than paying taxes for schools--they could be operated in chicken houses, he said, and the children could still learn.

Mackey and Lokey were questioned as to the possibility of getting through legislature for local option, and on particulars regarding the Alabama plan.

Mackey said he was sorry Bloch was not present, as he had planned to ask him how it happens that we have integrated railroads running through the state with Negroes and whites eating and sleeping together when, under Talmage, it had been declared that they would be stopped at the state line and desegregated. He wanted to ask Bloch if he thought railroads were more important than schools. "Do we need schools as much as we need railroads?"

Lokey said "if we close the schools in Georgia we will seceed from civilization". Bittman said closing the schools would not affect Georgia adversely from an economic standpoint. "Industry is pouring into the south, and away from the north", he said.

Montez Albright

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, Inc.

— for the advancement of agricultural labor —

112 EAST 19th STREET • ALgonquin 4-4955 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

20 February 1957

Dear Friend,

I am pleased to send you enclosed a copy of the Fund's annual report which I believe will be of interest and concern to you.

May I call your attention particularly to the sections dealing with economic pressures against Negroes in some of the states, the increase in numbers of imported contract farm workers, and the serious problems confronting our nation's farm families.

Please feel free to use this material in any way which will help to spread knowledge about these problems.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham

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490

THE CONDITION OF FARM WORKERS IN 1956

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
By Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary

> "We have known humiliation...we have been plunged into the abyss of oppression. We are tired of the conditions we experienced for so many years..."

Thus spoke a Negro leader in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956. With the backing of federal courts, and with the sympathetic support and help of men and women of good-will throughout the land, Negroes move ahead toward a greater share of the democratic heritage due them. But progress has not come without pain.

GROWTH OF WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS; ECONOMIC PRESSURE AGAINST NEGROES

From an estimated 250,000 members a year ago, the White Citizens Councils, dedicated to the maintenance of white supremacy, have grown to approximately 350,000 in all the southern states. Although many of its officers appear as responsible leaders in their local communities, and eschew violence, the movement has drawn its largest following from the black belt (rich farming soil) areas where there exists the greatest contrast between wealthy planatation owner and poor farm folk -- both white and Negro. In these areas poverty and lack of education have produced the most bigotry and the most easily aroused white mob. In contrast, the Negro has demonstrated a civilized restraint in the face of severe provocation.

These Councils have acted in two ways to preserve the status quo: 1) overtly, by mob action to prevent enforcement of Court orders for school integration; 2) covertly, by economic pressures against Negroes who are enrolled voters or otherwise indicate their insistence on rights guaranteed them by the Constitution.

An example of the former is the Clinton, Tennessee mob which, aroused by the outsider, John Kasper, almost succeeded in overthrowing civil law in that community because 12 Negro students were enrolled in its high school. This mob was made up primarily of the poor farm folk in the hill country outside Clinton.

Numerous cases of the latter, the covert economic pressure, have come to the attention of National Sharecroppers Fund. In many of these, after proper investigation, NSF has made non-interest bearing loans to tenant and independent small farmers who were about to lose their property, farm equipment and other possessions. One case involved a man's voting right; another his membership in the NAACP; a third his leadership among local Negro farmers working to set up a cooperative organization for their mutual help.

CONTINUING POVERTY ON THE LAND

There are nearly one and one-half million farm families in the United States with incomes of less than $1,000 a year. Of these, nearly one million live in the South. Although Negroes constituted only about one-tenth of the total of the 5,226,000 farm families in the country in 1954, they made up almost one-third of these one million in the South with annual incomes of less than $1,000. Very little is being done to help this group of Americans whose living and health standards and educational opportunities are clearly inadequate for them to realize their best potentialities as citizens and human beings.

Today the greatest contrast between wealth and poverty in our country has shifted from yesterday's captains of finance and the factory worker to today's corporate farm owner and the men and their families who work in the fields. The world's most efficient producers of farm products -- Americans -- have not eliminated dire poverty among those who work on the farms.

FAMILY FARMS

All family farms -- not just the lowest income group -- are approaching crisis. Government programs, while admitting their serious plight, are permitting over 100,000 family farms yearly to go out of business. Many of these are young farm families, former GI's who started farming hopefully after World War II.

Though given government aid to get started, they have been abandoned to a policy or lack of policy which permits them to be squeezed out before they can become firmly established. According to the 1955 Census of Agriculture, commercial family farms dropped by 11% from 1950 to 3,193,000 units while industrialized factory farms increased by 26% to 134,000. There was a drop of 353,000 in the number of owner-operated farms, a drop of 276,000 in the number of tenant-operated farms, and an increase of 32,000 in the number of part-owner operated farms.

A House of Representatives' sub-committee, under the chairmanship of Clark W. Thompson of Texas, reported in August, 1956, after a 5000 mile tour of grass-roots family farms that more than 600,000 of them had failed in the last four years. It stated that they were forced out by the industrial-type (corporate) farm invasion.

Family farms are generally defined as those where an owner-operator and his family furnish at least one-half of the farm labor, with gross sales of less than $25,000 annually. Disregarding the cultural value of these family producing units, it should be emphasized that they constitute the major element in the farm labor force and the backbone hitherto of America's "private enterprise" economy. They need not be wiped out. They can produce efficiently and compete effectively with the corporate farms through wider use of electric power and increased mechanization <u>if</u> they can get equal treatment in government subsidies and credit, and if <u>all</u> domestic farm labor is not exploited by lack of government protection and by government promotion of foreign contract labor.

THE CORPORATE FARM

The corporate -- or industrialized -- farm warrants a full current study that cannot be made here. Its influence on the labor market is indicated in various sections of this report. The vast amount of federal subsidy these enterprises receive is illustrated by two examples:

> Delta and Pine Land Company of Mississippi received a $1,292,472.25 federal loan on its 1954 cotton crop. Louisiana Irrigation and Mill Company received a $486,725.77 price support check on its 1954 rice crop.

It is the food and fiber producers such as these which throw the sharecropper and small farmer into the migrant stream, which support an imported labor program that is the key factor in keeping the wages of farm labor <u>at less than one half</u> the American average and in preventing effective union organization to better farm labor conditions, and which receive the bulk of federal subsidies.

CONTRACT LABOR

The imported contract labor system, begun as an emergency wartime measure, continues to grow apace. At peak employment in 1956, there were 458,038 foreign contract workers in agriculture. Of these, the vast majority, 445,197, came from Mexico with whom the United States has an international agreement. This number was a 21% increase over the 367,481 Mexicans who worked legally under contract in 1955.

At the same time, the number of illegal entrants ("wetbacks") has been declining steadily for the past two years due in part to the vigilance of the Border Patrol's activity. Apprehensions during the fiscal year 1956 totaled 72,442. The government's policy has been one of clamping down on illegal entry and encouraging the importation of workers under contract.

Of the other imported contract workers, 8504 came from the British West Indies and 3870 from the Bahamas. Some came from Canada.* This entire program is

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*The Department of Justice reports that there were 7210 Canadian agricultural workers in the United States under contract in the fiscal year 1955-56. This is unaccounted for in the quoted 1956 calendar year totals supplied by the Department of Labor.

supervised by the Department of Labor with 87 compliance officers authorized in the current budget. Many of these officers have other duties to perform.

A new development in the contract program is the importation by air from Japan of 386 farm workers (out of 918 who had been certified for employment). These workers were admitted under a section of the Immigration Act which permits entry to an alien "who is coming temporarily to the United States to perform... temporary services or labor, if unemployed persons capable of performing such service or labor cannot be found." Under the Japanese program, there is no agreement between governments but only between the individual Japanese workers and the growers' association which hires them. Enforcement of the provisions in the agreements rests with the Immigration Service which has even fewer compliance officers than the Department of Labor. All of the inequities of the Mexican program and more are likely to befall the Japanese worker, with more than 3,000 miles of ocean between his place of work and his homeland.

If a contract labor system is necessary for agriculture (which NSF doubts), a striking example of how it might work fairly and effectively is seen in the Puerto Rican program. An all-time high of 14,876 of these island Americans worked under agreements formulated and supervised by the Puerto Rican Department of Labor in 1956. This was almost 28% more than the 11,629 who came in 1955. It is estimated by Puerto Rican authorities that another 14,000 came on their own, having learned their rights from previous contract employment.

The Puerto Rican contract not only guarantees 160 hours of pay in each four-week period but protects the working and living conditions as well. It is carefully supervised by the Migration Division, which opened nine new offices during the year, eight of which were in the Middle Atlantic and New England states where most of the Puerto Ricans work.

In contrast, here is an example of what happens under the foreign contract system:

> In Phillips County, Arkansas, in June of 1956, United States workers were paid 35¢ to 40¢ an hour. Farm workers in the county that month were made up of 1,000 United States workers and 1,055 Mexicans. The Mexican workers theoretically were receiving 50¢ an hour, the minimum to which the Mexican government will agree. By July and August, the rate for U.S. workers had fallen to 35¢ an hour.

While National Sharecroppers Fund is concerned for the well-being of the imported worker for whom the "hospitality" extended usually falls far short of the rosy promises made, it is even more gravely concerned with the conditions under which the domestic farm worker and his family live, which are far below the minimum for most urban workers. Can there be any doubt that the wages of U.S. workers will remain depressed when growers know they always have available a steady supply of contract workers imported from countries whose living standards are far below those of the United States, who have no bases here, and who can, therefore, be threatened with deportation if they do not accept what is offered them.

Because of the seriousness of this importation program, the Board of Directors of National Sharecroppers Fund wrote on November 8 to Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell calling for a public investigation of it. The letter stated in part: "The whole contract importation program for agricultural labor is an anomaly. Superimposed on our free labor system by wartime necessity, it continues, according to repeated charges, for the benefit of the corporate farmer and to the detriment of the American farm worker." The letter concluded: "We strongly urge that this program be thoroughly aired in public hearings in which labor, farm interests, government, and citizen organizations are invited to present all facts available. We would be glad to cooperate with such public hearings." The Board's letter received wide attention in the metropolitan and labor press.

On December 28, three days before it was due to expire, the international agreement between Mexico and the United States was extended to June, 1959, bringing

a storm of protests from Mexican agricultural and business leaders as well as from labor and other groups in this country.

MIGRANT LABOR

The million domestic migrating workers who (usually with their families) pull up stakes constantly as they search for employment on the land is causing increasing public concern. The President's Committee on Migratory Labor, under the able direction of Henry K. Arneson, has made significant progress working with a small budget. During the year it published suggested regulations for agricultural labor camps and for transportation of agricultural workers. With no power to secure state adoption of these regulations, the Committee nevertheless did valuable work in bringing them to the attention of public and private groups for action. What is needed is an expanded appropriation for the work of this Committee, plus legislation on national and state levels.

One decided victory for migrant labor came during the summer when Congress passed a law providing for the regulation of migrant farm workers during interstate transportation. Though the law as it finally passed was whittled down by the opponents of all regulation (it only covers workers if the distance traveled is more than 75 miles), it marks a long step forward. A large part of the credit for its passage is due the organizations, including NSF, which vigorously supported it. Transportation of farm workers within a state is still largely unregulated.

For the worse came changes in the Social Security Law which in 1955 had included coverage for some farm workers for the first time. An amendment now reduces the number of workers covered by specifying that a worker must earn $150 from the same farmer (previously it was $100), and that he must work 20 days during the year for a single employer on a time basis, thereby excluding most migrants. Another provision permits the crew leader to be listed as the employer instead of the farmer, giving the crew leader a status and responsibility which he usually is unable to fulfill.

ORGANIZED LABOR - National Agricultural Workers Union

The merged labor movement has let a year pass with no program on behalf of farm labor. Nevertheless, sugar and rice workers in Louisiana continued their struggle to organize through the leadership of the National Agricultural Workers Union despite many obstacles. One of these obstacles was the backing given by the state labor council for "right to work" legislation (denying a union agreement) to apply to agricultural workers in exchange for repeal of this law as it affected industrial workers. Thus, workers on the bottom of the economic ladder were given a thrust downward by their fellow workers who were one step higher on the ladder.

There was an increase in activity on behalf of small dairy farmers in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Wisconsin. Small local unions of cotton plantation workers still exist in Arkansas, Alabama and Mississippi where the National Agricultural Workers Union was first started nearly 25 years ago as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union -- interracial when it began, and interracial today. NSF continues to give substantial financial assistance to this union whose leaders and members, despite years of discouraging setbacks, have never lost their faith in the strength of the farm worker to help himself through organization.

MIGRANT CHILDREN

There were several more summer schools conducted for migrant children in Colorado, New York, and Michigan, with state and private support. These alleviate the educational problem for a small number of these children. Of greater significance are the year-round programs to integrate migrant children into the regular school program wherever they may be. The Florida-Virginia project toward this end, sponsored by a number of organizations including NSF through the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor in cooperation with the two states, has entered its third year with every indication that its pioneering program will serve to stimulate such efforts in other areas. The Migrant

Children's Fund, initiated by NSF, is cooperating with other agencies in working to establish a similar project in the Spanish-speaking stream of migrants in the Southwest.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

Bringing together the major national organizations with an interest in this field, NCALL is admirably suited to coordinating and developing programs and projects to secure maximum support. NSF is an active co-operating member of this council. A major accomplishment during the year was its all-day round table on "Farm Policy and Social Welfare" attended by representatives of fifty-five national and state organizations and agencies. NCALL provides its member organizations with information of important developments on the farm front.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

On October 27, 1956, Dr. Charles Spurgeon Johnson, president of Fisk University and vice-chairman of NSF, died suddenly of a heart attack at the age of 63. His death shocked and saddened men and women of goodwill throughout the world for Dr. Johnson had achieved a unique role as social thinker, educator, and contributor to understanding among all people. His passing is a deeply-felt loss to the Board of the Fund.

New Board members elected during the year are Miss Angela Bambace, Mr. Martin Gerber, Mr. Gardner Jackson, Dr. C. B. Powell, Mr. A. Philip Randolph and Miss Vera Rony.

Recognition

When NSF raised a substantial sum in a two-week period in December to prevent the foreclosure of a valuable farm in Mississippi owned by Negroes who were facing stiff pressure, a leader in one of the organizations bearing the brunt of the struggle for Negro rights wrote "...I am quite lost in admiration at the effectiveness with which you manage somehow to achieve these minor miracles. I think that the ultimate value to the general cause in which we are all engaged is likely to be inestimable." National Sharecroppers Fund cooperates with a number of religious and other groups in carrying forward this effort.

With its activities on a number of fronts in support of economic justice and civil rights for Negroes and whites in the South, NSF proudly notes its listing among a specially selected group of six organizations and individuals "who have done the most during the year to advance the cause of harmonious race relations." A distinguished panel of judges made the selection.

National Sharecroppers Fund Publications

NSF reports and publications and other pamphlets it distributes are reaching an ever-widening audience. Currently available are:

> Strangers in Our Fields by Dr. Ernesto Galarza. Based on a report regarding compliance with the contractual, legal and civil rights of Mexican agricultural contract labor in the United States. 80 pages. 50¢.
> Down on the Farm -- The Plight of Agricultural Labor. A popular presentation of the people and problems involved in planting, cultivating and harvesting the nation's crops. 14 pages. 25¢.
> The Condition of Farm Workers in 1956. Single additional copies of this five-page report to the Board of NSF available free.

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Since its inception nearly 20 years ago, National Sharecroppers Fund has lent its moral and financial support to projects and programs designed to bring a better way of life to men, women and children who produce the nation's food and fiber, but who receive so little of the fruits of their labor. It has been a slow, uphill struggle, and the end is not yet in sight. But progress is being made. More and more Americans are becoming aware of this deep well of poverty amid our nation's prosperity.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Economic Research Service

FARM POPULATION

August 1961 Washington 25, D.C. Series Census-ERS (P-27), No. 30

EDUCATIONAL STATUS, COLLEGE PLANS, AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FARM AND NONFARM YOUTHS: OCTOBER 1959

[THIS REPORT REPLACES THE ADVANCE DATA PRESENTED IN SERIES CENSUS-AMS (P-27), NO.27]

For sale by the Bureau of the Census, Washington 25, D. C. Price 50 cents.
Annual subscription (Series P-20, P-23, P-25, P-27, and P-60, combined) $3.

87TH CONGRESS
1st Session

SENATE

REPORT
No. 1098

THE MIGRATORY FARM LABOR PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

A REPORT

TOGETHER WITH

INDIVIDUAL VIEWS

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

MADE BY ITS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 267
(86th Cong., 2d Sess.)
A RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING A STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF MIGRATORY LABOR

SEPTEMBER 20, 1961.—Ordered to be printed

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
68037 WASHINGTON : 1961

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

AUG 15 1962

Mr. Jack Minnis
Director of Research
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 206
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Minnis:

I have been asked to reply to your letter of August 6 to Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, requesting information on the food stamp program.

As far as the areas involved in the recently announced program expansion are concerned, they are listed in the attached press release.

The amount of assistance that will be extended depends entirely on the number of people certified for participation in the program and a determination of the purchase requirement and value of bonus coupons based on family size and income. These factors are yet to be negotiated with the State welfare officials and incorporated into a Plan of Operation which sets forth the mutual responsibilities and commitments on the part of this Department and the State welfare agency.

Negotiations will be conducted by personnel of the Food Distribution Division, Agricultural Marketing Service, which is charged with administration of the food stamp program. Actual certification of families will be handled by the State agency that administers other Federally-aided welfare programs such as Old-Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, etc. Coupon issuance will be done by the same agency or its designee.

I am enclosing several pamphlets that describe how the program operates in other areas of the country. If you have further questions, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Howard R. Davis

Director
Food Distribution Division

Enclosures

Growth Through Agricultural Progress

The U.S. Department of Agriculture's

PILOT FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

A Method for Sharing Our Agricultural Abundance

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
PA- 510

WHY A FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

America's farmers—using highly efficient techniques—are producing more food than can be consumed in this country or exported. Yet, there are Americans, particularly in areas of severe unemployment, who have inadequate diets because of insufficient income. This situation prompted the Federal Government to explore several means of reaching two important national objectives:

1—**Safeguarding the health of the Nation's low-income families through better nutrition.**

2—**Increasing the flow of foods from the Nation's farms through normal trade channels.**

Food consumption surveys of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, together with the experience gained from the Food Stamp Plan of 1939–43, indicated that when the purchasing power of low-income families increases, they buy more and better food, especially more livestock and dairy products, fruits and vegetables—items important both to improving diets and expanding farm markets.

These findings led to the Government's decision to test a Food Stamp Program on a pilot basis in several areas suffering from poor economic conditions.

How It Operates

The Food Stamp Program operates through normal channels of trade.

Participating families exchange the amount of money they could normally be expected to spend for food for an allotment of coupons of higher monetary value. The difference between what each family pays and the total value of its coupon allotment represents the Government's contribution to the program.

Families use the coupons to buy food in retail stores at prevailing retail prices. Except for a few imported items, the coupons may be used to purchase any food in the retail store. Retailers are authorized to accept coupons by the Department and they agree to abide by the rules of the program in accepting and redeeming coupons. They redeem the coupons through banks or through authorized food wholesalers. Banks, in turn, process the coupons through the Federal Reserve System.

Who Is Eligible

Food coupons are issued to families determined by public welfare agencies to be in economic need of food assistance. Families receiving some type of public or general assistance under a State's welfare program are considered to be in economic need. Other families may also receive food coupons provided their family income does not exceed certain stated amounts. The amount of income permitted to such families is worked out by the Department with the State and must bear a relationship to the standards used by the State to determine eligibility for its own welfare programs. These standards are the basis for determining income exclusion points for each family size.

The Amount of Bonus Coupons

The value of bonus coupons issued to families varies, depending upon such factors as normal patterns of food consumption, family size and income. This amount is arrived at by State and local public welfare agencies in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The amount each family pays for coupons is geared to the amount it could normally be expected to spend for the foods included in the program. For families of the same size, the purchase requirement rises as income increases. Conversely, the amount of bonus coupons decreases for families of higher incomes because such families are better able to afford better diets from their current resources.

Foods That May Be Purchased

Any food item in a retail store may be purchased with food coupons except coffee, tea, cocoa, bananas, and food clearly identified on the package as imported. Coupons may not be used to purchase nonfood items, such as alcoholic beverages, tobacco products, soaps, pet food, vegetable seeds, etc.

Recognizing the importance of helping participating families adjust their food purchases to include a variety of low-cost, nutritious foods, interested State and local organizations are encouraged to initiate nutrition education programs. Also, the help of local wholesale and retail grocers is enlisted through the *Food Guide,* a monthly publication issued by the USDA in the pilot food stamp project areas, which highlights current wise buys in each of the four basic food groups essential for an adequate diet.

Effects of Program

Surveys have been conducted to determine just how effective the Food Stamp Program has been in the eight pilot areas where it has undergone a year's test. Preliminary findings indicate that—

- Food stamp families made significant increases in the value of food used after they started participating. More than 80 percent of this increase was accounted for by animal products—meat, poultry, fish, milk, and eggs—and by fruits and vegetables.
- Recipients of food coupons have better diets than similar low-income families not participating in the program. But they still do not eat as well as higher income groups.
- Retail food store sales, measured in dollars, increased after the inauguration of the program—an average of 8 percent in the sample of stores surveyed.
- Both small and large stores attracted a reasonable proportion of food coupon sales.
- Total food sales were higher in the survey stores in all pilot areas—meats by 7 percent, produce by 8 percent, and other grocery items by 9 percent.
- In a survey of attitudes, more than 90 percent of the participating families expressed approval of the program, primarily because it offered a greater variety of food. Families of moderate and higher income not eligible for the program felt that low-income families should be enabled to obtain more and better food and approved of the food coupon approach; virtually all the retailers liked the program; so did the majority of local welfare workers and administrators.

These findings indicate that the program is fulfilling its basic objectives, but much still needs to be learned. For this reason the program is being expanded, on an essentially pilot basis, during the fiscal year 1962–63.

For further information, contact the Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

July 1962

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1962—O—644486

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Washington, August 2, 1962

Pilot Food Stamp Program Expansion Plans Announced:

President John F. Kennedy today announced an additional 25 areas in 18 States to which the Pilot Food Stamp Program is being offered.

Governors of the States are being notified of these designations by Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman and discussions will be undertaken in the near future with appropriate State and local officials to arrange for acceptance of necessary program responsibilities.

Because of the many administrative and educational activities that must be carried out in setting up a food stamp program and to give State and local agencies time to make necessary arrangements, Secretary Freeman has established the following target dates for the first sale of coupons:

Oct. 1: Independence County, Arkansas; Nash County, North Carolina; Multnomah County, Oregon; Luzerne County, Pennsylvania; Dickenson, Lee and Wise Counties, Virginia; Logan, Mingo and Wayne Counties, West Virginia. (The program will also be extended to the balance of St.Louis and Itasca Counties, Minnesota.)

Nov. 1: Jefferson County, Alabama; Mendocino County, California; City of St. Louis, Missouri; Choctaw County, Oklahoma; Grays Harbor and Pacific Counties, Washington; and Douglas County, Wisconsin.

Dec. 1: Vanderburgh County, Indiana; Knott County, Kentucky; Evangeline Parish, Louisiana; Lucas County, Ohio; and Grundy, Hamilton, Marion and Sequatchie Counties, Tennessee.

The pilot program in Detroit, Mich.; Franklin County, Illinois, Floyd County, Kentucky; Silver Bow County, Montana; San Miguel County, New Mexico; Fayette County, Pennsylvania; and McDowell County, West Virginia, also will continue to operate during the coming year.

The Secretary said that very encouraging results from the year-long experiment with the original eight pilot food stamp projects prompted many more requests

for the program than could possibly be filled within the limitations of funds and personnel, even when unemployment and other economic factors indicated a need for the program. Depending upon the rate of program expenditures after these areas have been operating for some time, extension to additional areas may be possible later this fiscal year.

The new localities declared eligible were selected to enable the U.S. Department of Agriculture to evaluate the Food Stamp Program under a wider range of operating conditions than was possible during the initial year. "We want to obtain a broader geographic distribution of the pilot areas -- in both urban and rural settings and in various size communities," the Secretary said, "and to take full advantage of the Agriculture Department's existing staff of experienced food distribution personnel located in various sections of the country outside Washington. Also, both the States and the Department need more experience in carrying out their respective responsibilities for the program when more than one county or political subdivision of a State is involved."

Within these essential conditions for a broader test of the program, the Secretary said that the localities designated were chosen from among those eligible for area redevelopment assistance or which have been experiencing above-average unemployment for some time.

The Secretary emphasized the importance of the roles of State and local governmental units in the operation of a food stamp program. State public assistance agencies are responsible for the certification of families who apply for participation. These agencies or the local governmental agency assume responsibility for the issuance and sale of food coupons to participating families. USDA is responsible for directing those program operations carried out by food retailers, wholesalers and banks.

Under the Pilot Food Stamp Program, eligible families pay an amount for food coupons that they would normally be expected to spend for foods included in the program. In return they receive coupons of greater value, to enable them to buy additional foods. The coupons are used to buy any food -- except a few imported items -- out of regular commercial supplies at authorized retail outlets. Coupons cannot be used to purchase nonfood items, alcoholic beverages or tobacco. Retailers in turn, redeem the coupons at face value at banks or through participating wholesalers.

In June 1962, there were about 141,000 participants in the eight areas covered by the Pilot Food Stamp Program. They paid $1,873,099 for coupons and received free an additional $1,082,073 worth, meaning that recipients paid about 63 cents for every dollar of coupons they received.

The Government's total contribution to the program for the fiscal year 1962 was $13.2 million in bonus coupons. Participants paid an additional $22.0 million.

An initial evaluation report of these pilot projects showed a significant increase in the value of food consumed by families under the program. More than 80 percent of this increase was in fruits and vegetables and animal products -- meat, poultry, fish, milk and eggs -- which resulted in a substantial improvement in diets among food stamp families. The report showed also a dollar volume increase in retail food store sales of 8 percent. (Press Release 1358-62, dated April 12, 1962.)

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(NOTE: Thumbnail descriptions of each of the new areas are available from Press Service, Office of Information, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.)

USDA 2754-62

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Washington, August 2, 1962

Following are descriptions of principal characteristics of the areas to which the Pilot Food Stamp Program has been offered. Target dates for the first sale of food coupons under the program are Oct. 1 for the Group I areas, Nov. 1 for Group II, and Dec. 1 for Group III.

GROUP I

Independence County, Arkansas, has a population of 20,000 and is eligible for area redevelopment assistance. The economy of the county is based on agriculture and small industries.

Itasca and St. Louis Counties, Minnesota, are in the Mesabi Iron Range area and are eligible for area redevelopment assistance. The Pilot Food Stamp Program has been operating in parts of the two counties for the past year.

Nash County, North Carolina, with a population of 61,000 is a smaller area of substantial unemployment. Agriculture is the major source of employment with the production of textile products the major industry.

Multnomah County, Oregon, has a population of 523,000 with Portland as the largest city. It is primarily an industrial area with a wide range of industry and has been experiencing above-average unemployment.

Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, with a population of 347,000 has long been an area of substantial and persistent unemployment as a result of the decline in the anthracite coal industry. Wilkes-Barre is the largest city in the county.

Dickenson, Lee and Wise Counties, Virginia, are eligible for area redevelopment assistance and employment opportunities have been substantially reduced as the coal industry in the area has been mechanized.

Mingo, Logan and Wayne Counties, West Virginia, are eligible for area redevelopment assistance and represent an expansion of the program from the present operation in McDowell County.

GROUP II

Jefferson County, Alabama, with a population of 635,000, is an area of substantial labor surplus. The largest city is Birmingham and the production of primary metal products is the major industry.

(more)

Mendocino County, California, has a population of 51,000 and is eligible for area redevelopment assistance. The most important industry is lumber and wood products.

City of St. Louis, Missouri, has a population of 750,000 and a wide range of manufacturing industries. It represents an opportunity to further test the program in a large city located in an area experiencing unemployment problems.

Choctaw County, Oklahoma, has a population of 16,000 and is eligible for area redevelopment assistance. It is an area that combines agriculture and small industries.

Grays Harbor and Pacific Counties, Washington, are eligible for area redevelopment assitance. The lumber and wood products industry is the major source of employment.

Douglas County, Wisconsin, is part of the Duluth-Superior redevelopment area and has a population of 45,000. It is part of an area of substantial unemployment.

GROUP III

Vanderburgh County, Indiana, is eligible for area redevelopment assistance. The county has a population of 166,000 and the major city is Evansville.

Knott County, Kentucky, is eligible for area redevelopment assistance and represents an expansion of the program from the present operation in Floyd County.

Evangeline Parish, Louisiana, is eligible for area redevelopment assistance. It has a population of 32,000 and is primarily an agricultural area.

Lucas County, Ohio, is an area of substantial unemployment. The county has a population of 457,000 and the major city is Toledo.

Hamilton, Marion, Grundy and Sequatchie Counties, Tennessee. Hamilton County, with the City of Chattanooga, is in an area of substantial unemployment. The other counties are all eligible for area redevelopment assitance.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Washington, April 12, 1962

USDA Issues Report on Food Stamp Projects:

In an initial evaluation report, the U. S. Department of Agriculture today announced results of the experimental Federal Food Stamp Program in eight pilot areas of the Nation. Since last June, the Department has been testing the effectiveness of the plan, which provides supplementary food purchasing power to low-income families as a means of helping them obtain better diets from America's food abundance.

The evaluation report shows that in the period from June through December 1961:

- As would be expected, families participating in the program in Detroit and in rural Fayette County, Pa., where special household food consumption surveys were conducted, made significant increase in the value of their retail food purchases and in the total value of foods used.

- More than 80 percent of the increase in the value of foods used was in fruits and vegetables and animal products -- meat, poultry, fish, milk and eggs. In Detroit, for example, food stamp families increased their use of meat by about one pound per person per week.

- Low-income families in the program had better diets than low-income families not participating in it, although program participants still had less to eat than higher income groups. Findings in the two areas in which the household survey was made, indicate that almost one-half of the families in one area and more than one-third in the other had diets that could be considered "good". Only slightly more than one-fourth of the non-participating low-income families had good diets.

(more)

- The increased food expenditures by participating families represented about 95 percent of the free coupons issued in Detroit and about 85 percent of those issued in rural Fayette County. Thus, the program was very effective in increasing the food purchases of participating families.
- The dollar volume of retail food store sales increased in a sample of retail food stores surveyed before and after the pilot program was inaugurated. Sales increased by 8 percent on a seasonally adjusted basis -- ranging from a low of 5 percent in the stores surveyed in Detroit to a high of almost 13 percent in Montana.
- Small stores fared well in comparison with large stores in attracting food coupon shoppers. Food coupon business represented 12 percent of their total sales, compared to 5 percent for large stores.

To determine attitudes about the Food Stamp Program, the Department's survey teams interviewed a cross-section of moderate and higher income families, program participants, non-participants among low-income families, food retailers and welfare workers in two areas -- Detroit and McDowell County, West Virginia. A large majority of those interviewed in each of these groups said they liked the Food Stamp Program and felt that it should be continued.

The evaluation report was made to Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, and represents the combined efforts of several agencies within the Department, cooperating with the Food Distribution Division of the Agricultural Marketing Service.

"A food stamp program is practicable in terms of its administrative and operating aspects," the report states, noting also that, "the level of Federal administrative costs of such a program appears to be within acceptable limits."

(more)

The report shows that from July through November last year -- when all eight pilot projects were in operation -- an average of about 138,000 persons were participating monthly. They paid $1.7 million a month for coupons and were given an additional $1.1 million worth free.

Latest figures show that in February 1962 there were 146,167 participants who paid $1,851,681 for coupons and received free an additional $1,108,783 worth, meaning that 37 percent of the coupons they received were bonus or free ones. Cumulatively through February, the Government contributed a total of $8.9 million in bonus coupons.

"Compliance with regulations governing the issuance and use of food coupons has been satisfactory," the report states.

As of today, only 11 food retailers, out of some 4,000 participating, have been suspended for violations since the beginning of the program. For the most part, these violations have involved (1) sale of non-food items for food coupons, and (2) in fewer instances, grocers purchasing coupons for cash at a discount. Two of the 11 suspended were recently indicted by Federal Grand Juries for violations falling under both categories.

In terms of the program's effect on farmers, the report says:

"Experience with the pilot projects indicates that the additional food purchasing power generated by a food stamp program could provide general support to the domestic demand for food and, therefore, act to bolster farm income.

"An expanded program could be expected to result in an increase in the volume of food marketed through commercial channels."

The program replaced in the eight pilot areas the direct donation to needy families of foods acquired by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in its surplus-removal and price-support operations.

(more)

It appears that this replacement would result in "considerable offsetting costs" for the program, the report states, noting, however, that comparisons of cost between this program and the food donation program are difficult to make.

Emphasized in the report is the conclusion that although Federal food assistance programs do reach a group of needy families not now covered by State and local welfare programs, as well as public welfare recipients, any special Federal food program should be operated in a manner that supplements these State and local efforts rather than substituting for them.

Under the food stamp plan, eligible families pay an amount for food coupons that they could normally be expected to spend for foods included in the program. In return they receive coupons of greater value, to enable them to buy additional food. The coupons are used to buy any food -- except a few imported items -- out of regular commercial supplies at authorized retail outlets. Coupons cannot be used to purchase alcoholic beverages or tobacco and other nonfood items.

If the Food Stamp Program were ultimately offered to all communities in the country, many would not participate, the report predicts, explaining that:

"Because of the necessary investment of time, staff, and money on the part of State and local governments, the program does not appear to be practical for those areas of the country with a relatively small proportion of needy families, or where the need for a food assistance program is temporary or seasonal."

As for the future of the program, the report advises that it "be continued on an essentially pilot basis" with a moderate expansion during the next fiscal year within an expenditure of $50 million.

Such an approach "could be accomodated within existing legislative authority and funds," the report observes.

(more) USDA 1358-62

The report notes that over a 5-year period the maximum expansion might reach around 4 million persons at an annual cost of about $360 million.

A modest expansion of the program in the next fiscal year was recommended in order to give the administrators of the program more experience with it. The survey results are based on experience gained in the first six months of operation and on the studies conducted after the projects had been in operation from three to six months.

Further analysis and studies are needed to provide a more detailed evaluation of the impact of such a program on food consumption and diets and on farm prices and income, the report states.

Other reasons given for the modest expansion are:

° A pilot or experimental program is likely to contain a certain amount of bias or weighting toward a greater degree of cooperation than might prevail in the longer run.

° When the program is tested in several counties in one State, local welfare officials may be less able to provide effective administrative or fiscal direction. On an expanded basis, present contractual arrangements with States will have to be more specific.

° Gradual expansion is needed to provide time to recruit and train the new personnel needed to provide supervision of operations.

The first of the pilot food stamp projects was inaugurated May 29, 1962 after President Kennedy, in his Economic Message of Feb. 2, 1961, requested the Department of Agriculture to test the effectiveness of such an approach in providing additional nutrition to those in need and in paving the way for substantial improvements in efforts to make more effective use of our productive capacity.

(more) USDA 1358-62

The eight economically depressed areas in which they have been operating are: Franklin County, Illinois; Floyd County, Kentucky; Detroit, Mich.; the Virginia-Hibbing-Nashwauk area of Minnesota; Silver Bow County, Montana; San Miguel County, New Mexico; Fayette County, Pennsylvania; and McDowell County, West Virginia.

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Note: Single copies of the complete report (AMS 472) may be obtained from the Marketing Information Division, AMS, U.S.Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

USDA 1358-62

August 6, 1962

The Honorable Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture
14th Street and Independence Avenue
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

We need some information on the administrative details of the new extension of the Food Stamp Plan. We should like to know, first of all, the names of the counties and the communities in the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia into which the Federal Food Stamp Plan is being extended.

We should also like to know the amount of assistance contemplated for each of these areas. Further, we should like to know what agency of the Department is administering the program and what officials are handling distribution of the stamps in the counties.

We would appreciate if if you could give us this information at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:jl

August 21, 1962

Mr. Ira Kaye
Attorney at Law
120 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Ira:

I have delayed sending youthe enclosed material because of the press of work here and because, as you noted in your letter of August 9, you have been out of pocket for the last week or so. I am sending you copies of the land distribution breakdown which I am making for my own purposes. I regret that I hamenot been able yet to fanish these for all of the nine counties; however, you can get from them the information you wanted for Barnswell and Bamberg counties. You will doubtless find the additional informatéon on the other counties interesting.

I am also enclosing a copy of the county-by-county registration figures which were given us by John McCray of Columbia, South Carolina. I have had no opportunity to check the accuracy of McCray's figures but Ihave no reason to think his figures would be less accurate than those of the politicians who do the offécial counting.

I would appreaiate it, Ira, if you would let me know your opinion about whether we are going to get the intervidws we had planned upon. I know from my own experience that interviewing can be an extremely burdensome task and would not at all be surprised if your interviewers have found that the bite they took required considerably more chewing than they had anticipated.

My very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:ll

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

37

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

SRC: 23

December, 1962

CONTENTS PAGE

Part I -Introduction.....1

Part II -Farmers Home Administration.....5

Part III -The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.....13

Part IV -Cooperative Farm Credit System.....16

Part V -Department of Agriculture Extension Service.....17

Part VI -Rural Areas Development.....19

Part VII -Conclusions.....20

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Part I

Introduction

This report seeks to give brief but accurate description of the meaning which federal agricultural programs have for Negro farmers in the Deep South. For this purpose, nine rural counties of South Carolina have been studied; these are: Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Clarendon, Hampton, Jasper, Lee, and Williamsburg. Although practices and conditions may differ throughout the South, these particular counties are valid illustrations of prevailing situations within the Black Belt.

The study was based on official records, supplemented by interviews of Negro farmers in each county.

The study had these aims: 1) to determine the degree of Negro employment in programs sponsored by the Department of Agriculture; 2) to discover what exclusion, if any, there was of Negroes from such programs; and 3) to gauge the degree of participation of Negro farmers in the decision-making and advisory committees which help administer federal benefits.

In all but one of the counties selected Negroes constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. In five of the counties, more than 50 per cent of the farmers are Negro, according to the 1959 Census of Agriculture. In none were Negro farmers less than 39 per cent of the total. Furthermore, each of the counties had a very low Negro voter registration, ranging from a high of 22 per cent to a low of 6 per cent of the total registration.

Data as to Negro farmers and land operation are shown in Table III.

As background for this study, interviews were held with 20 Negro farmers in each of the nine counties. They were questioned about their attitudes toward the federal

programs, toward the people administering them, and about their knowledge and use of these programs. Little of a specific nature came from these interviews, but they did reveal certain consistently held opinions and feelings. The reports of these interviews show a group of persons, representative one can believe of a great many Black Belt Negro farmers, whose chief views toward the federal programs are the following:

(a) Generally, they have a confused picture of the agricultural agencies and of the benefits they administer.
(b) Some were aware of their right to participate in community and county elections, just as many others were not.
(c) Some feel that they have been unfairly treated in crop allotments, but either did not know of their appeal rights or saw no advantage in exercising them.
(d) There was general awareness and resentment about the non-employment of Negroes in agency offices.
(e) Those interviewed who were registered voters seemed to vote freely and without hesitation; of those not registered many indicated a vague but real feeling that voting was the white folks' affair, and that they were not expected to register.
(f) Underlying virtually all interviews was a pervasively expressed feeling of alienation from the rest of the farming community and the agencies of power.

The next five sections of this report are devoted to brief discussions of individual programs administered by the Agriculture Department and of their application in the nine counties. A final section discusses some of the findings.

Table I

Selected Population Characteristics*

	Population	White	Negro	Total Median Family Income (dollars)	Negro Median Family Income (dollars)
South Carolina	2,382,594	1,551,022	831,572	3,821	1,699
Allendale	11,362	4,178	7,184	2,188	1,326
Bamberg	16,274	7,187	9,087	2,380	1,418
Barnwell	17,659	10,004	7,655	3,266	1,239
Calhoun	12,256	4,058	8,198	1,766	956
Clarendon	29,490	9,360	20,130	1,945	1,241
Hampton	17,425	8,038	9,387	2,487	1,502
Jasper	12,237	4,619	7,618	2,401	1,555
Lee	21,832	7,459	14,373	1,680	912
Williamsburg	40,932	13,716	27,216	1,631	916

*U.S. Census of Population 1960

Table II

South Carolina Voter Registration

Counties	*Total Registered	**White	**Negro	Per cent Registered Negro	Per cent Population Negro
Allendale	2,980	2,760	220	8	63
Bamberg	4,253	3,666	587	14	56
Barnwell	6,974	6,260	714	10	43
Calhoun	2,177	2,049	128	6	67
Clarendon	4,736	4,211	525	11	68
Hampton	4,773	4,147	626	13	54
Jasper	3,077	2,399	678	22	62
Lee	5,328	4,168	1,160	22	66
Williamsburg	7,827	7,347	480	6	67
South Carolina	666,694	575,793	90,901	14	35

*Secretary of State's Report, Aug. 15, 1962

**Estimates.

Table III

South Carolina Farm Data 1959

Counties	Average Acres Per Owner White	Negro	Average Acres Per Operator White	Negro
Allendale	388	71	634	65
Bamberg	216	70	262	54
Barnwell	238	64	269	63
Calhoun	273	64	315	55
Clarendon	165	53	182	40
Hampton	304	45	372	36
Jasper	231	41	462	37
Lee	186	61	245	37
Williamsburg	199	46	201	35

Part II

Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture administers a program known as the supervised credit system. This program, which dates back through several modifications to 1934, is intended to help small farmers of poor credit standing acquire and sustain family-size farms by providing easy credit and technical assistance. Direct federal loans are made.

The FHA has an office in each agricultural county, headed by a county supervisor. He and his staff, if any, are members of the U.S. Civil Service. In some southern counties, there is an assistance agent, a Negro, to aid in processing loan applications of Negroes. But to insure local control, each application is passed on by a committee of three local farmers, selected by the state FHA director from panels recommended by the county supervisor. Thus, to the small farmer seeking assistance, this committee may be the most important governmental body with which he deals.

Loans are of various kinds: operating, ownership, disaster, water development and soil conservation, rural housing. In all types, the committee considers, without firm guidelines and hardly any administrative review, the applicant's character, reputation, and the economic soundness of the desired loan.

In the nine South Carolina counties studied, no Negro has ever been county supervisor. No Negro has ever held a clerical job in a county FHA office. In official correspondence, the office seldom if ever addresses a Negro farmer as "Mister."

The accompanying charts show the distribution of loans within each of the counties over the last three years. As will be noted:

(a) there are great variations, year to year, and county to county, in the proportion of assistance going to Negroes;
(b) Negroes fare relatively well in receiving operating and disaster loans, but fare relatively poorly in receiving ownership and housing loans.

Over the three year period ending June 30, 1962, there were only nine loans under federal programs in the entire nine counties to Negroes for the purpose of enabling them to acquire their own farms. And five of these loans were made in fiscal year 1961. Either to build or improve farm housing there were only 14 loans to Negroes, five of these having been made also in the past fiscal year. Moreover, out of the $1,222,630 advanced by the Farmers Home Administration for farm land acquisition in these counties during this period only $55,550 went to Negro farmers; out of the $1,328,915 advanced for farm housing only $81,955 went to Negroes.

While Negroes have received a fairer share of the operating and emergency loans made by the Agriculture Department, the figures for this three-year period indicate that a group which could reasonably be expected to constitute 75 to 80 per cent of the farmers needing aid received only about one-third of the aid actually given. Of the $3,615,240 advanced for operating loans Negroes received $1,241,380; of the $358,330 advanced for emergency loans Negroes received $142,160. No Negro in these counties has ever had a soil conservation loan from the department.

Table IV

Farmers Home Administration Program for South Carolina

Fiscal Year	Operating Loans				Farm Ownership				Farm Housing				Soil & Water Conservation			
	Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1959	919	1,377	570	1,135	287	53	68	3	539	59	298	17	25	0	9	0
1960	773	929	516	670	292	63	76	12	354	47	158	15	36	0	21	0
1961	928	1,259	564	985	365	60	81	4	491	50	299	22	37	1	9	0

Table V

Farm Housing Administration Programs
in Nine South Carolina Counties

Allendale

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	7	16	7	21	10,430	22,755
1960	8	17	7	34	7,670	33,020
1961	5	17	8	31	12,020	32,590
Emergency Loans						
1959	0	8	0	6	0	6,350
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	0	0	0	0	0
1960	6	1	0	0	0	0
1961	5	2	1	0	4,860	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	2	1	0	8,500	0
1960	4	0	2	0	19,000	0
1961	18	2	5	1	54,000	5,000
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Bamberg

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	36	25	23	17	86,010	11,740
1960	58	27	26	24	64,415	18,025
1961	31	22	21	20	80,800	16,920
Emergency Loans						
1959	25	14	10	11	28,620	7,500
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	8	1	4	0	69,620	0
1960	1	0	4	0	63,650	0
1961	4	0	1	0	21,700	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	3	3	2	25,300	3,730
1960	7	1	3	1	9,130	2,000
1961	15	3	3	0	16,680	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Barnwell

Operating Loans						
1959	20	32	19	28	44,000	28,525
1960	34	30	31	30	72,080	31,165
1961	29	33	29	28	66,500	35,785
Emergency Loans						
1959	6	2	5	2	5,320	1,000
1960	1	0	1	0	1,500	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	1	2	1	1	7,450	2,890
1960	2	1	1	1	26,500	2,500
1961	7	0	4	0	38,470	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	1	5	0	30,135	0
1960	7	0	7	0	53,250	0
1961	17	1	9	0	98,000	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Calhoun

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	26	48	24	45	94,195	40,850
1960	37	65	34	65	45,110	46,710
1961	43	60	38	53	146,970	40,010
Emergency Loans						
1959	14	22	14	22	19,140	7,460
1960	1	3	1	3	6,000	1,380
1961	1	0	1	0	6,000	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	1	1	0	33,600	0
1960	4	0	2	0	39,130	0
1961	4	2	3	2	40,500	12,050
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	1	3	1	3	4,925	23,525
1960	5	0	5	0	39,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	1,370	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Clarendon

Operating Loans						
1959	18	113	32	82	81,700	75,000
1960	30	189	56	172	168,955	137,975
1961	36	161	57	139	245,880	120,695
Emergency Loans						
1959	26	120	22	145	59,940	88,505
1960	0	0	2	1	6,000	500
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	9	1	4	0	94,360	0
1960	9	3	3	1	75,650	8,200
1961	14	1	7	1	110,330	17,000
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	2	3	0	36,900	0
1960	7	1	6	1	55,750	6,500
1961	20	4	9	2	72,000	12,800
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Hampton

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	20	6	21	4	63,230	3,100
1960	22	15	34	20	110,325	19,630
1961	9	10	40	21	121,905	12,715
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	4	6	4	7,350	3,300
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	4	1	1	0	7,200	0
1960	7	1	1	0	13,500	0
1961	6	1	1	1	10,500	1,310
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	1	0	12,000	0
1960	7	0	4	0	34,000	0
1961	24	1	4	0	30,500	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	1	0	1	0	1,000	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	2	0	0	0	0	0

Jasper

Operating Loans						
1959	20	8	18	7	51,460	8,250
1960	24	17	23	11	75,210	7,655
1961	28	9	22	5	77,730	3,350
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	9	9	6	20,100	5,500
1960	3	0	3	0	1,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	20,500	0
1960	1	1	0	0	0	0
1961	4	1	1	0	4,040	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	0	2	0	28,980	0
1960	3	0	0	0	0	0
1961	23	1	10	0	108,860	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	1	0	3,500	0

Lee

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	13	20	21	32	55,500	27,110
1960	28	43	51	48	141,030	42,910
1961	32	32	72	57	239,860	45,030
Emergency Loans						
1959	11	23	17	21	47,500	13,100
1960	0	0	2	1	4,750	200
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	5	1	4	0	49,370	0
1960	8	1	0	0	0	0
1961	21	3	13	1	194,350	1,700
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	13	0	5	0	35,150	0
1960	17	6	15	2	91,900	6,350
1961	29	3	10	0	100,900	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Williamsburg

Operating Loans						
1959	40	186	41	174	73,680	119,320
1960	42	185	41	166	80,985	126,995
1961	36	189	38	166	66,310	133,550
Emergency Loans						
1959	2	14	2	13	3,350	7,365
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	11	3	6	1	120,200	9,900
1960	11	1	4	0	59,500	0
1961	12	2	5	0	62,100	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	6	0	66,000	0
1960	11	1	9	0	90,650	0
1961	25	8	12	2	125,850	22,050
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Part III

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Agency carries out various programs in the fields of production adjustment, conservation assistance, and price and market stabilization. Included within it are the ASCS state, county, and community farmer committee systems as well as most of the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

In some regions, however, notably in the South, leadership in local ASCS administration has been shared with county agents and other officials of the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service. But since the Agricultural Extension Service in the South has been from its inception a segregated institution whose policies and operations were carried out by whites, Negro farmers are handicapped by the same pattern in the ASCS operations. In the nine counties covered in this survey, it is apparent that the farmer-committee system has not benefited the Negro farmer specifically or the Negro generally.

The state committee is composed of three to five farmer members appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, plus the state director of the Agricultural Extension Service. County committeemen are elected annually by the farmers of the county, with the county agricultural agent also serving as a committeeman. County committees are under the general supervision of the state committee.

The county ASCS office is the farmer's point of contact in the case of most price-supported commodities. For example, office personnel assist the farmer in the preparation of price support documents and check his eligibility for price support. Each committee employs an office manager, but the committee itself is responsible for all programs, policies, and decisions at the county level. To assist it, community committees of three farmers each are elected annually by local communities within the county.

Today some 90,000 farmers throughout the nation are serving as county or community committeemen. Inquiry at departmental level indicates that in the entire history of these committees only one Negro has ever served as a county committeeman. That gentleman was from Vermont and is now deceased. Negroes have served as community committeemen in the past, but the only known instances in South Carolina were in Beaufort County and in Jasper County, and that was some time ago. At the present time there seem to be no Negro community committeemen in the state of South Carolina.

The ASCS county committees are vitally important to southern farmers for this reason: in the last analysis, they control the distribution of crop allotments for most of the basic crops. Since those public and private agencies which extend credit to small farmers base their line of credit on the amount of alloted crops, any lack of concern for the small farmer on the part of local committees greatly affects his eligibility for Department of Agriculture loans and all other types of loan. And since the state committee operates in close cooperation with the local committees, the crop allotments directly under the jurisdiction of the state committee are influenced by the policies and attitudes of the local committees. Thus, unless these local committees operate fairly in setting crop allotments, the small Negro farmer suffers a severe economic handicap. True, there is a review committee, consisting of farmers independent of all county and community committees and appointed for various localities by the state committee, to which a farmer can appeal allotment decisions made on the local level. There are, however, no Negroes on any of the review committees currently operating in South Carolina.

Theoretically at least, elections for county and community committeemen are conducted in the best democratic tradition. But many Negro farmers in the counties under study do not participate in these elections. If they did, it could normally be expected that at least some Negro committeemen would have been elected.

Moreover, like the Farmers Home Administration, the local offices of the ASCS could make clerical, blue collar, and supervisory jobs available to Negroes. Yet, in the known instances where Negroes have applied for jobs in the area under survey, they have been turned down; indeed, no Negro has ever been hired for such jobs in these nine counties. In fact, throughout South Carolina, there seem to be no regulations, policies, or procedures established by the state committee (which, as noted above, is appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture) to implement fair employment practices contained in the civil service regulations or in the pledges made by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

Part IV

Cooperative Farm Credit System

The cooperative farm credit system is administered by an independent agency known as the Farm Credit Administration. Its credit facilities play an important role in American agriculture and are closely related to the other sources of credit available to farmers generally.

The three main branches of cooperative credit are: 1) the federal land bank, long-term farm mortgage credit system; 2) the production credit association, a short-term credit system; and 3) banks which finance agricultural cooperatives (this branch, however, plays no role in the nine counties involved in this survey).

Some 370,000 farmers are currently members of the 800 or so Federal Land Bank Associations in this country. Members of each association elect their own board of directors from among their fellow members. In turn, each of the boards of directors select two of their members for appointment to the Federal Farm Credit Board, whose directors are selected by the President to determine policy on a national level. As far as can be ascertained, no Negro has ever served as a member of any of these boards, local, regional, or national.

The production credit associations are organized in more or less the same way as the Federal Land Bank Associations. Despite the fact that many Negroes in the South Carolina counties under study have borrowed through the local production credit association, they have not usually participated in elections for board members or in any policy-making procedures. Nor has any Negro ever been hired as a staff worker for the local association.

Part V

Department of Agriculture Extension Service

The Extension Service was established in 1914 to bring better incomes and better living to farm families. The land grant colleges and universities in the agricultural states have long been employed to carry out the purposes and policies of the Extension Service. One half of the extension funds used in South Carolina come from the federal government.

In the South, however, the land grant college was -- and largely still is -- a segregated institution. In South Carolina, for example, all-white Clemson College has been the main institution used. Any Negro extension or home economics work has been done through the all-Negro state college at Orangeburg and through all-Negro high schools. But a regular reading of South Carolina newspapers suggests that the activities of the Extension Service are primarily devoted to white farmers. There is no breakdown of funds between white and Negro extension work, but all indications are that the Negro farmer is not receiving a fair or adequate share of the funds expended in this field.

In the entire nine counties there are only five Negro men acting as extension service representatives and six Negro women as home demonstration agents. On the other hand, in each of the nine counties there are full staffs of whites acting as extension service personnel. 4-H Club enrollment figures show that three of the counties have no Negro 4-H Club members whatsoever. Because of the shortage of trained Negro extension service agents and the fact that they must cover far more territory and deal with far more people than their white counterparts, it seems fairly obvious that their work cannot begin to compare with the extension work being done in the white communities.

Again, as has been noted previously of other Agriculture Department agencies in this area, secretarial and clerical jobs with the extension service are available. But, again, no Negroes in the nine counties -- or, so far as it can be determined, in the entire state of South Carolina -- have ever been hired for these jobs.

Table VI

South Carolina

4-H Club Enrollment for 1960

Counties	White	Negro
Allendale	264	248
Bamberg	645	859
Barnwell	480	495
Calhoun	129	0
Clarendon	1061	880
Hampton	429	638
Jasper	435	0
Lee	271	0
Williamsburg	577	785

Part VI
Rural Areas Development

The newly-established rural areas development program seeks to bring about a better balance between farms and industry in economically depressed areas and thereby to create new jobs. At present, the program is being administered by the state and local representatives of the Farmers Home Administration. But, as noted previously, the state and local FHA offices in South Carolina are almost entirely staffed by whites. Thus there is virtually no Negro representation to improve the chances that new jobs created by the program will go to Negroes.

Several projects in South Carolina have already been approved. Yet not one additional Negro operative job has opened up, though it is possible that Negroes may eventually be hired to fill a few menial positions.

The program also calls for the establishment of training schools to teach new skills for new jobs. At the moment, there is no way of determining whether these schools will be segregated or integrated. Nor is it possible to tell whether qualified Negroes will be allowed to participate in all of the training courses offered or just in those for semi-skilled and less remunerative jobs. It is fair to say, however, that there is pressing need for the positive safeguards of Negro rights.

Part VII
Conclusions

The Negro farmer in these nine South Carolina counties seems not to receive anything like a fair share of funds appropriated for the aid of the small farmer, and receives shockingly little in the way of help for the acquisition of additional farm land to make his farming more viable, or for housing to give him and his family an incentive to stay on the land. The extension service takes no more than a passing interest in his problems.

No agencies of the Department of Agriculture nor of the organizations over which it has general supervision have afforded South Carolina Negroes anything like equal job employment. The only jobs available, besides janitors, have been those within the segregated practices of some of the agencies. There have been no clerical or administrative jobs made available to Negroes in South Carolina. Since the federal government provides virtually all the funds for all of these operations, it could be expected to insist upon the same pledges and practices required of private contractors doing business with the government.

Area redevelopment programs which do not from the outset provide for equal job opportunities for Negroes will only strengthen and perpetuate the present system of inequalities. It is ironic that Negro unemployment and under-employment is counted to determine area eligibility for area redevelopment assistance, while the resulting projects exclude Negroes from any direct job benefits.

Discrimination, discourtesy, intimidation in connection with allotment reporters?

Why no participation in ~~Federal Farm Credit~~ Production Credit Association?

are you a Veteran?

Threats about leases in case of tenants - this could be used by owner to prevent tenants getting a loan.

owner, tenant or sharecropper?

Have you ever applied for a water and soil conservation loan?

Difficulties with filling out application forms? If so - how solved and does this make applicant dependent upon white favor?

What about Farm Bureau influence in administration of these programs?

SHARECROPPERS IN THE 60's

A REPORT AND A PROGRAM

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
112 East 19th Street
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

	% of white acreage operator-owned	% of county acreage white op. owned	% of negro acreage operator-owned	% of county acreage negro op. owned	% of all farm operators N.	W.	(op.-owned) Avg. acreage per operator N.	W.
					(447)			
ALLENDALE	29	27	41	04	52	48	27	186
Bromwell Bomberg					(1076)			
EDGEFIELD	61	54	42	05	51	49	15	181
					(832)			
CALHOUN	44	39	33	04	46	54	18	140
					(2584)			
CLARENDON	56	51	40	04	64	36	6	143
					(827)			
HAMPTON	50	48	52	03	39	61	19	187
					(570)			
JASPER	30	26	51	06	62	38	19	137
					(1693)			
LEE	38	30	24	05	64	36	9	93
					(398)			
McCORMICK	52	42	36	01	55	45	19	134
					4292			
WILLIAMSBURG	37	37	32	08	67	33	11	101

I Total Number of Applications Received in each of the last 3 fiscal years:

Year Ending	Operating Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Emergency Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Ownership Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	28	6	23	14	4	28.6	5	1	20
June 30, 1961	22	14	63	0	0	0	8	1	12.5
June 30, 1962	19	10	53	0	0	0	7	1	14.3

Year Ending	Soil and Water Conservation Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Housing Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1961	2	0	0	2	0	0
June 30, 1962	2	0	0	3	1	33

II Number, Amount and Percent of Loans made in each of the last 3 fiscal years as follows:

Year Ending	OPERATING LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT) 1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960						
June 30, 1961						
June 30, 1962						

[redacted]

EMERGENCY LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	10	4	40	10,650.	3,300.	30.9
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

FARM OWNERSHIP LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	1	0	0	7,200.	0	0
June 30, 1961	1	0	0	13,500.	0	0
June 30, 1962	2	1	50	11,810.	1,310.	11

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	1	0	0	1,000.	0	0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

FARM HOUSING LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	1	0	0	12,000.	0	0
June 30, 1961	2	0	0	34,000.	0	0
June 30, 1962	4	0	0	30,500.	0	0

I Total Number of Applications Received in each of the last 3 fiscal years

Year Ending	[illegible] 1 Total	2 Rejected	3 % Rejected	[illegible] 1 Total	2 Rejected	3 % Rejected	[illegible] 1 Total	[illegible]
June 30, 1960	74	48	65	[illegible]	[illegible]	67	4	[illegible]
June 30, 1961	102	65	64	4	3	75	4	[illegible]
June 30, 1962	109	60	55	3	0	0	6	[illegible]

Year Ending	Soil and Water Conservation Loans 1 Total	2 Rejected	3 % Rejected	Farm Housing Loans 1 Total	2 Rejected	3 % Rejected
June 30, 1960	2	0	0	4	3	75
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	8	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

II Number, Amount and Percent of Loans made in each of the last 3 fiscal years as follows:
(Soil and Water Loans and Farm Housing Loans)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Paid	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	69	45	65	135,045.	40,850.	30
June 30, 1961	99	65	66	91,820.	46,710.	51
June 30, 1962	91	53	58	186,980.	40,010.	22

[illegible]

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Regions	3 Percent to Regions	4 Total Public Land	5 Total Acres to Regions	6 Percent of Public to Regions
June 30, 1960	16	22	[illegible]	26,000.	7,140.	[illegible]
June 30, 1961	1	1	[illegible]	1,320.	1,320.	[illegible]
June 30, 1962	1	0	[illegible]	4,000.	0	[illegible]

[illegible] (NATURAL [illegible])

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Regions	3 Percent to Regions	4 Total Public Land	5 Total Acres to Regions	6 Percent of Public to Regions
June 30, 1960	1	0	0	33,600.	0	0
June 30, 1961	2	0	0	39,130.	0	0
June 30, 1962	5	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	12,054.	[illegible]

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION [illegible] (RURAL AND [illegible])

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Regions	3 Percent to Regions	4 Total Public Land	5 Total Acres to Regions	6 Percent of Public to Regions
June 30, 1960	1	0	0	1,370.	0	0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

I Total Number of Applications Received in each of the last 3 fiscal years: BARNWELL

Year Ending	Operating Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Emergency Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Ownership Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	52	32	61.5	8	2	25.0	3	2	66.0
June 30, 1961	64	30	47.0	1	0	0	3	1	33.0
June 30, 1962	62	33	53.0	0	0	0	7	0	0

Year Ending	Soil and Water Conservation Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Housing Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	9	1	11.0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	7	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	18	1	6

II Number, Amount and Percent of Loans made in each of the last 3 fiscal years as follows:

Year Ending	OPERATING LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT) 1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	47	28	59.5	$72,525.	$28,525.	39.0
June 30, 1961	61	30	49.0	103,245.	31,165.	30.0
June 30, 1962	57	28	49.0	102,285.	35,785.	34.8

[redacted]

EMERGENCY LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	7	2	28.5	$6,320.	$1000.	16.6
June 30, 1961	1	0	0	1,300.	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

FARM OWNERSHIP LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	2	1	50.0	$10,340.	$2,800.	28.0
June 30, 1961	2	1	50.0	29,000.	2,500.	8.4
June 30, 1962	4	0	0	38,470.	0	0

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

FARM BORROWER LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	5	0	0	$30,135.	0	0
June 30, 1961	7	0	0	51,250.	0	0
June 30, 1962	9	0	0	98,000.	0	0

APPENDIX

I Total Number of Applications Received in each of the last 3 fiscal years

Year Ending	Operating Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Emergency Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Ownership Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	61	25	41%	39	14	36%	9	1	11%
June 30, 1961	85	27	32%	0	0	0	11	0	0
June 30, 1962	53	22	41%	0	0	0	4	0	0

Year Ending	Soil and Water Conservation Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Housing Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	7	3	43%
June 30, 1961	1	0	0	8	1	13%
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	18	3	17%

II Number, Amount and Percent of Loans made in each of the last 3 fiscal years as follows:

Year Ending	Operating Loans (Including Emergency) 1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	40	17	43%	$97,250.	$11,740.	12%
June 30, 1961	50	24	48%	82,440.	18,025.	22%
June 30, 1962	41	20	49%	97,320.	16,920.	17%

Year Ending	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
June 30, 1960	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
June 30, 1961	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
June 30, 1962	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Year Ending	1 Total Income	2 Total Expenses	3 Expenses to Income	4 Total Profit (or Loss)	5 Total Assets (at Year End)	6 Expenses of Sales to Assets
June 30, 1960	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
June 30, 1961	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
June 30, 1962	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] Value (Expenses Less Profit) [illegible]

Year Ending	1 Total Income	2 Total Expenses	3 Expenses to Income	4 Total Profit (or Loss)	5 Total Assets (at Year End)	6 Expenses of Sales to Assets
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

I Total Number of Applications Received in each of the last 3 fiscal years:

Year Ending	Operating Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Emergency Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Ownership Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	23	16	69.1	8	8	100	3	0	0
June 30, 1961	25	17	68.0	0	0	0	7	1	14.2
June 30, 1962	22	17	77.2	0	0	0	7	2	28.5

Year Ending	Soil and Water Conservation Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro	Farm Housing Loans 1 Total	2 Negro	3 % Negro
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	6	2	33.3
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	4	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	20	2	10.0

II Number, Amount and Percent of Loans made in each of the last 3 fiscal years as follows:

Year Ending	OPERATING LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT) 1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	28	21	75.0	33,185.	22,755.	68.5
June 30, 1961	41	34	82.7	40,690.	33,020.	81.1
June 30, 1962	39	31	79.4	44,610.	32,590.	73.0

[redacted]

EMERGENCY LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	6	6	100	6350.	6350.	100
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

FARM OWNERSHIP LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	1	0	0	4,860.	0	0

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

[redacted]

[illegible]

Year Ending	Total Number	Total to Negroes	Percent to Negroes	Total Funds Used	Total Loans to Negroes	Percent of Loans to Negroes
June 30, 1960	2	0	0	$ [illegible]	0	0
June 30, 1961	3	0	0	19,000	0	0
June 30, 1962	6	1	16.6	59,000	5000	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] COUNTY

EMERGENCY LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	167	115	[illegible]	$148,145.00	$88,505.00	59.6
June 30, 1961	3	1	[illegible]	6,500.00	500.00	7.7
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

FARM OWNERSHIP LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	4	0	0	$94,360.00	0	0
June 30, 1961	4	1	[illegible]	$83,850.00	$8,200.00	9.8
June 30, 1962	8	1	[illegible]	$127,350.00	$17,000.00	13.3

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION LOANS (INITIAL AND SUBSEQUENT)

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Negroes	3 Percent to Negroes	4 Total Funds Used	5 Total Amount to Negroes	6 Percent of Funds to Negroes
June 30, 1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
June 30, 1962	0	0	0	0	0	0

[illegible]

Year Ending	1 Total Number	2 Total to Manager	3 Passed to Bailees	4 Sales Price Net	5 Total Spent to Manager	6 Number of Passed to Bailees
June 30, 1969	3	2	2	[illegible]	2	2
June 30, 1970	2	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
June 30, 1971	12	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

SURVEY OF LOANS FEDERAL CREDIT ADMINISTRATION
OFFICES IN SOUTH CAROLINA COUNTIES

COUNTY AGENT OR OTHERS _____ COUNTY _____.

I. WHO ARE THE LOCAL OFFICERS, THEIR POSITIONS AND ADDRESSES?

A. PRODUCTION CREDIT ASSOCIATION (PCA)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

B. FEDERAL LAND BANK (FLB)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

C. FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION (FHA)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

D. AGRICULTURE STABLIZATION AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION (ASC)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

E. FEDERAL INTERMEDIATE CREDIT BANK.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

II. HOW ARE THE OFFICERS ELECTED?

A. _____
B. _____
C. _____
D. _____
E. _____

III. WHO WERE THE PREVIOUS OFFICERS? WHAT YEAR?

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

E. _____

IV. WHAT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ARE THESE OFFICERS AFFILATED WITH?

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

E. _____

V. DESCRIBE THE PHYSICAL PLANT OF THE OFFICES.

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

E. _____

VI. HOW ARE OFFICE PERSONNEL HIRED?

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

E. _____

VII. HOW MANY FARMERS APPLIED FOR LOANS LAST YEAR _____.
THE YEAR BEFORE _____. THIS YEAR _____?

VIII. HOW MANY APPLICATIONS WERE APPROVED? _____.

IX. HOW MANY APPLICATIONS WERE DISAPPROVED? _____.

X. WHAT WERE THE MAJOR REASONS FOR DISAPROVAL? _____
_____;
OTHER REASONS _____
_____.

XI. WHAT ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR FARMERS QUALIFYING FOR BENEFITS?
_____
_____
_____

XII. TO WHOM DOES THE FARMER MAKE APPLICATION FOR SUCH BENEFITS?
_____
A. IS APPLICATION MADE DIRECTLY? _____
B. THROUGH WHAT SOURCE ARE THEY MADE? _____
_____

PART II

I. WHAT IS THE ACREAGE ALLOTMENT? _____, _____,
_____, _____, _____, _____,

II A. WHAT WAS IT LAST YEAR? _____, _____,
_____, _____, _____, _____,

B. IN PREVIOUS YEARS? _____, _____,
_____, _____, _____, _____,

III. HOW MANY SHARE RENTERS ARE THERE IN THE COUNTRY? _____

IV. A. HOW MANY SHARECROPPERS ARE THERE? _____

WHAT IS THE REPUTATION OF THE CREDIT AGENCIES AMONG THE NEGROES? _____
_____

HAVE THE CREDIT AGENCIES BEEN FAIR IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH NEGROES? _____
_____

V. WHAT RELIEF WAS RENDERED TO THE NEGROES DURING THE LAST COMMON DIASTER? _____

_____.

VI. HOW MANY LOANS HAVE BEEN MADE FROM THE FHA IN THE LAST THREE YEARS? _____

A. FOR WHAT PURPOSE WERE THESE LOANS MADE? _____

_____

VII. WHAT ARE OTHER PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NEGRO FARMERS?

_____

_____

VIII. WHAT IS THE SOIL AND CROP EVALUATION FOR NEGROES IN THIS AREA?

_____

_____

PART III

I. HOW MUCH LAND DO YOU CULTIVATE? _____

II. DO YOU OWN THE LAND WHICH YOU ARE NOW CULTIVATING? _____

III. ~~FROM WHAT SOURCE DO YOU OBTAIN MONEY TO PLANT YOUR CROPS?~~ where

_____

A. WHAT PROCEDURE MUST YOU FOLLOW TO GET THE LOANS?

_____

_____

B. ARE YOU ABLE TO GET A SUFFICIENT ENOUGH SUM TO PLANT YOUR CROPS? _____

_____

C. HOW MUCH INTEREST DO YOU PAY (ON A HUNDRED DOLLARS ($100) WHAT DO YOU PAY IN RETURN? _____

IV. ARE YOU A REGISTERED VOTER? _____

A. DO YOU VOTE? _____

B. HAVE YOU ATTEMPTED TO VOTE? _____

C. WHY AREN'T YOU VOTING? _____

_____

V. DO YOU THINK THERE IS SOME CONNECTION IN YOUR NONPARTICIPATION AND YOUR NEED FOR FEDERAL ASSISTANCE? _____

_____

A. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE OFFICERS? _____

_____

_____

B. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN REFUSED ASSISTANCE? _____
(1) WHEN? _____
(2) WHY? _____

_____

PART IV

I. CHECK THE COURT RECORDS, MORTGAGES, CHATTEL AND REAL.

A. HOW MANY LOANS WERE MADE OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS?

_____

_____

B. FROM WHAT AGENCIES AND IN WHAT ORDER? _____,

_____, _____,

_____, _____,

II. LIST THE AMOUNT AND NAMES OF PERSONS OBTAINING LOANS.

A. WHAT IS THE BREAKDOWN ACCORDING TO RACE?

III. WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THOSE APPLYING RECEIVED LOANS?

A. HOW MANY ARE NEGROES? _____

B. HOW MANY ARE WHITES? _____

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

[redacted]

Chart – Texas
Poll tax & Payments

pv.

Texas Old Age & Children's payments

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH

November, 1966

TABLES OF CONTENTS

	Page
THE FACT OF NEED	1
THE PLACE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	2
WHAT IS SPENT IN THE SOUTH FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	7
HOW THE SOUTH ALLOCATES PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESOURCES	10
SOURCES OF FUNDS	14
CONCLUSION	15
TABLES	i-xii

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH*

THE FACT OF NEED

More of the poor of the United States live in the South than in any other region - almost half, according to 1960 U. S. census data.

The proportion of families trapped by poverty is larger in the South than in other regions. Almost one of every four is poor, according to U. S. census data.

Within the South, the proportion of Negro households in poverty is more than twice that of white households. A total of 17.9% of 12 million white families is poor, as opposed to 58.3% of 2.3 million Negro families, according to the Social Security Administration.

Ninety-seven of the 100 poorest counties in the United States are in the South.

These facts are the unanimous conclusions of analysts of American poverty who use differing economic categories and differing statistical sources. Whether the poverty line is defined as $3,000 or $4,000 per year or as a dependent

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*The "South" here referred to is the 11 former Confederate states and Kentucky. Statistics, unless otherwise indicated, are from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

variable of family size, age, and farm residence, the conclusions are the same. The South has more poverty overall, a higher rate of its occurrence, and the highest rate among its black people. (See also Tables 8 and 9.)

THE PLACE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Public assistance in the form of cash payments and aid has been a principal way to alleviate that poverty which consists primarily of monetary deprivation. It has been criticized as too limited, and as destructive of the family when administered in such a way that payments to aid children of impoverished families cannot be made when an employable male is in the house. Men out of work are forced to leave home so that the family will qualify for aid, according to the critics. It is not possible in the present study to resolve such controversy. The goal is to provide more information about the distribution of funds in the South under existing programs. The purpose is to describe what *is* being done in order to enlighten discussion of what *ought* to be done.

Three important clarifications should be made at this point. First, although public assistance is commonly called "welfare," it should not be confused with the total spectrum of social welfare programs. The funds for public assistance discussed here are separate from funds spent under programs

such as the Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance of Social Security, unemployment compensation, job-retraining, and the war on poverty. Public assistance consists primarily of cash aid to the indigent aged who are largely uncovered by Social Security insurance, to families with dependent children which have little or no income, to the blind and the permanently and totally disabled, and to acute cases of need discovered by welfare workers (called general assistance in attached tables). These general case assistance programs receive no federal funds and thus vary widely depending on the available resources and the commitments of the states.

No Federal?

Public assistance has also included cash aid to the aged for drug and hospital costs. The statistics in this study cover only the program for such aid that existed before adoption of the broader Medicare program.

Public assistance is what some disparagingly refer to as "the dole." Its beneficiaries are overwhelmingly the aged, dependent children, and the physically handicapped. The beneficiaries, contrary to popular myth, are not adult males who prefer to "loaf."

Typical of confusion was a headline in a large southern newspaper which said "22 Million on Dole." If the reader went beyond the headline, he discovered the "dole" referred

to was largely from social security insurance funds for which the recipients had been directly taxed on every paycheck they received. Only 8 million of the 22 million were receiving a "dole," and most of them were either over 65 or under 18, or blind, or otherwise disabled, or sick. Public assistance is what goes to this distressed 8 million people. Since there are 1.5 million impoverished aged and at least 15 million impoverished children in this country, it hardly appears that public assistance with its 8 million recipients is going to more people than the degree of need requires. Indeed, it goes to far fewer than the number in need.

Moreover, from these facts it should be clear that public assistance reaches primarily those who are outside the labor force and thus cannot be aided by minimum wage laws and unemployment compensation. At the present time public assistance, however limited, is the only way being used to meet the problem of "monetary deprivation," a rather inane technical term which seeks to make a distinction between those poor whose only problem in satisfactorily adjusting to modern life is lack of money and those who need help beyond the simple getting of money.

The second clarification required is related to this issue of monetary deprivation. While not all poverty is

covered by the concept, much of it is. The Wall Street Journal in September, 1966, reported that "the Johnson Administration is becoming increasingly intrigued with a far-reaching new goal: Ending poverty via a Government guarantee of a minimum income for every American family." But, the article goes on to point out, the Viet Nam war and existent domestic spending along with fear of Congressional and public resistance preclude the possibility of a direct approach to the goal, such schemes as the guaranteed annual income or negative income tax (no tax for those below a specified level and payments to bring them up to that level). Instead, there would be a gradual approach, an effort to "patch up and fatten up" existing programs, including Social Security, public-assistance coverage and payments, rent and other supplements, and public employment. If the public assistance programs are as poorly conceived and administered as their critics charge, then the new effort may mean merely the waste of more money. A study of how present funds are distributed among the states and how the states allocate proportions to such needs as the indigent aged and dependent children should--regardless of the merits of the present programs--indicate the degree of patching and fattening that would need to be done.

The third clarification required here concerns the possible charge that to stress cash payments ignores the

"syndrome of poverty" approach. Poverty is more than a lack of money. It is a complex of social and personal deficiencies, rooted in the absence of opportunities for human development. This fact is more widely appreciated than ever before. Yet there is a danger of ignoring the economic component. While it is clearly true that for many of the poor cash payments alone will not mean getting out of the syndrome of poverty, it is equally true that better schools, health service, consumer education, housing and so forth will not alleviate an inability to get enough money to live on in the short run.

While cash payments alone will not suffice to end poverty for many of the poor, they will be sufficient to end poverty among those for whom deprivation is primarily or solely monetary. S. M. Miller argues persuasively that the majority of the poor are "stable," i.e. free from family or social pathologies and employed at steady but very low pay, low skill jobs.** Many of these stable poor in the South and in the nation need nothing more than direct cash aid for their children or their own old age - plus job retraining for themselves and good education for their children. The boost from this support should be enough to break the monetary deprivation cycle permanently for about half the American poor, according to Miller. For

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**S. M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach," New Perspective on Poverty, ed. A. Shostak and W. Gomberg (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p.27.

them, the end of monetary deprivation would also mean the end of the poverty syndrome. For others, the broader attack on all social and cultural deficiencies would have to continue.

The cost of a start on cash subsidies would vary with how much was attempted. The Wall Street Journal report cited previously said that government officials thought it would cost from 6 billion to 7 billion dollars per year "to move the more than 30 million 'poor' people just halfway from their present incomes to the minimum desired levels - $3,000 for a family of four." Leon Keyserling's report for the Conference on Economic Progress, Poverty or Progress, estimates that 12.7 billion dollars a year would mean $1,427 more a year for each of the 8.9 million families with incomes below $3,000 in 1963.

Whatever method is ultimately used, there is considerable movement toward greater use of direct cash subsidy to end the poverty of monetary deprivation. Thus, it becomes extremely important to understand how cash subsidy is now used.

WHAT IS SPENT IN THE SOUTH FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

What follows is primarily an examination of the status quo in public assistance. It tries to discover precisely what the South is doing in the face of the degree of poverty

noted earlier. It also examines the proportion of federal resources received by the South.

Of all expenditures for public assistance payments in the United States in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965, 21.8% occurred in the South.(Table 1.) This reflects the South's having 25.9% of the United States' population in 1960. But it does not reflect that almost half of the nation's poverty is in the South and that the incidence of poverty within the region is higher than in other regions, as noted earlier. It should be noted that states administer the allotment of federal funds. The size of the federal grant varies with the ability or desire to match from state resources or to operate state programs - hence the disparity among the states.

Among individual states, Texas and Louisiana spend significantly more than all the others. The size of the Texas expenditure can be attributed to the large population of the state. It is less impressive when considered on a per inhabitant basis (Table 3) or a rate per 1,000 basis. (Table 4.)

The large Louisiana expenditure is even more striking when either the size of the state, the number of recipients, the rate per 1,000 population, the average payment per recipient or all of these is considered.(Tables 2-4.) Prima facie, this state's program cannot be judged to be adequate

simply because it was large relative to national as well as southern standards. That conclusion would require more investigation. The adequacy of the program becomes questionable when the specific programs to which the state allots its resources are considered. (Table 2.) Nevertheless, the case of Louisiana is atypical of the South in the public assistance field. The roots can be traced to the atypical southern politics of the regime of Huey Long in which desirable social welfare programs served the political welfare of Mr. Long to the chagrin of both some liberals, as well as the conservative business elite. The availability of petroleum resources as a means to finance such programs must also be noted.

At the other end of the scale stand Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2-4.) They were low by all the standards by which Louisiana was high. Total expenditures, degree of coverage, payment per recipient, and number covered were generally near or at the bottom of the region and the nation. Two notable exceptions occurred in Virginia and thereby differentiated it from South Carolina. First, Virginia spent more than twice as much overall for aid to dependent children than did South Carolina. It paid more per recipient to more families although its rate of coverage per 1000 was almost the same. (Table 4.) Second, while Virginia assisted those aged covered with higher payments, the degree of coverage per 1000 over age 65 was one-fourth that of South Carolina. (Table 4.)

The other states fall in irregular patterns between the extremes of Louisiana and South Carolina. Alabama and Mississippi attract special comment because of their positions in total spending and their ways of distributing funds. Mississippi's per inhabitant effort was relatively high, although total spending ranked near the bottom --just ahead of Virginia and South Carolina.(Tables 2 and 3.) Mississippi is unique, however, in that its amount of coverage per 1,000 children under 18 was highest in the South. Its coverage per 1,000 over 65 ranked third, just below Louisiana and Alabama. At the same time, the size of the average payments to the aged and to dependent children was the lowest in the region. Mississippi spread its resources to give a little to many. Alabama acted similarly in aiding dependent children, but aided the aged with high payments and a degree of coverage per 1,000 over 65 second only to Louisiana. The scope of assistance to the aged in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi suggests the political utility of aid to the voting aged.

HOW THE SOUTH ALLOCATES PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESOURCES

The contrast between aid to the aged and aid to dependent children is not limited to Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is a regional pattern which is more pronounced in these states.(Table 1.)

The percentage distribution by program reveals that both in the South and in the nation these two programs account for the great bulk of public assistance expenditures. (Table 1.) With this, the similarity ends. Whereas in the nation as a whole assistance to the aged used 38.6% of all the funds and aid to dependent children used 32.6%, in the South the respective percentages were 65.1 and 18.2. The only southern states which approximated the national proportional distribution of 38.6% and 32.6% were North Carolina and Virginia (Table 2), but their rate of coverage per 1,000 population under age 18 was very limited. (Table 4.) The proportion given to the aged was above the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas. The proportion given to dependent children was below the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina. (Table 2.)

The relative proportions allotted to the aged and to dependent children are a point of controversy. Most critics attack the national proportions as severely discriminatory against the needs of children and barely sufficient for the aged poor. (Table 4.) If the national proportions can be called inequitable, those in the South can be called iniquitous. An analysis by Burton Weisbrod indicates the degree of need among children. In this country, there are 15 million poor under age 18 in contrast to 1.5 million poor

over age 65, according to Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration.*** In June, 1965, the number of recipients of public assistance to the aged was 2.1 million nationwide, and the number of children aided was only 3.3 million.**** It can be concluded that public assistance does not begin to cover the vast 15 million children who are poor. The proportion of children and aged people for the South is comparable, and the imbalance in aid favoring the aged is greater.

(what about Soc-Sec ADC)

Children covered received average monthly payments of only $33.83 in the nation as a whole. For the South, dependent children received no higher than $25.55 in Kentucky and as low as $9.13 in Mississippi. (Table 4.) A study by the Georgia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work suggests that racial discrimination makes the burden on Negro children even more onerous than it is on white children.

In short, the present system of aid to dependent children does not begin to deal with the scope of poverty in the nation or region. While most, if not all, the aged poor are being aided, they may not be receiving sufficiently large payments. Most of the 15 million children who are poor go

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***Burton Weisbrod, "The Economics Of Poverty." (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 11.

****Division of Research, Bureau of Family Services, Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare: Statistics for June, 1965.

largely unhelped by public assistance. A bare 3.3 million of them are aided as "dependent" -- And these "lucky" ones of course deserve more systematic and substantial aid if the developmental roots of poverty are to be severed.

The respective proportions of assistance to children and the aged are not the only ones deserving comment, although they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic of problems in the region's public assistance policies are the low allocations for medical assistance to the aged and general assistance. (Table 1.) The South accounted for only 4.1% of the total national expenditures for medical aid to the aged under public assistance programs.***** It spent only 4.9% of the total national funds for general assistance, i.e., individual cases of special need determined by case-workers in many instances. Whereas in the nation as a whole, medical assistance to the aged received 9.9% of all public assistance funds, and general assistance received 7.2%, in the South medical aid accounted for only 1.8% of all public assistance funds spent in the region and general assistance accounted for only 1.6%.

The implications here are twofold. First, southern states have not fully availed themselves of available federal resources for medical aid probably because of non-discrimination conditions for full participation and because state

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*****It should be noted that this analysis is based on the most recently available data, i.e., the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965. Thus, it does not consider the effect of Medicare, which began July 1, 1966.

funds are also required. Propaganda against "socialized medicine" should also be considered. Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas had no programs at all. Others were very limited. (Table 2.) Second, since there are no federal funds for general assistance to special cases, most southern states have made little effort to fulfill their own responsibility. Only Louisiana made a significant effort relative to its size. Florida did relatively well also. Texas spent less than Louisiana for a population three times as large. Louisiana and Texas have important revenue sources in their extensive petroleum deposits. The other states either do not have or have not allocated adequate or even minimal resources for general assistance.(Table 2.)

SOURCES OF FUNDS

The discussion of resources for general assistance raises the question of source of funds. In general, the South is much more dependent on federal funds than is the nation as a whole.(Table 5.) Further, local governments give proportions of aid in the South much smaller than in the nation except on general assistance. On this program, southern local governments compensate for deficiency of state government efforts. Also worthy of note is the extent to which federal funds subsidize the southern preference for aid to the aged over aid to dependent children. Consequently, in the nation, 45.9% of all federal public assistance funds go for old age assistance.(Table 6.) Also, payments in the South

accounted for 43.3% of all federal old-age assistance funds, as opposed to the South's accounting for only 30% of all federal public assistance funds. Of all public assistance funds, federal, state and local combined, payments in the South accounted for only 21.8%.(Table 1.) Finally, when state funds alone are considered, southern states spend considerably less than both their population and their degree of poverty require.(Table 7.)

CONCLUSIONS

1. As a whole and in almost all the individual states, public assistance expenditures in the South have been below the national average in terms of total funds, amounts per inhabitant, average payment per recipient, and coverage per 1,000 population in the given category for special assistance. Louisiana is an exception to this regional pattern.

2. Expenditure of federal public assistance funds in the South has not been commensurate with the degree of need indicated by comparative statistics on poverty in the region and nation. It appears to be more commensurate with population.

3. The per recipient payments under aid to dependent children have been woefully inadequate in the region and the nation. The number of children aided is far below the number of children in poverty in the region

and below even the inadequate rate in the nation.

4. Southern states have given a larger proportion of assistance to the aged than has the nation as a whole; they have given a smaller proportion to aid dependent children despite the fact that there are more children who are poor than aged poor. Payments to the aged are larger than payments to children in the region and nation.

5. Southern states avoided pre-medicare programs of aged-medical aid.

6. Southern states except Louisiana and Florida, compared with the nation, have made little effort to aid cases of special need under general assistance programs.

7. Southern states have depended much more on federal funds for public assistance programs than the nation as a whole. At the same time, they have not applied for all the federal funds that were available to be spent for needs among their poor.

TABLE 1

AGGREGATE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total:	$5,285,321	$1,150,927	21.8
Special Types of Public Assistance	4,903,394	1,132,354	23.0
Old-age Assistance	2,042,572	748,886	36.7
Medical Assistance to Aged	523,694	20,979	4.1
Aid to Blind	98,898	25,527	25.8
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	513,346	127,161	24.8
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	1,724,883	209,801	12.2
General Assistance (Cases)	381,927	18,573	4.9
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Total:	100.0%	100.0%	
Special Types of Public Assistance	92.8	98.4	
Old-age Assistance	38.6	65.1	
Medical Assistance to Aged	9.9	1.8	
Aid to Blind	1.9	2.2	
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	9.8	11.1	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	32.6	18.2	
General Assistance	7.2	1.6	

TABLE 2

TOTAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS IN SOUTH BY STATE (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965
(Federal, State, and Local)

PROGRAM	ALL SOUTHERN STATES (1,000s)	TEXAS	LA.	ALA.	GA.	FLA.	N. CAR.	KEN.	TENN.	ARK.
Total:	$1,150,925	$227,590	$184,633	$112,910	$103,731	$100,803	$91,345	$82,866	$62,982	$61,990
% of South	100%	19.8%	16.1%	9.8%	9.0%	8.8%	7.9%	7.2%	5.5%	5.4%
Special Types of Public Assistance	1,133,354	224,216	179,440	112,899	102,849	97,856	89,418	82,289	62,427	61,579
Old Age	748,886	193,450	133,255	91,178	62,759	58,108	31,610	42,650	29,566	45,139
Medical Assistance to Aged	20,979	--	1,078	892	--	2,881	2,020	3,791	3,445	1,977
Aid to Blind	25,527	3,956	2,713	1,488	2,280	2,106	4,069	2,098	1,382	1,649
Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled	127,161	6,656	13,555	8,302	19,242	14,511	19,236	9,527	8,345	6,838
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	209,801	20,153	28,839	11,039	18,568	20,250	32,482	24,224	19,690	5,977
General Assistance	18,573	3,374	5,193	11	882	2,946	1,927	576	556	411

TABLE 2 CONTINUED --

Program	MISS.	VA.	S.CAR.
Total:	$55,477	$34,399	$32,200
% of South	4.8%	3.0%	2.8%
Special Types of Public Assistance	55,245	32,579	31,555
Old Age	34,641	10,198	16,332
Medical Assistance to Aged	--	2,319	2,576
Aid to Blind	1,446	958	1,382
Aid to Permanently & Totally Disabled	9,580	5,624	5,745
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	9,579	13,480	5,520
General Assistance	232	1,820	645

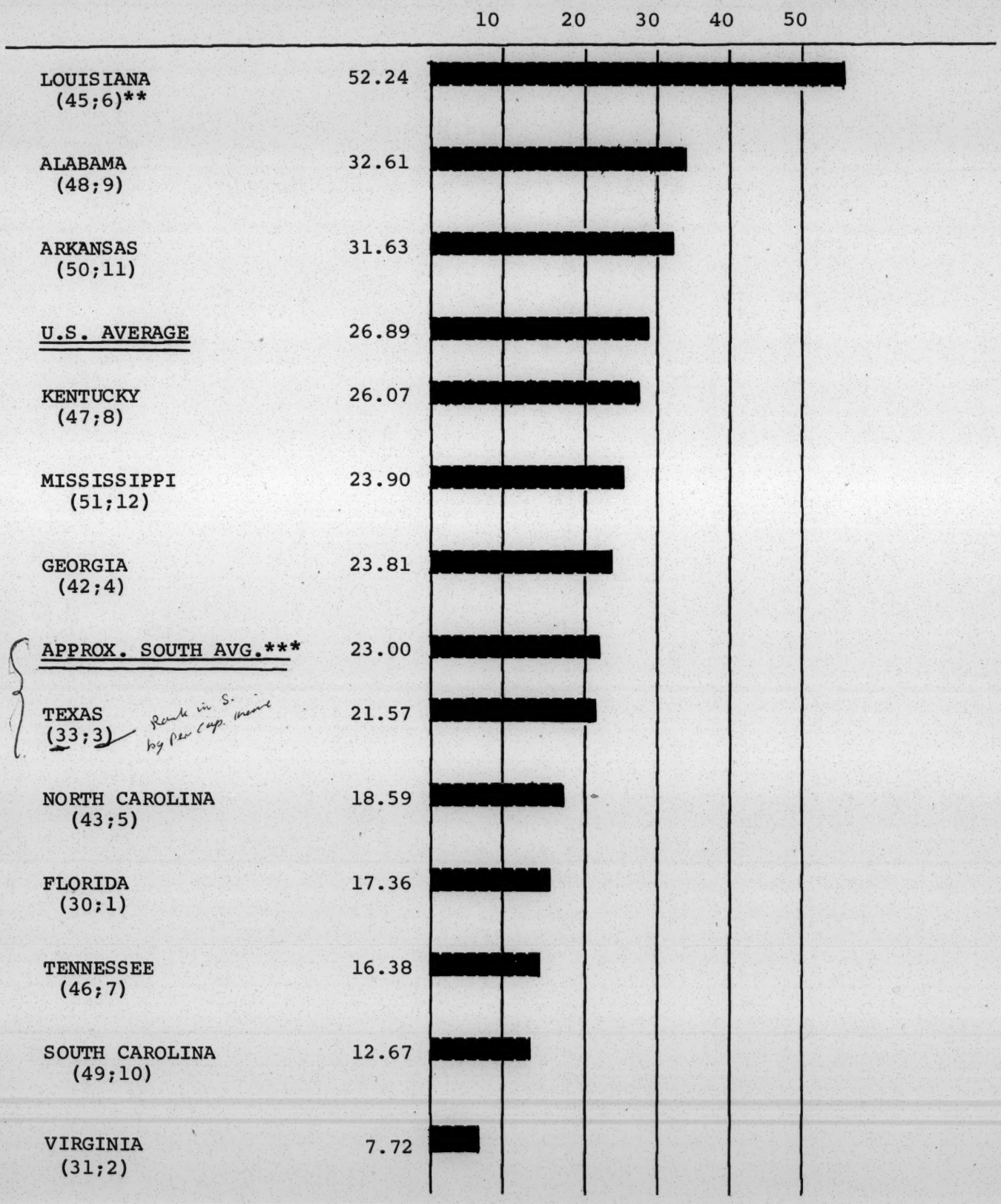
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM: (Figures below are percentage breakdown of the above expenditures for each state.)

Program	All So. States	TEXAS	LA.	ALA.	GA.	FLA.	N. CAR.	KEN.	TENN.	ARK.	MISS.	VA.	S. CAR.
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Special Types of Public Assistance	94.4	98.5	97.2	99.9	99.1	97.1	97.9	99.3	99.1	99.3	99.6	94.7	98.0
Old Age	65.1	85.0	72.2	80.7	60.5	57.6	34.6	51.5	46.9	72.8	62.4	29.6	50.7
Medical Aid for the Aged	1.8	--	.6	.8	--	2.9	2.2	4.6	5.5	3.2	--	6.7	8.0
Aid for the Blind	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.3	2.2	2.1	4.4	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.6	2.8	4.3
Aid for the Permanently Disabled	11.1	2.9	7.3	7.3	18.5	14.4	21.1	11.5	13.2	11.0	17.3	16.4	17.8
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	18.2	8.9	15.6	9.8	17.9	20.1	35.6	29.2	31.3	9.6	17.3	39.2	17.2
General Assistance	1.6	1.5	2.8	.1	.9	2.9	2.1	.7	.9	.7	.4	5.3	2.0

TABLE 3

AMOUNT EXPENDED PER INHABITANT* FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS
~~Fiscal Year Ended~~ June 30, 1965

1965



*Based on Bureau of Census population estimates as of July 1, 1965.

**Per capita income rank in nation and South respectively indicated by numbers in parentheses.

***Based on 1960 Census figures and allowing for increase through 1965.

TABLE 4

AVERAGE MONTHLY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENT PER RECIPIENT
(June, 1965)

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE	Average Payments	Number of Recipients*	Persons Aided Per 1000 Over Age 65
LOUISIANA	$84.93	130,799	497
U.S. AVERAGE	80.36	-	117
TEXAS	70.14	229,050	272
VIRGINIA	67.24	1,016	41
ALABAMA	67.13	105,000**	394
FLORIDA	65.09	74,595	105
KENTUCKY	64.01	59,403	192
ARKANSAS	63.86	-- ***	287
N. CAROLINA	62.96	42,318	121
TENNESSEE	59.22	44,738	134
GEORGIA	58.47	92,938	288
S. CAROLINA	54.36	24,626	150
MISSISSIPPI	41.17	73,196	363

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN	Average Payments	Number of Recipients*	Children Aided Per 1000 Under Age 18
U.S. AVERAGE	$33.83	--	46
KENTUCKY	25.55	60,430	51
N. CAROLINA	25.44	82,712	46
VIRGINIA	25.27	35,974	22
LOUISIANA	23.08	81,501	56
TENNESSEE	22.46	62,005	43
GEORGIA	22.14	59,851	34
TEXAS	18.71	71,737	18
ARKANSAS	16.88	23,396	33
S. CAROLINA	15.97	21,967	23
FLORIDA	15.68	87,410	43
ALABAMA	11.81	56,087	44
MISSISSIPPI	9.13	66,808	71

Note: *Number of recipients for December, 1965
**Estimated
***Not available

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE BY SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR TOTAL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS

For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

	TOTAL	FEDERAL		STATE		LOCAL	
		U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH	U.S.	SOUTH
	100%*						
Total:		54.6	75.4	33.7	21.9	11.7	2.7
Special Types of Public Assistance		58.8	76.5	32.2	21.6	9.0	1.9
Old Age Assistance		64.8	71.9	31.0	22.4	4.2	5.7
Medical Assistance to Aged		51.8	73.1	30.6	23.3	17.6	3.6
Aid to Blind		47.4	72.9	46.0	24.1	6.6	3.0
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled		56.0	74.4	34.5	22.3	9.5	3.3
Aid to Families With Dependent Children		55.5	79.0	32.7	17.9	11.9	3.1
General Assistance		--	--	53.4	37.2	46.6	62.8

*Reading across each line, percentages for U. S. and South each equal 100%.

TABLE 6

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total Federal Funds:	$2,885,320	$867,325	30%
Special Types of Public Assistance			
Old Age Assistance	1,323,352	573,125	43.3%
Medical Assistance to Aged	271,288	15,331*	5.7%
Aid to Blind	46,872	18,598	39.7%
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	287,338	94,552	32.9%
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	956,470	165,719	17.3%
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Special Types of Public Assistance	100%	100%	
Old Age Assistance	45.9%	66.1%	
Medical Assistance to Aged	9.4%	1.8%*	
Aid to Blind	1.6%	2.1%	
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	10.0%	10.9%	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	33.1%	19.1%	

*No program: Georgia, Mississippi, Texas.

TABLE 7

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS FROM STATE FUNDS (IN THOUSANDS)
For the Fiscal Year Ended June, 1965

PROGRAM	50 STATES AND D. C.	SOUTH	SOUTH'S % OF TOTAL
Total From State Funds:	$1,782,992	$251,941	14.1%
Special Types of Public Assistance	1,578,963	244,931	15.5%
Old Age Assistance	632,653	168,106	26.6%
Medical Assistance for the Aged	159,994	4,885	3.1%
Aid to the Blind	45,539	6,158	13.5%
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	177,295	28,314	16.0%
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	563,483	37,468	6.6%
General Assistance	204,028	6,910	3.4%
PERCENTAGE SPENT BY PROGRAM:			
Total State Funds:	100%	100%	
Special Types of Public Assistance	88.6%	97.3%	
Old Age Assistance	35.5%	66.8%	
Medical Assistance for the Aged	9.0%	1.9%	
Aid to the Blind	2.6%	2.4%	
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	9.9%	11.3%	
Aid to Families With Dependent Children	31.6%	14.9%	
General Assistance	11.4%	2.7%	

South as Poor & can benefit by Nat'l Action

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW $3,000
(1960 Census)

	PERCENTAGE	WHITE	NEGRO
UNITED STATES	21.4	18.6	47.9
SOUTH			
ALABAMA	39.1	29.6	67.8
ARKANSAS	47.7	41.0	79.5
FLORIDA	28.4	24.1	54.5
GEORGIA	35.6	25.7	67.7
KENTUCKY	38.1	36.7	57.7
LOUISIANA	35.6	24.2	65.8
MISSISSIPPI	51.6	34.4	82.9
NORTH CAROLINA	37.1	28.8	70.1
SOUTH CAROLINA	39.5	24.5	77.0
TENNESSEE	38.3	34.2	63.8
TEXAS	28.7	25.2	57.6
VIRGINIA	27.9	13.7	54.1

TABLE 9

ONE HUNDRED POOREST COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

STATE	Number of Counties Per State in South Among Poorest 100 in U. S.	Averages of the 100 Poorest Counties (Per Family Median) In The United States: Average Median Family Income	Range of Median Family Income	Average Per Capita Income	Range Per Capita Income	Average Population
ALABAMA	8	$1,736				
ARKANSAS	8		$1,260-$1,956			
GEORGIA	9			$633		
KENTUCKY	22				$435-$886	
LOUISIANA	1					14,606
MISSISSIPPI	24					
N. CAROLINA	3					
S. CAROLINA	4					
TENNESSEE	11					
TEXAS	6					
VIRGINIA	1					
TOTAL	97					

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE --

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

Range in Population	Average Total Civilian Labor Force	Range in Total Civilian Labor Force	Average Percent Unemployment	Range in Percents of Unemployment	Average Percent Non-white	Range in Percent of Non-white
2,443-54,464	4,728	741-16,509	5.523%	0.5%-21.3%	38.89%	0.1%-81.3%

TABLE 9 CONTINUED --

Average Median School Years	Range in Median School Years	Average Percent Rural Residence	Range in Percents of Rural Residence	Average Percent Sound Plumbing	Range in Percent of Sound Plumbing
7.38	5.2-8.9	42.74%	0.1%-47.5%	24.89%	8.8%-47.5%

1/29/61

LWD—

The information in this is useful, the presentation undistinguished. Why not offer to mimeo as a Special Report? If he can find, or has found, a publisher, we should order reprints.

Sorry to have sat on it this long.

HCO

W. L. SNELL

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AG—

what would you think of being to print this, in pamphlet form - suggesting perhaps with a self-cover?

Ben is anxious to get out an L Report, the list of certain living Negro police, & the number United Pentecostal gets me of those published I can't do much about that

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
Southwestern Illinois Campus

East St. Louis, Illinois
Bridge 4-2100

SOCIAL STUDIES

November 18, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks so very much for sending me those clippings; I appreciate your kindness. Enclosed is the last article on that questionnaire--it is entitled "The Southern Negro Policeman and the White Offender". It is based on the replies of the police chiefs and if they told the truth and understood my question, the article should be quite valuable. I think it is. The matter of arrest power is of course complex and hard to get at in a single question. I dared not make the question elaborate, since I wanted the chiefs to cooperate and to answer all those other questions.

I have just sent this to Ordway Hilton, the police science editor of the Journal of Criminal Law and hope he wants to run it and run it soon.

You may have this copy for your files, and I am sorry to ask you to withhold it from the public, but I would like to see the article in print first. I know you understand. I'd like to know what you think of the piece.

Most sincerely

Elliott M. Rudwick

THE SOUTHERN NEGRO POLICEMAN AND THE WHITE OFFENDER

Elliott M. Rudwick
Associate Professor of Sociology
Southern Illinois University
East St. Louis, Illinois

The Negro policeman in the South is essentially a postwar phenomenon. In 1940 there were not much over 50 Negro patrolmen, and in 1945 the Southern Regional Council announced that there were at least 134 colored law enforcement officers. By 1954, the Council reported that 165 law enforcement agencies employed 822 Negro police personnel (a figure which included 87 women schoolguards.)[1] In late 1959, the present writer received responses from 88% of the above-mentioned agencies indicating the employment of 1146 law enforcement personnel (including 338 women schoolguards). In addition, the writer queried all Southern cities above 10,000 population (1950 census) which were <u>not</u> respondents in the 1954 Southern Regional Council survey. Of over 180 cities questioned, 51 reported employing 67 policemen, 3 policewomen, and 40 schoolguards. From the foregoing, it would appear that Negroes serve Southern police departments only as token forces and that their number is increasing at a relatively slow pace. (However, the number of women schoolguards has increased rapidly.)

White Southerners have always expressed fear that Negro police would arrest white people, and it is this concern which has often been presented as a reason for forbidding or restricting the hiring of Negro police. Once employed, most Southern Negro police patrol colored neighborhoods exclusively. Of the 160 Southern agencies which reported using Negro policemen, nearly 78% indicated that the Negro officers patrolled colored neighborhoods exclusively. An additional 4% stated that the colored patrolmen worked in Negro neighborhoods "primarily". Obviously these patrolmen come in contact with few white offenders, but when that does happen, what is the departmental policy regarding the usual arrest procedure? Until the present, there has been no information on the subject for the Southern region as a whole.

Table I presents the replies of Southern law enforcement officials (who usually were the chiefs of their departments). No attempt has been made to verify their comments. In addition to the possibility of purposive distortion, there may also be the possibility of differential interpretation on the part of some chiefs. The question was framed in a general way and involved the encounter of a single Negro policeman and a single white offender in the administrator's own city. According to departmental operations, what occurs "if such an occasion arises" while the Negro officer is on patrol?

In over one-third of the cities studied, the Negro officer may arrest any lawbreaker, regardless of color. Depending on the circumstances, the suspect may then be taken to the police station or a police vehicle may be summoned. Richmond, Virginia typifies this approach: "Negro police are police officers. They have the same authority as any other police officer. They arrest white offenders, transport them to the lockup, and testify against them in court." In Tulsa, Oklahoma, "If a white person enters the colored district, he is treated the same way as the colored people. Any difference would create a problem of morale with my colored officers." In some communities, the Negro patrolman makes the arrest but is obliged to call white police to escort the offender to headquarters, unless the most extreme circumstances are involved. (e.g., St. Petersburg, Fla; Gastonia, N.C.; Enid, Okla.; Corpus Christie, Tex.) The rationale behind this procedure is to prevent any incidents and to avoid criticisms from white citizens. And apart from the race factor, of course, foot officers frequently have the assistance of squad cars in transporting an offender.

However, the most prevalent Southern procedure is to restrict the arrest authority of Negro officers who on occasion deal with white offenders.

In the South such limitations involve many possible patterns. At one extreme may be considered Houston, a city which employs over 30 Negro officers who do not patrol colored neighborhoods exclusively. This Texas city prefers Negro police to have white lawmen "assist in the arrest" of white offenders. In Houston, "Negro officers can arrest white offenders if circumstances permit. They are to call white officers to assist them and make the arrest. In instances when white officers are unavailable to assist in the arrest, the Negro officer effects the arrest and requests assistance in bringing the prisoner to headquarters."

A second restricting pattern involves a differential procedure based upon the felony-misdemeanor classification. In several cities, white misdemeanants are not arrested by Negro policemen, while white felons are. (e.g., Clearwater, Fla.; Gainesville, Fla; Jacksonville, Fla; Wilmington, N.C.; Marion, S.C.) In Beaumont, Texas, the reverse practice is found--the Negro officer may arrest a white misdemeanant, but may only "hold" the white felon until a white patrolman arrives and takes over.

In well over half of the Southern cities, the Negro officer usually arrests no whites for any crime. He simply "holds" them until the white lawman comes. In one North Carolina city, the chief orders his colored officers to "detain the white offender in the least offensive manner". Such a situation may of course impair Negro morale. Unable to be listed in the case as the arresting officer, the Negro patrolman becomes "the witness" or sometimes the man who "files the complaint" against the white offender. He may even disappear entirely from the case by the time it gets to court. Depending on the circumspection of the local police chief, the colored policeman may receive little or no credit for his efforts.

Curiously, some Southern police officials permit their Negro patrolmen neither to arrest nor to "hold" whites. In this policy of no-contact-whatever-with-whites, the Negro patrolman is obliged to keep the offender under surveillance while summoning the white police. (e.g., Sheriff's office of Harris County and Travis County, Texas; Gulfport, Mississippi; Panama City, Florida) Such a procedure may be dangerous both to the community and the colored officer. In the first instance the offender may escape since he is not being detained. In the second, the Negro officer would at some point have to be sufficiently close to the suspect to determine his skin color as a cue for the choice of appropriate procedure. In such an operation, it would seem that the white offender has far higher status than the colored lawman and certainly far more independence of action. Under such inverted circumstances, it is a wonder that the colored officer does not decide to forget about the whole thing and find out what is going on at the opposite edge of his beat.

Table I indicates that the Negro policeman is not permitted to arrest whites in Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana (except New Orleans). In the entire region, with the exception of Arkansas, these states had the largest percentages of Negro population (in excess of 30%, according to the 1950 census). These are also the states (except Arkansas) in which Negro lawmen have most recently been employed. Surprisingly enough, South Carolina has several cities which permit Negro patrolmen to arrest white offenders. South Carolina is "deep South" of course, and Negroes constituted nearly 40% of its 1950 population; it is also a state which hired nearly all of its Negro police during the 1950's.

All of the communities listed in Kentucky, Virginia (except Nansemond County Sheriff's Office), and Oklahoma (except Bartlesville and Duncan) say that they confer the same arrest authority upon their law enforcement officers, without regard to color. Both Oklahoma and Kentucky have relatively small Negro populations and both states had employed colored officers before World War II.

The U. S. Census Bureau has not released 1960 urban population figures broken down according to race. Since only 1950 census population data exist, coupled with 1959 arrest practices, there is not much point in setting up statistical tables to describe population differences within states of cities which permit Negro police to arrest white offenders and those which do not. However, a cursory inspection of states containing cities using "arrest" and "non-arrest" procedures indicates that the communities which limit Negro police are not necessarily the ones which have higher percentages of Negro population. In Oklahoma, North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina, the communities which did not permit a Negro officer to arrest a white felon had on the average a smaller percentage of Negro population than the cities which granted arrest powers. In Virginia, Texas, and Tennessee, the "non-arrest" cities had an average larger percentage of Negro population than the "arrest" cities. In Louisiana and Florida, there was not, on the average, much difference between the two types of cities.

The power of a police officer to arrest is granted by law and "there is no legal way to confer less authority upon [Negro policemen]...Once they have taken the oath of office, they have all the duties and responsibilities imposed by law."[2] Legally, colored patrolmen can arrest any lawbreaker; practically they cannot and must operate in accordance with their local departmental policies. Without these restrictive regulations, Negroes probably would not have been employed in the first place, but it would seem that in some communities which have had years of experience with Negro police, there would be no serious protest if these restrictions were quietly removed. After all, in most places, the Negro lawmen patrol segregated neighborhoods exclusively, and the white offender is on the Negroes' beat. (There are only a handful of police departments which do not require that Negro police patrol colored neighborhoods exclusively, and which at the same time restrict arrest powers, e.g., Jefferson City, Arkansas;

Tyler, Texas; and Pensacola, Florida.)

If, according to the rationalization, Negro police lack the skill to arrest the white lawbreaker on their beat, they may also be inept in arresting Negro violators. Where such a situation exists, the appropriate remedy lies in improved selection and training practices, not in restriction of the arrest authority. But some Southern communities have attracted Negro lawmen whose educational achievements are actually higher than their white counterparts. Then why is the Negro lawman not permitted to arrest a man he is allowed to "hold"? The restriction in the arrest power is socially symbolic of the denial of race equality. So long as the Negro policeman lacks the authority to arrest all violators, regardless of race, he symbolizes second-class officership and is clearly and dramatically "kept in his place". He is part of Southern law enforcement which is modernized enough to hire him, albeit in token numbers, but which is not yet sufficiently respectful of the very badge given to him--the badge which should signify to all that its bearer possesses the complete trust and complete power of his community to uphold the law.

TABLE I. ARREST POWER: SOUTHERN NEGRO POLICE AND THE WHITE OFFENDER

City	Negro Police in late 1959	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; or call white police who arrest
Dothan, Ala.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Mobile, Ala.	12	yes	call white police who arrest
Richard, Ala.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Blytheville, Ark.	2	no	call white police who arrest
Fort Smith, Ark.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Jefferson City, Ark.	2	no	call white police who arrest
Little Rock, Ark.	5	yes	call white police who arrest
Alachua County, Fla.	3	yes	call white deputy who arrests
Belle Glade, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Broward County, Fla.	4	yes	call white deputy who arrests
Clearwater, Fla.	3	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Cocoa, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Coral Gables, Fla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Dade County, Fla.	5	no	"no fixed rule"
Dania, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7	yes	call white police who arrest
Escambia County, Fla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Fort Myers, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Gainesville, Fla.	2	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Haines City, Fla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Hallandale, Fla.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Hialeah, Fla.	1	no	arrest white offender
Hillsborough County, Fla.	2	yes	call white deputy who arrests
Hollywood, Fla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Jacksonville, Fla.	27	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Key West, Fla.	4	yes	call white police who arrest
Lakeland, Fla.	5	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake Worth, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Melbourne, Fla.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Miami, Fla.	85	yes	usually call white police who arrest
Ocala, Fla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Orlando, Fla.	4	yes	call white police who arrest
Ormond Beach, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Panama City, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Pensacola, Fla.	3	no	call white police who arrest
St. Petersburg, Fla.	8	yes	arrest white offender
Sanford, Fla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
South Miami, Fla.	2	yes	"depends on circumstances"
Tallahassee, Fla.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Tampa, Fla.	13	yes	call white police who arrest
Titusville, Fla.	1	primarily	call white police who arrest
West Palm Beach, Fla.	12	yes	call white police who arrest

City	Negro Police in late 1959	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; or call white police who arrest
Atlanta, Ga.	31	yes	call white police who arrest
Augusta, Ga.	7	yes	call white police who arrest
Dalton, Ga.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Macon, Ga.	4	yes	call white police who arrest
Rome, Ga.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Savannah, Ga.	16	yes	call white police who arrest
Thomasville, Ga.	2	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Waycross, Ga.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Henderson, Ky.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Hopkinsville, Ky.	4	yes	"done both ways"
Lexington, Ky.	8	no	arrest white offender
Louisville, Ky.	37	"primarily"	arrest white offender
Owensboro, Ky.	1	no	arrest white offender
Caddo Parish, La.	6	yes	call white deputy who arrests
Crowley, La.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Lafayette, La.	3	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake Charles, La.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Monroe, La.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
New Iberia, La.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
New Orleans, La.	43	no	arrest white offender
Shreveport, La.	4	yes	call white police who arrest
Greenville, Miss.	4	yes	call white police who arrest
Gulfport, Miss.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Indianola, Miss.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Albemarle, N.C.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Asheville, N.C.	3	yes	call white police who arrest
Carrboro, N.C.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Chapel Hill, N.C.	3	yes	call white police who arrest
Charlotte, N.C.	10	yes	call white police who arrest
Concord, N.C.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Durham, N.C.	11	"primarily"	arrest white offender
Fayetteville, N.C.	4	yes	arrest white offender
Gastonia, N.C.	5	no	arrest white offender
Greensboro, N.C.	8	"primarily"	arrest white offender
Greensville, N.C.	2	"primarily"	"done both ways"
High Point, N.C.	8	yes	(answer unclear)
Kinston, N.C.	4	yes	arrest white offender
Lexington, N.C.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Morganton, N.C.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
New Bern, N.C.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Raleigh, N.C.	6	"essentially"	arrest white offender
Reidsville, N.C.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Rocky Mount, N.C.	2	yes	usually call white police who arrest
Salisbury, N.C.	2	no	(answer unclear)
Shelby, N.C.	3	yes	usually call white police who arrest

City	Negro Police in late 1959	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; or call white police who arrest
Statesville, N.C.	3	yes	call white police who arrest
Wilmington, N.C.	3	yes	arrest white offender in felony case
Wilson, N.C.	3	yes	arrest white offender
Winston-Salem, N.C.	12	yes	arrest white offender
Ada, Okla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Ardmore, Okla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Bartlesville, Okla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Chickasha, N.C.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Duncan, Okla.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
El Reno, Okla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Enid, Okla.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Lawton, Okla.	2	no	arrest white offender
McAlester, Okla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Oklahoma City, Okla.	16	yes	arrest white offender
Okmulgee, Okla.	2	yes	both ways
Sapulpa, Okla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Seminole, Okla.	1	"primarily"	arrest white offender
Shawnee, Okla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Stillwater, Okla.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa, Okla.	18	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa County, Okla.	3	yes	arrest white offender
Beaufort, S.C.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Beaufort County, S.C.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Charleston, S.C.	12	no	arrest white offender
Columbia, S.C.	4	yes	call white police who arrest
Conway, S.C.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Florence, S.C.	3	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake City, S.C.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Marion, S.C.	3	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Sumter, S.C.	3	yes	arrest white offender
Timmonsville, S.C.	1	yes	(answer unclear)
Chattanooga, Tenn.	10	yes	call white police who arrest
Clarksville, Tenn.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Davidson County, Tenn.	9	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Knoxville, Tenn.	10	yes	arrest white offender
Murfreesboro, Tenn.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Nashville, Tenn.	19	yes	call white police who arrest
Austin, Tex.	9	yes	arrest white offender
Baytown, Tex.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Beaumont, Tex.	5	yes	arrest white misdemeanants
Bexar County, Tex.	3	no	arrest white offender
Bryan, Tex.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Corpus Christi, Tex.	3	yes	arrest white offender
Corsicana, Tex.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Dallas, Tex.	6	yes	arrest white offender
El Paso, Tex.	2	no	arrest white offender
Galveston, Tex.	16	yes	arrest white offender

City	Negro Police in late 1959	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; or call white police who arrest
Harris County, Tex.	3	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Houston, Tex.	33	no	call white police to "assist in arrest"
Longview, Tex.	3	yes	call white police who arrest
Pampa, Tex.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Paris, Tex.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Port Arthur, Tex.	5	yes	call white police who arrest
Potter County, Tex.	2	yes	arrest white offender
San Angelo, Tex.	3	yes	arrest white offender
San Antonio, Tex.	12	no	arrest white offender
Temple, Tex.	2	yes	call white police who arrest
Terrell, Tex.	1	yes	call white police who arrest
Texas City, Tex.	4	yes	call white police who arrest
Travis County, Tex.	1	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Tyler, Tex.	4	no	call white police who arrest
Vernon, Tex.	1	—	call white police who arrest
Waco, Tex.	1	yes	(ahswer unclear)
Wichita Falls, Tex.	2	yes	arrest white offender
Hampton, Va.	4	yes	arrest white offender
Lynchburg, Va.	2	no.	arrest white offender
Nansemond County, Va.	4	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Newport News, Va.	9	no	arrest white offender
Norfolk, Va.	8	yes	arrest white offender
Portsmouth, Va.	1	yes	arrest white offender
Richmond, Va.	21	yes	arrest white offender
Roanoke, Va.	4	yes	arrest white offender

FOOTNOTES

1. Changing Patterns in the New South (Atlanta, 1955), p. 35. The Southern Regional Council's survey was based upon 13 states and the present writer sent queries only to cities in those states.

2. Ibid, p. 34.

HFU
LD

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
Southwestern Illinois Campus

East St. Louis, Illinois
Bridge 4-2100
SOCIAL STUDIES

February 13, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have just written to Mrs. Hortense Moon, Assistant Editor of the Journal of Negro Education to discover when they might publish my material. When I hear from her I shall communicate with you immediately.

I also asked her if she had any objection to letting New South publish that tabular material from "Negro Police Employment in the Urban South". (The Journal asked me to cut out half of the tables, so I should be more than pleased if New South could run it. I think the statistics especially significant, but the Journal said they were short of space for all thetables.)

If the Journal permits, the tables and a brief note will be yours. However, I wonder if, in the event they say o.k., you still could be persuaded to wait several weeks until the Census of 1960 is released with the Urban South racial breakdown. When that material is released, I would like to recompute the number of Negro police per 1000 Negro population. I have never been satisfied with my estimate, as you may remember. I phoned the census bureau and they said that they expect release of the data in several weeks.

I'll write to you as soon as I hear from Mrs. Moon.

7

Once again, thanks so much for your interest and encouragement. I am currently working on a history of the East St. Louis Race Riot of 1917. I think a book of value can result. Do you know of any foundation which might be of some financial help? I'd appreciate any guidance you could give me here.

Nope HCD

Sincerely,
Elliott Rudwick

J.A.

July 19 61?

① Leo —

— I like this piece and think it ought to be published without cutting.

— Most criticisms I have are minor

— What is the theoretical basis (or equity basis for that matter) of evaluating integration progress by the ratio of negroes employed to the total number of negroes minded?

— I shy away from table in articles if at all possible — either include the "highs" "middles" & lows in text or relegate information to footnotes.

— I think a good tight summary at the end of this paper would have tied the material together.

Can'tell from this what precise 'update' is intended, etc?

I agree
MB

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Phone: JA 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 30, 1961

To: LWD From: JAM

Subject: Rudwick article

I have just talked with Elliott Rudwick on the telephone in regard to his manuscript.

He was ~~generally~~ genuinely pleased that we are going to publish it. He was quite willing for a member of our staff to either write a ~~xx~~ summary or introduction to the article. He was quite strong in his feeling that the tables ought to be included as is. He ~~xxxx~~ sees this, in a sense, as a primary research document and upon reflection I am afraid that I just may agree with him. He was just sending off to us a footnote indicating ~~xxxx~~ acknowledgement of the Journals which had printed some parts of his research or are presently considering publication

Note: 8-3-61: this footnote has arrived and is attached to the manuscript. JAM has inserted a summary into the text of the article, also attached to the original manuscript. MB has all this and is holding for your approval.

MA

8/9/61 - LWD talked by telephone with Dr. Rudwick. ER has agreed to send out another questionnaire to update the material. Hold this mss. till further material and decision can be had.

January 5, 1962

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

This morning we returned the galley on "The Unequal Badge. Negro Policemen in the South." I would like to note specifically the following changes:

A self-cover, giving the title, the author, deleting Associate Professor of Sociology, Southern Illinois University. At the bottom of the self-cover add Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga., 1962.

If the design originally submitted to you as a separate cover can be incorporated with these items as a self-cover, at no additional cost, then we would like to consider it.

The corrections on the introductory page which follows the reverse side of the self-cover:

Note the change after "conducted in southern cities" and the words following "and the results reported in New South" (in 1948, 1951, 1952, and 1953.)

Note the asterisk in the following sentence after"Professor Elliott Rudwick" -- it should remain. Note also the addition of the sentence after "law enforcement." "At the time that Professor Rudwick did this research he was on the faculty of the University of Florida. Currently, Dr. Rudwick is Associate Professor of Sociology at Southern Illinois University."

Note the footnote at the bottom of the present title page should now be moved to the bottom of the introductory page.

Note to eliminate the page inserted in the returned galley which carries only the title, the author and the Southern Regional Council name and address.

On Page 6, Table 2 becomes Table A. On Page 7, Table 2 becomes Table A. On Page 8, Table 2 becomes Table A. On Page 9, Table 3 becomes Table B. On Page 10, if possible, Part II is to follow immediately after the conclusion of Part I.

On Page 11, "See Table 4" change to"See Table 2." (paragraphs 1 and 2) On Page 12, (paragraph 2) "Table 4" becomes "Table 2." On Page 14, Part III, if possible, should follow immediately upon the conclusion of Part II.

In the appendix on page 15, Table 4 becomes Table 2. On Page 16, Table 4 becomes Table 2.

We urgently request that this job be carried out as economically as possible and await your estimate and new galleys before going to press. We remind you also of our desire that the union label be prominently displayed in the publication.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

P.S. On Page 5, also in paragraph 3 there is a reference to Table 2 which should now read Table A, also in paragraph 5, and 7. On Page 6, in the text, there are two references to Table 3 which should now read Table B. On Page 9, paragraph 2, Table 3 becomes Table B, as well as in paragraph 4.

NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE

Monday, A.M. Papers
January 29, 1962

Southern employment of Negro police, which gained ground after World War II, has showed little increase since 1954, a Southern Regional Council report, The Unequal Badge, reports.

Negro police in the South are still "token" in number, frequently inferior in status and arrest powers, and slowly and seldom promoted, writes Elliott M. Rudwick, sociologist now teaching at Southern Illinois University, in his study of more than 100 southern cities. At the same time, police chiefs and city officials report "almost universal satisfaction" at the performance and influence of Negro police, the Rudwick study says.

Rudwick tallied gains since 1954 to discover whether white opposition to Supreme Court desegregation decisions had "snuffed out newly-won gains of Negroes in the police field," or Negro police "had become a permanent and increasingly important part of the southern scene."

"Negroes did not lose ground," The Unequal Badge concludes, "but they did not gain much, either."

In 1954 there were 536 uniformed police in 146 southern cities and 646 in the same communities in 1959, increases which "seem even smaller [since] Negro urban Southerners increased during 1954-59," the Southern Regional Council report points out. Most of the increase came from five bigger southern cities, Jacksonville, Miami, Atlanta, New Orleans and Mobile. Montgomery had four Negro policemen and three policewomen in 1954, and none in 1959. The study shows an increase

of only 31 Negro plainclothesmen in the 13 southern states.

In the 1961 survey of the same cities, only 98 responded. These communities had employed 538 uniformed policemen in 1959, and there were 560 in late 1961. Fairly good increases showed in Atlanta and Mobile in the two years. There was a substantial decline in Miami and New Orleans.

The Unequal Badge shows discrimination in arrest powers of Negro police in nearly two-thirds of the communities surveyed, where colored officers may not arrest white offenders, but only testify against them, or where Negro police can't handle arrests of felons and are limited to misdemeanants.

"In the South (as well as in other parts of the country), there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above," although some communities do promote Negroes, the report says. Daytona Beach, Louisville and Durham all have Negro lieutenants.

The Southern Regional Council study also shows that Negro voting power accounts for most gains in use of Negro police and concludes that the future of Negroes in southern police work "will depend upon Negro political influence on a local level and the ability of white persons to recognize that the expansion and advancement of Negro police are essential goals in the New South."

Conference on Pupil Placement Laws Study
May 25, 1962

I. The theme of the study would be the harm done to the public interest by the effort to hold school desegregation to the smallest possible numbers.

The effect on the public interest would be shown through various ways: Economic, social, psychological, education, etc.

While recent court decisions make it more difficult for southern states to use pupil placement laws and grade-a-year plans for the tight limitation of desegregation, only a New York Times editorialist would believe that the days of tokenism have ended.

II. OUTLINE OF THE PAMPHLET:

A. Results of eight years of school desegregation in the South.

1) Compilation and analysis of figures on Negroes in schools with whites over the 17 states. The analysis should get into such questions as desegregation rate in the various geographical and cultural sections of this area; the tendency of desegregation to hit a plateau; why there are sudden spurts, as in Nashville in 1960; relationship between the rate of desegregation and the type of desegregation plan, etc.

2) Compile and analyze such data as may be obtained from at least one or two school systems on the academic results of desegregation. This would have to be done in a school system which has had substantial desegregation and, desirably, in school systems as far south as possible. Louisville, perhaps. Nashville, perhaps.

3) The vigor and the rigor of southern effort to retain segregation as spelled out by certain illustrative costs such as cost of separate sessions and litigation, etc., but also and more importantly as spelled out by such costs as the duplication or non-use of school property in order to maintain a racial system. There is mis-use of school administrators' time, thought and energy in defense of segregation.

4) A brief sketch of the history and nature of the various types of desegregation plans which, in truth, have been plans for the evasion of desegregation by pupil placement and some grade-a-year plans. (Write C. H. Parrish, D. H. Parrish, possibly. Jim Moss.

II. Outline of the pamphlet (cont'd)

B. An evaluation of the effects, implications, problems, etc., from the standpoint of educational theory, of maintaining an artificially low number of Negro students in a predominantly white classroom, while at the same time maintaining all-Negro schools and, some all-white schools. This would seem to be an issue pregnant for discussion and analysis. It is hard to believe that educationists in our colleges have not developed criteria which would enable them to speak to the educational problems (never mind the social, political, or psychological ones) of token allotments of Negro children. Yet there has been little or no such guidance given by the schools of education. (Frank Stollens.)

C. A consideration of the effects on the children involved. What it does to them and what it does to their futures. What it does to their families. (M. R. Coles, M.D.)

D. A description and discussion of some of the social problems created for a community by the community's own action in pursuing tokenism. Southern communities have tough racial problems. Are these problems added to and in what way? Are new problems created by a deliberate pursual of token desegregation? What is the effect on the political climate of the community by the everlasting debate about school desegregation? What is the effect on the common concept of the school as a social center by the artificialities of presently used pupil assignment procedures, etc. (James Moss.)

E. What has been, in its best form the case for slow desegregation of the schools. Rightly or wrongly, there are white southerners and some Negro southerners as well who are convinced that desegregation should begin slowly and proceed at a slow rate. What is the reasoning behind this? (Ben Muse.)

F. The southern states and communities have, over the last decade, expended enormous sums of energy and money and brains into fighting losing court battles. What are the prospects for continued legal attack on school desegregation whose intention is the slowing of desegregation. (Wiley Branton, G.W. Foster, and Daniel Pollitt.)

G. Conclusion.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE

Negro Policemen in the South

By Elliott M. Rudwick

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.
1962

The interest of the Southern Regional Council in the employment of Negroes as policemen in southern towns and cities extends over a period of fifteen years. Indeed, for almost ten of these fifteen years, annual surveys were conducted in southern cities and the results reported in *New South* (in 1948, 1961, and 1953). In the publication of the present study by Professor Elliott Rudwick,* we are provided with a timely review and ~~assistant~~ assessment of progress in a singularly important area of law enforcement. At the time that Professor Rudwick did this research he was on the faculty of the Uuiversity of Florida. Currently, Dr. Rudwick is Associate Professor of Sociology at Southern Illinois University.

JAMES A. MOSS
Director of Research

**Sections of this report are drawn from materials which the author published originally in the July-August, 1960 issue of the* Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, *the Spring, 1961 issue of the* Journal of Negro Education, *and the Fall, 1961 issue of the* Journal of Negro Education.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

For many years, there was hardly a handful of Negroes working in the South as police officers. Prior to 1921, Negroes were employed on the police forces of approximately ten southern cities—among them Baltimore, Knoxville, Memphis, Wheeling, Tampa, and Houston.[1] By 1924, Washington, Louisville, and Beaumont were added.[2] As the years passed, a small number of other communities joined the ranks, but by 1940 the number of Negro policemen in the entire region was probably not much over fifty. This figure was minute, considering that according to the 1940 census, over three-fourths of the nearly thirteen million Negro Americans lived in the South. Furthermore, among the states with the largest Negro populations—Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama—there was not even one Negro policeman.

THE WHITE POLICEMAN IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

Negro neighborhoods were inadequately patrolled by whites, whose methods were often harsh and, not infrequently, brutal. If their presence was on occasion intolerable, their absence was sometimes worse; and many a neighborhood was left practically without police protection. Negro leaders were resentful and made polite requests for the employment of policemen from their own race. They were not only motivated by a desire to see their lives and property protected, but they were also humiliated by the implication that Negroes had not yet reached a cultural stage of being able to bear responsibility for at least part of their law enforcement needs.

However, many white politicians were convinced that it "just wouldn't work." For example, among reasons given in Greensboro (N.C.) and Atlanta were that the morale of white police officers would be impaired and many would quit, that local Negroes did not seem intellectually or morally capable, and that the fabric of "southern tradition" should not be torn away.[3]

NEGRO POLITICAL ACTION AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

As long as Negro Southerners possessed no political influence, they had little bargaining power. In 1940, there were probably not more than 250,000 in the South allowed to vote, and most of these could cast their ballots only in meaningless general elections. However, as a result of wartime democratic idealism, improved economic conditions, the increase in urbanization, and other factors, the number of registered Negroes in 12 southern states grew to about 650,000 in 1947 and an estimated one million by 1950.

The Negroes' emerging political participation was probably the most important factor which led to the increased use of Negro police during World War II and in the postwar period. For the first time, local Negro leaders, pointing to expanding registration lists, gained attention and sympathetic consideration from city officials. In city after city, Negro organizations such as the Panhellenic Council of Charleston, the Tallahassee Civic League, and the West Palm Beach Voters League wrote letters and signed petitions. Frequently, they allied themselves with liberal whites who were interested in harmonious race relations and had formed local interracial committees. Not only did these groups work together, but they often broadened their base of influence by seeking the endorsement of prominent white organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce (as in Atlanta), the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church (as in Charleston),[4] and the local newspaper (e.g., the *Palm Beach Post*).

EARLY STUDIES IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

Each year during the period 1945-1954, the Southern Regional Council surveyed the region and compiled reports on the number of cities employing Negro policemen, the manner in which campaigns were conducted locally to bring about this change, and testimonials of leading city officials concerning the effectiveness of the new law enforcement officers. Gradually, the regional surveys began to indicate some degree of success. In 1945, *New South* reported 134 Negro men and women working for police departments; in 1950, the number increased to over 425, and by 1954, over 800 (a figure which included 87 women schoolguards). *See Table I* (Appendix).

The Southern Regional Council did not make annual surveys after 1954. That last report was based on a questionnaire sent to communities in Alabama, Arkan-

[1] Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1921-22*, Tuskegee, 1922, p. 47.
[2] Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1925-26*, Tuskegee, 1925, p. 58.
[3] "Race and Law Enforcement," *New South*, February, 1952, pp. 12-13; *Changing Patterns in the New South*, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1955, p. 29.
[4] John A. Harris, "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen," *New South*, September-October, 1950, pp. 7-8.

sas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Replies were received from 143 municipal police departments and 22 county sheriff's offices. In late 1959, the present writer attempted to provide recent data on the use of Negro police in the South and sent a questionnaire to the 165 respondents of the 1954 survey. Over 88% cooperated.[5] In the fall of 1961, a second survey was made.

CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN: 1954-1961

The writer was interested in knowing what had happened to the number of Negro law enforcement officers after 1954. Had white opposition to the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions snuffed out newly-won gains of Negroes in the police field? Or had these men and women, who had previously received fulsome praise from many city officials, become a permanent and increasingly important part of the southern scene?

THE OVERVIEW. The data (see Table 2) seem to indicate that Negroes did not lose ground, but they did not gain much either. In 1954, these 165 localities employed 536 Negro *uniformed* policemen, and in 1959 there were 646. The modest increases seem even smaller when it is recalled that Negro urban Southerners increased during 1954-1959. During these five years, most of the net growth can be attributed to just five of the larger southern cities: Jacksonville (from 14 officers to 27), Miami (from 55 to 76), Atlanta (16 to 27), New Orleans (6 to 28), and Mobile (2 to 12). The rest of the cities were generally stationary (although the number of communities which added Negro uniformed police exceeded the number which dropped them). Often, not more than one officer was added or dropped, although a sharp decline was registered by Montgomery (Ala.), which in 1954 had employed four Negro policemen and three Negro policewomen. In 1959, there were none in that city of racial strife.

A similarly static picture is provided by an examination of the use of Negro plain-clothes men and detectives. Between 1954 and 1959, there was a net increase in the 13 states of only 31 men, and most of these were added in New Orleans, Miami, Atlanta, and Dallas. Several cities, such as Tampa, West Palm Beach, and Oklahoma City, actually dropped some or all of their colored plain-clothes men but at the same time enlarged the number of Negro uniformed policemen. In police circles, non-uniformed investigators have higher status than the uniformed patrolmen. The former often receive higher pay and have more mobility and independence. Few Negroes are placed in these positions, even though their usefulness is beyond question in the larger southern cities.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SCHOOLGUARDS. While the sheriff's deputies made slight gains (13) between 1954 and 1959, the number of Negro policewomen decreased from 25 to 14. However, some of the cities which cut the number of policewomen hired a larger corps of Negro schoolguards (e.g., Greenville, Miss.; San Antonio, and Norfolk). Actually, the five years following 1954 may be considered as The Years of the Negro Schoolguards, since their ranks increased fourfold in the reporting cities, from 82 to 338. *See Table A*. This last figure might be even larger, since in some communities the schoolguards may be employed by an agency other than the police department. The majority of cities using schoolguards in 1954 expanded their number in the later period. Furthermore, nearly 50 of the cities which had hired them by 1959 did not employ them in 1954.

While the increases in the Negro schoolguards are impressive, it must be remembered that in 1954 there had been only 82. Furthermore, although they make valuable contributions, they do not function as law enforcement officers: they are actually traffic monitors. They have only part time, circumscribed duties and limited powers. For these reasons, their expansion, while desirable, is not as important as gains among the *Negro police*. Quite possibly in some communities, the schoolguards were hired to avoid employing Negro patrolmen.

In the 1959 survey, 146 law enforcement agencies had responded. Of these, 98 cooperated in the 1961 survey and the results also appear in Table A. The 1961 data confirm the conclusions which were drawn previously—there have been only small increases in the number of Negro police personnel used by the southern agencies. From 1959 to 1961, the 98 law enforcement departments reported gains in the following categories: Uniformed, from 538 to 560; Detectives, from 79 to 101; Sheriff's Deputies, from 44 to 51; Policewomen, from 12 to 20; Schoolguards, from 303 to 371. During this two-year period, nearly one-half of the communities showed no change, while about one-third reported small additions in the number of Negro police who were employed. Fairly large increases were shown in Atlanta (from 31 to 40), and Mobile (from 12 to 24—due to annexation of additional territory which included large Negro neighborhoods). On the other hand, substantial declines appeared in Miami (from 85 to 76) and New Orleans (from 43 to 36).

A TEN-YEAR ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS. Of the southern police departments employing Negro police in 1959,

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[5] Fort Pierce, Florida; Burlington, Clinton, Goldsboro, and Lenoir, North Carolina; Muskogee, Oklahoma; Clover, Darlington, Hartsville, Horry County, Mullins, Orangeburg, Rock Hill, and Spartanburg, South Carolina; Memphis, Tennessee; Fort Worth, Galveston County, Lubbock, and Orange, Texas. In 1954, these communities had reported that Negro personnel consisted of 62 uniformed policemen, six sheriff's deputies, and seven school guards.

57 also were reported in the Southern Regional Council's 1949 survey, and these data permit a ten-year comparison which is presented in Table B. Since these communities have had at least a decade of experience with Negro officers, ample time should have elapsed for overcoming the whites' initial fears. Caution might have dictated that few appointments be made in the early period in order to allow white and Negro citizens to accommodate themselves to this departure from tradition. However, the later period (1954-59) should have been one of substantial growth. Instead, Table B presents a static tableau of many southern cities having years of experience with Negro policemen, but little inclined to see them grow in number.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Dothan, Ala.	1	2	NR												
Mobile, Ala.	2	12	24										0	1	4
Montgomery, Ala.	4	0	0							3	0	0			
Talladega, Ala.	2	0	NR												
Fort Smith, Ark.	2	2	NR							0	1	NR			
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	2	2												
Jefferson County, Ark.							2	2	NR						
Little Rock, Ark.	4	3	4	0	2	0									
Alachua County, Fla.							2	3	2						
Belle Glade, Fla.	2	2	2							0	0	1	0	1	0
Broward County, Fla.							2	4	7						
Clearwater, Fla.	3	3	3												
Cocoa, Fla.	2	2	2												
Coral Gables, Fla.	1	1	1										0	1	0
Dade County, Fla.							2	5	10				1	7	0
Dania, Fla.	1	2	3										0	1	2
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7	7	3							3*	0	2			
Deland, Fla.	1	0	NR												
Escambia County, Fla.							2	1	1						
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	2	1	1												
Fort Myers, Fla.	2	2	NR												
Gainesville, Fla.	2	2	2												
Haines City, Fla.	2	1	2												
Hallandale, Fla.	1	2	3							0	0	1	0	2	2
Hialeah, Fla.	2	1	1												
Hillsborough County, Fla.							2	2	2						
Hollywood, Fla.	1	1	1										0	1	0
Homestead, Fla.	2	0	NR												
Jacksonville, Fla.	14	27	32										0	15	17
Key West, Fla.	3	4	NR										0	2	NR
Lake Worth, Fla.	1	2	2										0	1	1
Lakeland, Fla.	4	5	6										0	0	3
Melbourne, Fla.	1	2	2										0	0	1
Miami, Fla.	55	76	67	3	9	9									
Ocala, Fla.	2	1	2												
Orlando, Fla.	4	4	3										0	4	0
Ormond Beach, Fla.	1	1	1							0	1	0	0	0	1
Panama City, Fla.	1	2	2												
Pensacola, Fla.	2	3	4												
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	8	9	0	0	1							0	1	2
Sanford, Fla.	1	1	1												
South Miami, Fla.	2	2	2												
Tallahassee, Fla.	3	2	2										0	1	4
Tampa, Fla.	6	11	NR	4	2	NR									
Titusville, Fla.	1	1	1												
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	12	12	2	0	0							0	4	5
Albany, Ga.													2	0	3

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Athens, Ga.													4	5	NR
Atlanta, Ga.	16	27	34	0	4	6							10	28	28
Augusta, Ga.	7	7	8										5	6	6
Columbus, Ga.	4	0	0										0	0	5
Dalton, Ga.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
East Point, Ga.				1	0	NR							1	3	NR
Griffin, Ga.													1	1	NR
Macon, Ga.	4	4	4										4	4	8
Marietta, Ga.													1	1	2
Savannah, Ga.	12	14	13	0	2	2							0	5	4
Thomasville, Ga.	0	2	NR										3	2	NR
Waycross, Ga.	2	2	NR												
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3	3	2	0	1	1							0	1	1
Jefferson County, Ky.							6	7	8						
Lexington, Ky.	6	6	6	0	1	3				1	1	1	0	7	8
Louisville, Ky.	24	26	26	6	8	8				2	3	3	0	13	15
Owensboro, Ky.	2	1	NR										0	1	NR
Caddo Parish, La.							3	6	NR						
Lafayette, La.	3	3	NR												
Monroe, La.	2	2	NR										0	3	NR
New Iberia, La.	1	2	2										0	4	4
New Orleans, La.	6	28	24	6	14	12				0	1	0	12	26	36
Shreveport, La.	2	4	NR												
Greenville, Miss.	2	4	3	0	0	2				2	0	2	0	3	4
Gulfport, Miss.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
Indianola, Miss.	1	2	NR												
Ahoskie, N. C.	1	2	NR												
Asheville, N. C.	3	3	5										0	3	5
Carrboro, N. C.	2	1*	0												
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2	3	2										0	1	1
Charlotte, N. C.	8	10	7	0	0	1							0	13	14
Durham, N. C.	10	9	13	2	2	2							6	8	8
Fayetteville, N. C.	4	4	3										2	4	4
Gastonia, N. C.	5	5	5										0	1	1
Greensboro, N. C.	9	8	NR										0	7	NR
Greenville, N. C.	1	2	NR										0	1	NR
Guilford County, N. C.							1	2	NR						
High Point, N. C.	6	6	6	2	2	2							0	1	2
Kinston, N. C.	3	4	4										0	1	2
Morganton, N. C.	2	1	NR												
Raleigh, N. C.	5	6	6										0	6	10
Reidsville, N. C.	2	2	2												
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2	2	2										1	3	3
Salisbury, N. C.	2	2	2										0	0	2
Wilson, N. C.	2	3	NR												
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13	12	12							1	0	1	5	7	27
Enid, Okla.	2	2	2										0	0	1
Lawton, Okla.	2	2	3												
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	11	NR	6	5	NR									
Ponca City, Okla.	1	0	NR												
Shawnee, Okla.	1	1	NR												
Stillwater, Okla.	1	1	NR												
Tulsa, Okla.	12	12	12	7	5	5				1	1	1	0	5	4
Tulsa County, Okla.							2	3	3						
Beaufort, S. C.	2	1	NR												
Beaufort County, S. C.							2	1	4						
Charleston, S. C.	8	10	11	1	2	4							6	8	8

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Columbia, S. C.	4	4	4										0	2	2
Conway, S. C.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
Dillon, S. C.	1	0	NR												
Florence, S. C.	3	3	NR										0	3	NR
Lake City, S. C.	1	1	NR												
Marion, S. C.	1	2	NR							0	1	NR	0	1	NR
Sumter, S. C.	0	3	NR	2	0	NR							0	1	NR
Timmonsville, S. C.	1	1	NR												
Chattanooga, Tenn.	8	10	NR												
Davidson County, Tenn.							7	9	6						
Knox County, Tenn.	2	0	0				6*	2	2						
Knoxville, Tenn.	9	8	12	0	2	2							0	4	8
Nashville, Tenn.	16	19	21	0	0	2							12	29	34
Amarillo, Tex.	2	0	0										0	0	1
Austin, Tex.	6	9	NR										0	1	NR
Bexar County, Tex.							1	3	3						
Beaumont, Tex.	2	4	NR	0	1	NR									
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1	3	3												
Dallas, Tex.	4	0	6	0	6	4									
El Paso, Tex.	4	2	6												
Galveston, Tex.	11	11	10	4	5	4									
Harris County, Tex.							2	3	NR						
Houston, Tex.	24	31	24	1	3	11				1	1	3	0	0	3
Potter County, Tex.							2	2	1						
Port Arthur, Tex.	4	5	6	0	0	2				2	0	0	0	4	0
San Antonio, Tex.	9	10	8	2	2	4				1	0	0	0	10	7
Travis County, Tex.							1	1	1						
Temple, Tex.	2	2	NR												
Waco, Tex.	1	1	1										0	4	0
Wichita Falls, Tex.	1	2	2												
Alexandria, Va.													3	4	3
Cape Charles, Va.	1	0	NR												
Hampton, Va.	4	3	4	1	1	2				1	0	0	0	3	3
Nansemond County, Va.							1	4	NR						
Newport News, Va.	6	8	7	0	1	1							3	5	8
Norfolk, Va.	5	4	1	3	3	5				2	1	2	0	19	20
Norfolk County, Va.										2	0	NR	0	1	NR
Petersburg, Va.										1	1	1			
Portsmouth, Va.	2	1	4	0	0	2							0	9	12
Princess Anne County, Va.							2	1	1						
Richmond, Va.	16	15	14	3	4	4				2	2	2	0	11	12
Roanoke, Va.	3	4	6												
TOTAL	536	646	560	56	87	101	48	61	51	25	14	20	82	338	371

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

In this ten-year view, the 57 communities had a net increase of 119 uniformed and plain-clothes men during the first five-year period and an increase of only 85 during the second five-year period. During the decade nearly two-thirds of the net gain was registered by just five cities: Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville. Between 1949 and 1959, almost one-third of the 57 cities either cut their Negro complement or kept it at the same level; another one-third added only one or two men.

OPTIMUM EMPLOYMENT LEVELS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN. How many Negro policemen should a southern city reasonably be expected to employ? The answer depends upon many factors, two of which are the size of the city and the size of the Negro population. Nationally, larger cities use more policemen per thousand population than do smaller cities, but in the South this pattern prevails only approximately. According to the F.B.I.'s *Uniform Crime Reports,*[6] in the nation as a

[6] *Uniform Crime Reports,* Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1958, p. 99.

whole there have been about 1.65 policemen for every 1000 inhabitants. In the South Atlantic states the number was also about 1.65; in the East South Central states and the West South Central states the number was 1.2 and 1.1, respectively. While these are "average figures" and "are not intended to serve as suggested police strength for any particular community," these data may be used to give a rough estimate of the number of Negro policemen which the region might have employed if race had not been a barrier. It must be remembered that in the cities to be considered, the Negro policemen are usually assigned exclusively to Negro neighborhoods. The ratios of Negro police employed per one thousand Negro population should not be interpreted, however, as the measure of law enforcement coverage in these communities, since white officers also patrol these neighborhoods to some extent.

Table B presents the number of Negro police officers to every one thousand Negro inhabitants in the 57 cities. In 1949, only three cities had a ratio of more than 1.0. Thirty-one of the cities had a ratio of less than .35 in 1949, which means that there was less than one Negro policeman for every 3,000 Negroes. Some of the largest cities had the lowest ratios, e.g., Nashville, .11; Dallas, .07; Norfolk, .14; Richmond, .10; and Atlanta, .05. Caution is understandable in the face of innovation, and these communities had just hired their first Negro patrolman from one to three years before. On the other hand, Knoxville, Austin, Houston, and Tampa had low ratios (.37, .34, .14, and .22, respectively), and these communities had been pioneers in the use of Negro police, having hired them prior to 1921.[7]

A decade later in 1959, the situation had improved, but only slightly. In these 57 cities in 1949 there had been one Negro policeman for about every 4,000 Negro people; in 1959 there was one for perhaps every 3,500. But only two cities had ratios of more than 1.0 (Miami and Ahoskie, N. C.), and 35 cities had ratios below .35. It has been noted previously that during the decade Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville accounted for most of the numerical increases in Negro lawmen. Viewed in terms of ratios per 1000 Negro population, in 1959 all of these communities except Miami had ratios of less than .35. But an examination from 1949 to 1959 showed the following ratio increases for these cities: Miami from .75 to 1.29; Atlanta from .05 to .17; Houston from .14 to .16; Richmond from .10 to .23; and Nashville from .11 to .29.

Table B clearly indicates that Negroes are allowed to serve only in token numbers. In late 1959, Petersburg (Va.) had one Negro policewoman and about 17,000 Negroes; Norfolk had eight Negro officers and over 80,000 Negroes; Dallas had six and a Negro popula-

[7] Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1921-22*, Tuskegee, 1922, p. 47.

TABLE B
NEGRO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS IN 57 SOUTHERN CITIES, 1949-1959

	Law Enforcement Officers[1]			Negro Law Enforcement Officers per 1000 Negro Inhabitants	
City	1949	1954	1959	1949[2]	1959[3]
Dothan, Alabama	1	1	2	.13	.22
Hot Springs, Arkansas	2	2	2	.39	.44
Little Rock, Arkansas	6	4	5	.26	.20
Clearwater, Florida	2	3	3	.69	.55
Cocoa, Florida	1	2	2	.48	.52
Dania, Florida	1	1	2	.48	.72
Daytona Beach, Florida	5	10#	7	.57	.60
Deland, Florida	2	1	0	.92	.00
Fort Myers, Florida	2	2	2	.54	.34
Gainesville, Florida	2	2	2	.34	.29
Key West, Florida	2	3	4	.68	.35
Melbourne, Florida	1	1	2	.91	.79
Miami, Florida	30	58	85	.75	1.29
Sanford, Florida	1	1	1	.17	.15
St. Petersburg, Florida	4	4	8	.29	.33
Tampa, Florida	6	10	13	.22	.28
West Palm Beach, Florida	4	9	12	.31	.78
Atlanta, Georgia	6	16	31	.05	.17
Macon, Georgia	2	4	4	.07	.13
Savannah, Georgia	12	12	16	.25	.30
Lexington, Kentucky	3	7	8	.22	.49
Louisville, Kentucky	34	32	37	.59	.53
Owensboro, Kentucky	2	2	1	.79	.35
Gulfport, Mississippi	2	2	2	.46	.31
Ahoskie, North Carolina	1	1	2	.66	1.06
Asheville, North Carolina	2	3	3	.16	.26
Charlotte, North Carolina	10	8	10	.27	.18
Durham, North Carolina	8	12	11	.31	.39
Fayetteville, North Carolina	2	4	4	.15	.24
Gastonia, North Carolina	5	5	5	1.04	.75
Greensboro, North Carolina	5	9	8	.26	.26
High Point, North Carolina	4	8	8	.48	.71
Raleigh, North Carolina	4	5	6	.22	.27
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	7	14	12	.19	.29
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12	14	16	.57	.38
Tulsa, Oklahoma	14	20	18	.82	.69
Columbia, South Carolina	2	4	4	.06	.13
Conway, South Carolina	2	2	2	.93	.68
Chattanooga, Tennessee	7	8	10	.18	.23
Knoxville, Tennessee	7	9	10	.37	.48
Nashville, Tennessee	6	16	19	.11	.29
Austin, Texas	6	6	9	.34	.36
Beaumont, Texas	2	2	5	.07	.14
Corpus Christi, Texas	2	1	3	.28	.32
Dallas, Texas	4	4	6	.07	.05
El Paso, Texas	4	4	2	1.28	.27
Galveston, Texas	15	15	16	.85	.87
Houston, Texas	17	26	35	.14	.16
Port Arthur, Texas	10	6	5	.72	.24
San Antonio, Texas	11	12	12	.38	.28
Cape Charles, Virginia	1	1	0	1.30	.00
Newport News, Virginia	5	6	9	.27	.23
Norfolk, Virginia	9	10	8	.14	.10
Petersburg, Virginia	1	1	1	.07	.06
Portsmouth, Virginia	1	2	1	.03	.03
Richmond, Virginia	7	21	21	.10	.23
Roanoke, Virginia	6	3	4	.41	.24
TOTAL	332	451	536		

[1] In this table the following categories are included as law enforcement officers: Uniformed officers, Detective Plain-clothes men, and Policewomen.

[2] Since the Southern Regional Council published the figures upon which the Negro police data are based in late 1949, Negro population is taken from the 1950 census.

[3] The population base for the late 1959 police information was the non-white population in these states, according to the 1960 Census of Population Advance Reports, PC(A2), issued February-March, 1961. In these states, Negroes constituted 98.3% of the non-whites. If Oklahoma, with its relatively large number of Indians, is omitted from this list of states, Negroes constituted 99% of the non-whites. (U.S. Census Release, CB61-32, released April 4, 1961).

Of the ten law enforcement officers in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1954, three were part-time policewomen.

tion of approximately 130,000. For many cities, after the initial complement was hired, there was little net increase in the succeeding years. The Negro officers were usually recruited as a result of campaigns by local Negro civic organizations and biracial associations. Once they were hired, the organized pressures often subsided out of a sense of fear of hurting the opportunities of the new patrolmen. Without the continuing pressure, a static situation developed.

The above comments are not intended to deprecate the efforts of those who broke down the barriers so that even the token Negro policemen might be employed. Tremendous strides have been made since the end of World War II. *See Table 1*. In 1945, the Southern Regional Council listed 29 agencies employing Negroes, and in 1954 there were 165 agencies. The task for the 1960's should be the generation of sufficient pressure so that the number of Negro law enforcement officers in these cities will be increased to the point of being more equitably related to the size of the Negro populations.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN AS "EXPERIMENTS"

From the very beginning, many southern cities which hired Negro policemen regarded the innovation as an "experiment"—as a venture which demanded cautious and careful preparation and treatment. The fear of possible repercussions caused civic officials to ask local Negro organizations to act as screening boards and recommend only young men of high character and intelligence. Much greater care was given to the selection of Negro policemen than of white policemen, and the result was that in many communities Negro recruits were more educated and intelligent than their white counterparts. (For example, in 1947 the six Negro patrolmen in Greensboro were college men.) Once appointed to the force, the Negroes frequently received more adequate recruit training than the whites, often conducted by the top personnel in the department. (For example, in Tallahassee the chief personally taught the course.)

PART II

INTRODUCTION

WHITE SOUTHERNERS have always expressed fear that Negro police would arrest white people, and it is this concern which has often been presented as a reason for forbidding or restricting the hiring of Negro police. Once employed, most Negro police patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively. *See Table 2* (Appendix). Of the agencies which reported using Negro policemen, over 83% indicated that the Negro officers operated exclusively in segregated districts, and an additional 5% noted that their men were "primarily" patrolling in such neighborhoods. Obviously, these patrolmen come in contact with few white offenders; but when that does happen, what is the departmental policy regarding the usual arrest procedure? Until the present, there has been no information on the subject for the southern region as a whole.

Table 2 presents the replies of southern law enforcement officials (who usually were the chiefs of their departments) to a 1959 questionnaire. These questions were not repeated in the 1961 study. No attempt has been made to verify their comments. In addition to the possibility of intentional distortion, there may also be the possibility that some chiefs misunderstood the question. It was framed in a general way and involved the encounter of a single Negro policeman and a single white offender in the administrator's own city. According to departmental operations, what occurs "if such an occasion arises" while the Negro officer is on patrol?

PATTERNS IN THE ARREST POWERS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

In only something over one-third of the cities studied may the Negro officer arrest any lawbreaker, regardless of color. Depending on the circumstances, the suspect may then be taken to the police station, or a police vehicle may be summoned. Richmond typifies this approach: "Negro police are police officers. They have the same authority as any other police officer. They arrest white offenders, transport them to the lockup, and testify against them in court." In Tulsa, "If a white person enters the colored district, he is treated the same way as the colored people. Any difference would create a problem of morale with my colored officers." In some

places, the Negro patrolman makes the arrest but is obliged to call white police to escort the offender to headquarters, unless the most extreme circumstances are involved (e.g., St. Petersburg, Fla.; Gastonia, N. C.; Enid, Okla.; Corpus Christi, Tex.). The rationale behind this procedure is to prevent incidents and to avoid criticisms from white citizens. And apart from the race factor, of course, foot officers frequently have the assistance of squad cars in transporting an offender.

However, the most prevalent procedure is to restrict the arrest authority of Negro officers who on occasion deal with white offenders. Such limitations involve many possible patterns. At one extreme may be considered the city of Houston, which employs over 30 Negro officers who do not patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively. This Texas community prefers that Negro police have white lawmen "assist in the arrest" of white offenders. In Houston, "Negro officers can arrest white offenders if circumstances permit. They are to call white officers to assist them and make the arrest. In instances when white officers are unavailable to assist in the arrest, the Negro officer effects the arrest and requests assistance in bringing the prisoner to headquarters."

A second restricting pattern involves a differential procedure based upon the felony-misdemeanor classification. In several cities, white misdemeanants are not arrested by Negro policemen, while white felons are. (E.g., Clearwater, Fla.; Gainesville, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Marion, S. C.) In Beaumont (Tex.), the reverse practice is found; the Negro officer may arrest a white misdemeanant, but may only "hold" the white felon until a white patrolman arrives and takes over.

In well over one-half of the cities, the Negro officer usually arrests no whites for any crime. He simply "holds" them until the white lawmen come. In one North Carolina city, the chief orders his Negro officers to "detain the white offender in the least offensive manner." Such a situation may of course impair Negro morale. Unable to be listed in the case as the arresting officer, the Negro patrolman becomes "the witness" or sometimes the man who "files the complaint" against the white offender. He may even disappear entirely from the case by the time it gets to court. Depending on the circumspection of the local police chief, he may receive little or no credit for his efforts.

Curiously, some police officials permit their Negro policemen neither to arrest nor to "hold" whites. In this policy of "no contact whatever with whites," the Negro patrolman is obliged to keep the offender under surveillance while summoning the white police (e.g., Sheriff's office of Harris County and Travis County, Tex.; Gulfport, Miss.; Panama City, Fla.). Such a procedure may be dangerous both to the community and the Negro officer. In the first instance, the offender may escape, since he is not being detained. In the second, the Negro officer would at some point have to be sufficiently close to the suspect to determine his skin color as a cue for the choice of appropriate procedure. In such an operation, it would seem that the white offender has far higher status than the colored lawman and certainly far more independence of action. Under such inverted circumstances, it is a wonder that the officer does not decide to forget about the whole thing and find out what is going on at the opposite edge of his beat.

Table 2 indicates that the Negro policeman is not permitted to arrest whites in Mississippi, Georgia (except felons in Thomasville), Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana (except in New Orleans). In the entire region, with the exception of Arkansas, these states are among those with the largest percentages of Negro population (in excess of 28%, according to the 1960 census). These are also the states (except Arkansas) in which Negro lawmen have most recently been employed. Surprisingly enough, South Carolina has several cities whose police chiefs say they permit Negro patrolmen to arrest white offenders. South Carolina is "deep South" of course, and Negroes constituted nearly 35% of its 1960 population; it is also a state which hired nearly all of its Negro police during the 1950's.

All of the communities listed in Kentucky (except Jefferson County Sheriff's office), Virginia (except Nansemond County and Princess Anne County Sheriff's office), and Oklahoma say that they confer the same arrest authority upon their law enforcement officers without regard to color. Both Oklahoma and Kentucky have relatively small Negro populations, and both had employed Negro officers before World War II.

The power of a police officer to arrest is granted by state law and, it has been said, "there is no legal way to confer less authority upon Negro policemen. . . . Once they have taken the oath of office, they have all the duties and responsibilities imposed by law."[8] Legally, Negro patrolmen can arrest any lawbreaker; practically, they cannot and must operate in accordance with their local departmental policies. In most places, the Negro lawmen patrol segregated neighborhoods exclusively, and the white offender is on the Negroes' beat. [There are only a handful of police departments which do not require that Negro police patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively and which at the same time restrict arrest powers (e.g., Jefferson County, Ark., and Pensacola, Fla.].

As long as the Negro policeman lacks the authority to arrest all violators regardless of race, he symbolizes second-class officership and is clearly and dramatically "kept in his place." He is part of southern law enforcement which is modernized enough to hire him, albeit in token numbers, but which is not yet sufficiently respectful of the badge given to him—the badge which should signify to all that its bearer possesses the com-

8 *Changing Patterns in the New South*, op. cit., p. 34.

plete trust and complete power of his community to uphold the law.

PROMOTION AND ADVANCEMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

In the South (as well as in other parts of the country),[9] there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above. Yet, there *has* been improvement in rank in some communities. For example, until 1955, the highest status attained by Negroes in Miami was patrolman, first class. In 1959, there were four sergeants. There were three cities in October, 1959 which had Negro police lieutenants: Daytona Beach (Fla.),[10] Louisville, and Durham (N. C.). In late 1959, the administrators of the 146 law enforcement agencies were asked to tell if any Negroes held rank; they reported the following: *Florida* —Jacksonville, 4 sergeants; Lakeland, 1 corporal; Miami, 4 sergeants; Orlando, 1 sergeant; West Palm Beach, 1 sergeant; *Kentucky*—Hopkinsville, 2 sergeants; Lexington, 1 sergeant; Louisville, 1 lieutenant and 4 sergeants; *Louisiana*—New Orleans, 2 desk sergeants; *North Carolina*—Asheville, 1 sergeant; Charlotte, 1 sergeant; Durham, 1 lieutenant; High Point, 2 detective sergeants; Kinston, 1 sergeant; *Oklahoma*—Stillwater, 1 sergeant; Tulsa, 3 sergeants; *South Carolina*—Charleston, 2 detective sergeants; Sumter, 1 corporal; *Tennessee*—Knoxville, 2 detective sergeants; *Texas*—Dallas, 2 detective sergeants; Port Arthur, 2 sergeants; *Virginia*—Newport News, 1 detective sergeant; Norfolk, 1 sergeant; Richmond, 1 detective sergeant.

COMMUNITY EVALUATION OF THE USE OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

What have been the results of hiring Negro policemen? White community leaders have been highly gratified. A decade ago, the Mayor of Nashville said, "Any city with a substantial Negro population cannot really afford to be without Negro policemen on its force." The Southern Regional Council conducted a survey in 1953 and found "almost universal satisfaction . . . among police officials."[11] The police chief of Louisville stated, "Negro policemen have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers." The police chief of Miami noted in 1951, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers was sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about 50%."[12]

With the passage of time, most of the objections and reservations of white patrolmen have been overcome. James Ball, in his excellent Florida study, has commented upon the white officers' fears of losing social status when Negro officers were hired. In his notes on Bell Glade, a small city in South Florida, he observed:[12]

> The opposition to Negro policemen by about two-thirds of the other policemen in the department was a major problem at first. One difficulty was quickly solved when it became apparent that there would be discord over how white and Negro policemen should address each other. They were told by the chief to address each other as "officer" or by the rank held. The intradepartmental feeling gradually disappeared in a few months as the white officers found that the Negro patrolmen did not try to take social advantage of them. Other reasons for the acceptance of Negro policemen in the department can be attributed to the fact that: white policemen were relieved of the threat of civil rights cases from Negro citizens; Negro patrolmen handled most of the annoying minor cases, such as drunkenness and public indecency, in the Negro section; and, white policemen developed an appreciation for the position of the Negro patrolmen as a result of being subjected to the same difficulties and dangers in performing police duties together.

Negro community leaders feel vindicated and point out that their neighborhoods are now less "rowdy," with fewer assault, profanity, and drunkenness cases. ("Before we got Negro policemen, East Market Street was so dangerous you didn't dare walk down it with your wife. Now the street is unimaginably changed. You don't even hear bad language any more.")

However, Negro Southerners are not unanimous in their attitudes toward Negro patrolmen. One of the most interesting findings in Ball's Florida study was the observation that "lower-class" Negroes prefer white policemen. These poorer, uneducated people, when they need help, frequently ask that a white man be sent; they complain about severe, dictatorial conduct of Negro officers. When arrested by a white man, they often plead guilty; but when a Negro patrolman makes the arrest, they not infrequently plead not guilty. What generates this hostility when members of their own race are in positions of authority? Possibly these "lower-class" people have been conditioned by tradition to accept readily only white authority. Perhaps Negro officers are resented precisely because they are performing their jobs well. They know their neighborhoods thoroughly and are aware of who creates the disorders. They work full time in the Negro community and are less likely to overlook certain types of violations (such as drunkenness), the way white lawmen often do.

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9 "Employment of Negro Policemen in Southern Towns and Cities," *New South*, September, 1948, p. 8. "Negro Police in the South, 1953," *New South*, October-November, 1953, pp. 7-8.

10 The Daytona Beach lieutenant retired in October, 1959.

11 *New South*, November, 1951, p. 7.

12 James A. Ball, III, *A Study of Negro Policemen in Selected Florida Municipalities, 1954*, Master of Science Thesis, Florida State University, pp. 100-101.

Yet there is also a possibility that Negro policemen are actually more severe. If this is the case, it would be ironic, since one of the reasons Negroes were added to the force was to combat the charge that Negro people were being roughly handled by white officers. Dr. William Kephart compared attitudes of white and Negro patrolmen in Philadelphia and made the following notation which may have relevance in the present discussion:[13]

> Although most white patrolmen admit they are more strict with Negro than with white offenders, Negro patrolmen maintain that white patrolmen are *not* unduly strict with colored violators. The logical interpretation is that the Negro policeman, himself, is stricter with Negro than with white offenders, and by his own standards the actions of white policemen against Negro offenders do not appear to be unduly severe.

Professor Kephart found that the Philadelphia Negro law enforcement officers, disturbed by the high arrest rates among Negro people, were filled with moral indignation against those who were damaging the reputation of the race. However, this same reaction of infuriation did not characterize the Negro officers' dealings with the white lawbreaker. Perhaps this manifestation of righteous indignation may also be operating among some southern Negro policemen. Certainly, the charge of undue harshness requires further study, and if such severity exists, it requires correction.

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13 William M. Kephart, *Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement*, Phila., 1957, p. 138.

PART III

SUMMARY

In summary, prior to World War II, Negroes constituted only a small segment of the police force in southern cities, and these officers were confined to duty in Negro areas. The increase in the number of Negro officers in recent years seems associated with the increase in Negro political participation. While four times as many Negroes voted in 1950 as in 1940, during this same period almost eight times as many Negroes were employed as police officers. This increase, however, was not sustained during 1954-1959. The only exception was the employment of Negroes as schoolguards, of whom there were a four-fold increase between 1954-1959.

The ratio of Negroes employed to the Negro population served is at least one measure of the fair and effective utilization of Negroes as police officers. Applying this yardstick to the South, only two of 57 cities remotely approached the desired ratio of one Negro officer to every thousand Negro inhabitants. An analysis of figures for 1959-1961 indicates little change in the status of Negro policemen.

While the increase in the number of Negro officers employed during the last seven years has been slight, there were gains in the number of agencies employing them. Where Negro officers are employed, there is some indication that they are better educated than their white fellow officers, are trained more thoroughly for their jobs, and are recruited with greater caution and selectivity. For the most part, Negro officers are not permitted to arrest white offenders, and a variety of arrest patterns is reported for the cities surveyed. In a third of the cities, arrest of white offenders may be made, sometimes, however, under limiting conditions.

The small number of Negro officers promoted up the ranks is at least a partial reflection of the short period of time that Negroes have been employed in substantial numbers. White community leaders generally express enthusiasm for the work of Negro policemen.

The introduction of Negroes on southern police forces has not come about without a struggle. There have been many obstacles and many petty discriminations. Even today in a few communities, Negroes are not allowed access to the headquarters building; and their presence is sometimes unwelcome when the department sponsors a short in-service training institute designed to improve the skills of the force. But it is a long way from the 1930's, when, as in Louisville, Negro patrolmen were not permitted to wear their uniforms on their way home.

In some southern cities today, they are receiving increasing recognition. But the steps forward have been slow, painfully slow, and Negro police have known disappointment, second-class status, and participation in law enforcement only on a token basis. Their future in the 1960's will depend upon Negro political influence on a local level and the ability of white persons to recognize that the expansion and advancement of Negro police are essential goals in the new South.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1945-1954*

Year	States Employing	Cities Employing	Uniformed Policemen	Plain-clothes Policemen	Police-women
1945	9	29	131#	..	3
1946	10	42	208#	..	5
1947	10	41	196	25	7
1948	11	54	248	23	8
1949	12	62	301	33	7
1950	13	77	369	41	17
1951	13	82	381	44	18
1952	13	96 cities 6 counties	471	60	50
1953	13	112 cities 18 counties	545	87	90
1954	13	143 cities 22 counties	618	92	112

* *Changing Patterns in the New South*, Atlanta, 1955, p. 35.

Includes both uniformed and plain-clothes policemen.

These figures are intended to give the reader some knowledge of the growth pattern; they are not complete, since some cities did not respond to the questionnaires, and smaller communities were not included in the study.

TABLE 2

ARREST POWER: SOUTHERN NEGRO POLICE AND WHITE OFFENDER, 1959

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR Call white police who arrest
Dothan, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Mobile, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Fort Smith, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hot Springs, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jefferson County, Ark.	no	call white deputies who arrest
Little Rock, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Alachua County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Belle Glade, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Broward County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Clearwater, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Cocoa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Coral Gables, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dade County, Fla.	no	"no fixed rule"
Dania, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Daytona Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Escambia County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Fort Myers, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gainesville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Haines City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hallandale, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Hialeah, Fla.	no	arrest white offender
Hillsborough County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Hollywood, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jacksonville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Key West, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lakeland, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake Worth, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Melbourne, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Miami, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ocala, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Orlando, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ormond Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Panama City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Pensacola, Fla.	no	call white police who arrest
St. Petersburg, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Sanford, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
South Miami, Fla.	yes	"depends on circumstances"
Tallahassee, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Tampa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Titusville, Fla.	primarily	call white police who arrest
West Palm Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Atlanta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Augusta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dalton, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Macon, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Savannah, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Thomasville, Ga.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Waycross, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hopkinsville, Ky.	yes	"done both ways"
Jefferson County, Ky.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Lexington, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Louisville, Ky.	primarily	arrest white offender
Owensboro, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Caddo Parish, La.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Lafayette, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Monroe, La.	yes	call white police who arrest

TABLE 2 (Continued)

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR Call white police who arrest
New Iberia, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
New Orleans, La.	no	arrest white offender
Shreveport, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Greenville, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gulfport, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Indianola, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ahoskie, N. C.	yes	no information
Asheville, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Carrboro, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Chapel Hill, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Charlotte, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Durham, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Fayetteville, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Gastonia, N. C.	no	arrest white offender
Greensboro, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Greenville, N. C.	primarily	"done both ways"
Guilford County, N. C.	yes	serves warrants, processes to Negroes
High Point, N. C.	yes	no information
Kinston, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Morganton, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Raleigh, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Reidsville, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Rocky Mount, N. C.	yes	usually call white police who arrest
Salisbury, N. C.	no	no information
Wilson, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Winston-Salem, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Enid, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Lawton, Okla.	no	arrest white offender
Oklahoma City, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Shawnee, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Stillwater, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa County, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaufort, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Beaufort County, S. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Charleston, S. C.	no	arrest white offender
Columbia, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Conway, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Florence, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake City, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Marion, S. C.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Sumter, S. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Timmonsville, S. C.	yes	no information
Chattanooga, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest
Davidson County, Tenn.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Knox County, Tenn.	yes	serve civil papers on Negroes
Knoxville, Tenn.	yes	arrest white offender
Nashville, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest
Austin, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaumont, Tex.	yes	arrest white misdemeanants
Bexar County, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Corpus Christi, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Dallas, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
El Paso, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Galveston, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Harris County, Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Houston, Tex.	no	call white police "to assist in arrest"
Port Arthur, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Potter County, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
San Antonio, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Temple, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Travis County, Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Waco, Tex.	yes	no information
Wichita Falls, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Hampton, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Nansemond County, Va.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Newport News, Va.	no	arrest white offender
Norfolk, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Petersburg, Va.	no information	no information
Portsmouth, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Princess Anne County, Va.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Richmond, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Roanoke, Va.	yes	arrest white offender

* Sixteen respondents were not included in this table, because by 1959 no Negroes were employed any longer or they were working only as school-guards.

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NEGRO POLICE AND THE SOUTHERN REGION*

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For many years, there was hardly a handful of Negroes working in the South as police officers. Prior to 1921, Negroes were employed on the police forces of only approximately ten Southern cities--among them Baltimore, Knoxville, Memphis, Wheeling, Tampa, and Houston.[1] By 1924 Washington, Louisville, and Beaumont were added.[2] As the years passed, a small number of Southern communities joined the ranks, but by 1940, the number of Negro policemen in the entire region was probably not much over fifty.[3] This figure was especially minute, considering that according to the 1940 census, over three-fourths of the nearly thirteen million American Negroes lived in the South. Furthermore, among the states with the largest Negro populations--Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama--there was not even one Negro policeman.[4]

Colored neighborhoods were inadequately patrolled by whites, whose methods were often harsh and not infrequently brutal. If their presence was on occasion intolerable, their absence was sometimes worse, and many a Southern Negro neighborhood was "left practically without police protection."[5] Colored leaders were resentful and made polite requests for the employment of policemen from their own race. They were not only motivated by a desire to see their lives and property protected, but they were also humiliated by the implication that Negroes had not yet reached a cultural stage of being able to bear responsibility for at least part of their law enforcement needs.

However, many white politicians were convinced that the suggestion "just wouldn't work". For example, among reasons given in Greensboro (North Carolina) and Atlanta were that the morale of white police

officers would be impaired and many would quit, that local Negroes did not seem intellectually or morally capable, and that the fabric of "Southern tradition" should not be torn away.[6] Was this obeisance to the past a demonstration of white public opinion adamantly united against the idea of Negro policemen or had municipal officials merely rationalized for a lack of imagination and a failure to gauge accurately the more enlightened mood of their constituents? Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist who studied American race relations in the early 1940's, believed that white people in many Southern cities "would tolerate" the employment of trained Negro patrolmen, but that "local politicians and the public institutions lag behind the possibilities."[7]

As long as Southern Negroes possessed no political influence, they had little bargaining power. In 1940, there were probably not more than 250,000 colored people in the South who were allowed to vote, and most of these could cast their ballots only in "meaningless general elections".[8] However, as a result of wartime democratic propaganda, improved economic conditions, and the increase in urbanization, among other factors, the number of registered Negroes in twelve Southern states grew to about 650,000 in 1947 and an estimated one million by 1950.

The Negroes' emerging political participation was probably the most important factor which led to the increased use of Negro law enforcement officers during World War II and in the post-war period. For the first time local Negro leaders, pointing to expanding registration lists, gained attention and sympathetic consideration from city officials. In city after city, Negro organizations such as the Pan-Hellenic Council of Charleston, the Tallahassee Civic League,

and the West Palm Beach Voters League wrote letters and signed petitions. Frequently, they allied themselves with liberal whites who were interested in harmonious race relations and had formed local interracial committees. Not only did these groups work together, but they often broadened their base of influence by seeking the endorsement of prominent white organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce (as in Atlanta), the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church (as in Charleston),[9] and the local newspaper (as in the case of the Palm Beach Post).

Practical help was given by the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial organization desirous of improving living conditions in the South. Each year the Council surveyed the region and compiled reports on the number of Southern cities employing Negro policemen, the manner in which campaigns were conducted locally to bring about this change, and testimonials of leading city officials concerning the effectiveness of the new law enforcement officers. This material was regularly published in the Southern Regional Council's bulletin, New South, and there is no doubt that this magazine became the inspiration, guide, and support of many local groups. Gradually, the regional surveys began to indicate some degree of success. In 1945, the New South reported 134 Negro men and women working for police departments; in 1950, the number increased to over 425, and by 1954, over 800 (a figure which included 87 women schoolguards). See Table I.

The Southern Regional Council did not make any further annual surveys after 1954. That last report was based on a questionnaire sent to communities in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Replies were received from

143 municipal police departments and 22 county sheriff's offices. In late 1959, the present writer attempted to provide recent data on the use of Negro police in the South and sent a questionnaire to the 165 respondents of the 1954 survey. Over 88 per cent of the law enforcement agencies cooperated.[10]

The writer was interested in knowing what had happened to the number of Negro law enforcement officers between 1954 and 1959. Had white opposition to the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions snuffed out newly-won gains of Negroes in the police field? Or had these men and women, who had previously received fulsome praise from many city officials, become a permanent and increasingly important part of the Southern scene?

The data (See Tables 2 and 3) seem to indicate that during the five year period, Negroes did not lose ground, but they did not gain much ground either. In 1954 the municipal police departments employed 536 Negro uniformed policemen and in 1959 there were 646. And the modest increases seem even smaller when it is recalled that Southern Negroes increased in population during 1954-1959. During these five years, most of the net growth in the number of Negro uniformed policemen can be attributed to just 5 of the larger Southern cities--Jacksonville (growing from 14 officers to 27), Miami (from 55 to 76), Atlanta (16 to 27), New Orleans (6 to 28), and Mobile (2 to 12). The rest of the cities remained essentially stationary (although the number of communities which added Negro uniformed police exceeded the number which dropped them.) Often, not more than one colored officer was added or dropped, although a sharp decline was registered by Montgomery, Alabama, which in 1954 had employed 4 Negro policemen

(and 3 Negro policewomen). In 1959, there were no colored law enforcement officers in that city of racial strife.

A similarly static picture is provided in an examination of the use of Negro plainclothesmen and detectives. Between 1954 and 1959, there was a net increase in the thirteen states of only 31 men--which was almost the number of colored plainclothesmen added during those five years in New Orleans, Miami, Atlanta, and Dallas. Several cities such as Tampa, West Palm Beach, and Oklahoma City actually dropped some or all of their colored plainclothesmen but at the same time enlarged the number of Negro uniformed policemen. In police circles, non-uniformed investigators have higher status than the uniformed patrolmen. The former often receive higher pay and have more mobility and independence. Few Negroes are placed in these positions even though their usefulness is beyond question in the larger Southern cities.

While the sheriff's deputies made slight gains (13) between 1954 and 1959, the number of Negro policewomen actually decreased from 25 to 14. However, some of the cities which cut the number of colored policewomen decided to hire an even larger corps of Negro schoolguards. (e.g., Greenville, Mississippi; San Antonio, and Norfolk) Actually, the five years following 1954 may be considered as The Years of the Colored Schoolguard, since their ranks increased four fold in the reporting cities, from 82 to 338. (See Table 2) This last figure might be even larger, since in some Southern communities, the schoolguards may be employed by an agency other than the police department. The overwhelming majority of cities using schoolguards in 1954 expanded their complement in the later

period. Furthermore, nearly fifty of the cities which had hired them by 1959 did not report having employed them in 1954.

While the proportionate increases in the Negro schoolguards are impressive, it must be remembered that in 1954 there had been a very low base of only 82. Furthermore, although they perform valuable contributions, they do not function basically as law enforcement officers--they are actually traffic monitors. They have only part-time, circumscribed duties and limited powers. For these reasons, their expansion, while desirable, is not as important as numerical gains among the colored police. And quite possibly in some communities, the schoolguards were hired as part of a device to avoid employing Negro patrolmen.

Of the Southern police departments employing Negro police in 1959, 57 also reported statistics in the Southern Regional Council's 1949 survey, and these data permit a ten year comparison which is presented in Table 4. Since these communities have had at least a decade of experience with Negro officers, ample time should have elapsed for overcoming the whites' initial fears. Understandably, caution should have dictated that relatively few appointments would be made in the early period in order to allow white and Negro citizens to accommodate themselves to this significant departure from Southern tradition. However, the later period (1954-59) should have been one of substantial growth. Instead, Table 4 presents a static tableau of many Southern cities having years of experience with Negro policemen--but little inclined to see these personnel grow in number. In this ten year longitudinal view, the 57 communities had a net increase of

119 uniformed and plainclothesmen during the first five year period and an increase of only 85 during the second five year period. It will be observed that during the decade, nearly two-thirds of the net gain was registered by just five cities--Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville. Between 1949 and 1959, almost one-third of the 57 cities either cut their Negro complement or kept it at the same level; another one-third of the cities added only one or two men.

How many Negro policemen should a Southern city reasonably be expected to employ? The answer depends upon many factors, two of which are the size of the city and the size of the Negro population. Nationally, larger cities use more policemen per thousand population than do smaller cities, but in the South this pattern prevails only approximately. According to the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports,[11] in the nation as a whole there have been about 1.65 policemen for every 1000 inhabitants. In the South Atlantic states the number was also about 1.65; in the East South Central states and the West South Central states, the number was 1.2 and 1.1 respectively. While these are "average figures" and "are not intended to serve as suggested police strength for any particular community," these data may be used to give a rough estimate of the number of Negro policemen which the Southern region might have employed if race had not been a barrier. It must be remembered that in the Southern cities to be considered, the Negro policemen are usually assigned exclusively to Negro neighborhoods. But the ratios of Negro police employed per one thousand Negro population should not be interpreted as the measure

of total law enforcement coverage in these communities, since white officers also patrol these neighborhoods to some extent. To the degree that race is a barrier, whites get the police jobs which should go to qualified Negroes, and colored areas sometimes receive insufficient protection.

Table 4 presents the number of Negro police officers to every one thousand Negro inhabitants in the 57 cities. In 1949, only 3 cities had a ratio of more than 1.0. Thirty-one of the cities had a ratio of less than .35 in 1949--which means that there was less than 1 Negro policeman for every 3,000 Negroes. Some of the largest cities had the lowest ratios, e.g., Nashville, .11; Dallas, .07; Norfolk, .14; Richmond, .10; and Atlanta, .05. Caution is understandable in the face of innovation and these communities had just hired their first colored patrolmen from one to three years before. On the other hand, Knoxville, Austin, Houston, and Tampa had low ratios (.37, .34, .14, and .22 respectively), and these communities had been pioneers in the use of Negro police, having hired them prior to 1921.[12]

A decade later in 1959, the situation had improved but only slightly. In these 57 cities in 1949 there had been one Negro policeman for about every 4,000 colored people; in 1959 there was one for perhaps every 3500. But only 2 cities had ratios of more than 1.0 (Miami, Florida and Ahoskie, North Carolina) and 35 cities had ratios below .35. It has been noted previously that during the decade, Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and

Nashville accounted for most of the numerical increases in Negro lawmen. Viewed in terms of ratios per 1000 Negro population, in 1959, all of these communities except Miami had ratios of less than .35. But a longitudinal examination from 1949 to 1959 showed the following ratio increases for these cities: Miami from .75 to 1.29; Atlanta from .05 to .17; Houston from .14 to .16; Richmond from .10 to .23; and Nashville from .11 to .29.

Table 4 clearly indicates that Negroes serve Southern police departments only in token numbers. In late-1959, Petersburg, Virginia had one Negro policewoman and about 17,000 Negroes; Norfolk had eight colored officers and over 80,000 Negroes; Dallas had six Negro law enforcement officers and a Negro population of approximately 130,000. For many cities, after the initial complement was hired, there was little net increase in the succeeding years. The colored officers were usually recruited as a result of campaigns by local Negro civic organizations and biracial associations. Once the colored officers were hired, the organized pressures often subsided out of a sense of fear of hurting the opportunities of the new patrolmen. Without the continuing pressure, a static situation developed.

The above comments are not intended to deprecate the efforts of those who broke down the barriers so that even the token Negro policemen might be employed. As a matter of fact, if consideration is restricted only to the number of Southern cities which employ Negro law enforcement officers, tremendous strides have been made since the end of World War II. (See Table 1) In 1945, the Southern Regional Council listed 29 agencies employing Negroes, and in 1954, there were 165 agencies. The task for the 1960's should be the generation of sufficient pressure so that the number of Negro law enforcement officers in these cities will be increased to the point of being more equitably related to the size of the Negro populations.

From the very beginning, many Southern cities which hired Negro policemen regarded the innovation as an "experiment"--as a venture which demanded cautious and careful preparation and treatment. This deliberative approach actually insured the success of the project. The fear of possible repercussions caused civic officials to ask local Negro organizations to act as screening boards and recommend only young men of high character and intelligence. Much greater care was given to the selection of Negro policemen than of white policemen, and the result was that in many communities colored recruits were more educated and intelligent than their white counterparts. (For example, in 1947 the six Negro patrolmen in Greensboro, North Carolina, were college men.) Once appointed to the force, the Negroes frequently received more adequate recruit training than the whites. These courses were often conducted by the top personnel in the department. (For example, in Tallahassee, Florida, the chief personally taught the course.)

White Southerners have always expressed fear that Negro police would arrest white people, and it is this concern which has often been presented as a reason for forbidding or restricting the hiring of Negro police. Once employed, most Southern Negro police patrol colored neighborhoods exclusively. (See Table 5) Of the agencies which reported using Negro policemen, over 83% indicated that the Negro officers operated exclusively in segregated districts, and an additional 5% noted that their men were "primarily" patrolling in such neighborhoods. Obviously these patrolmen come in contact with few white offenders, but when that does happen, what is the departmental policy regarding the usual arrest procedure? Until the present, there has been no information on the subject for the Southern region as a whole.

Table 5 presents the replies of Southern law enforcement officials (who usually were the chiefs of their departments). No attempt has been made to verify their comments. In addition to the possibility of purposive distortion, there may also be the possibility of differential interpretation on the part of some chiefs. The question was framed in a general way and involved the encounter of a single Negro policeman and a single white offender in the administrator's own city. According to departmental operations, what occurs "if such an occasion arises" while the Negro officer is on patrol?

In over one-third of the cities studied, the Negro officer may arrest any lawbreaker, regardless of color. Depending on the circumstances, the suspect may then be taken to the police station or a police

vehicle may be summoned. Richmond, Virginia typifies this approach: "Negro police are police officers. They have the same authority as any other police officer. They arrest white offenders, transport them to the lockup, and testify against them in court." In Tulsa, Oklahoma, "If a white person enters the colored district, he is treated the same way as the colored people. Any difference would create a problem of morale with my colored officers." In some communities, the Negro patrolman makes the arrest but is obliged to call white police to escort the offender to headquarters, unless the most extreme circumstances are involved. (e.g., St. Petersburg, Fla; Gastonia, N.C.; Enid, Okla.; Corpus Christie, Tex.) The rationale behind this procedure is to prevent any incidents and to avoid criticisms from white citizens. And apart from the race factor, of course, foot officers frequently have the assistance of squad cars in transporting an offender.

However, the most prevalent Southern procedure is to restrict the arrest authority of Negro officers who on occasion deal with white offenders. In the South such limitations involve many possible patterns. At one extreme may be considered the city of Houston, which employs over thirty Negro officers who do not patrol colored neighborhoods exclusively. This Texas community prefers Negro police to have white lawmen "assist in the arrest" of white offenders. In Houston, "Negro officers can arrest white offenders if circumstances permit. They are to call white officers to assist them and make the arrest. In instances when white officers are unavailable to assist in the arrest, the Negro officer effects the arrest and requests assistance in bringing the prisoner to headquarters."

A second restricting pattern involves a differential procedure based upon the felony-misdemeanor classification. In several cities, white misdemeanants are not arrested by Negro policemen, while white felons are. (e.g., Clearwater, Fla; Gainesville, Fla; Jacksonville, Fla; Marion, S.C.) In Beaumont, Texas, the reverse practice is found--the Negro officer may arrest a white misdemeanant, but may only "hold" the white felon until a white patrolman arrives and takes over.

In well over one-half of the Southern cities, the Negro officer usually arrests no whites for any crime. He simply "holds" them until the white lawmen come. In one North Carolina city, the chief orders his colored officers to "detain the white offender in the least offensive manner". Such a situation may of course impair Negro morale. Unable to be listed in the case as the arresting officer, the Negro patrolman becomes "the witness" or sometimes the man who "files the complaint" against the white offender. He may even disappear entirely from the case by the time it gets to court. Depending on the circumspection of the local police chief, the colored patrolman may receive little or no credit for his efforts.

Curiously, some Southern police officials permit their Negro policemen neither to arrest nor to "hold" whites. In this policy of no-contact-whatever-with-whites, the Negro patrolman is obliged to keep the offender under surveillance while summoning the white police. (e.g., Sheriff's office of Harris County and Travis County, Texas; Gulfport, Mississippi; Panama City, Florida) Such a procedure may be dangerous both to the community and the colored officer. In the first instance, the offender may escape since he is not being

detained. In the second, the Negro officer would at some point have to be sufficiently close to the suspect to determine his skin color as a cue for the choice of appropriate procedure. In such an operation, it would seem that the white offender has far higher status than the colored lawman and certainly far more independence of action. Under such inverted circumstances, it is a wonder that the colored officer does not decide to forget about the whole thing and find out what is going on at the opposite edge of his beat.

Table 5 indicates that the Negro policeman is not permitted to arrest whites in Mississippi, Georgia (except felons in Thomasville), Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana (except in New Orleans). In the entire region, with the exception of Arkansas, these states are among those with the largest percentages of Negro population (in excess of 28%, according to the 1960 census). These are also the states (except Arkansas) in which Negro lawmen have most recently been employed. Surprisingly enough, South Carolina has several cities whose police chiefs say they permit Negro patrolmen to arrest white offenders. South Carolina is "deep South" of course, and Negroes constituted nearly 35% of its 1960 population; it is also a state which hired nearly all of its Negro police during the 1950's.

All of the communities listed in Kentucky (except Jefferson County Sheriff's office), Virginia (except Nansemond County and Princess Anne County Sheriff's office), and Oklahoma say that they confer the same arrest authority upon their law enforcement officers, without regard to color. Both Oklahoma and Kentucky have relatively small Negro populations and both states had employed colored officers

before World War II.

The power of a police officer to arrest is granted by state law and "there is no legal way to confer less authority upon Negro policemen ....Once they have taken the oath of office, they have all the duties and responsibilities imposed by law."[13] Legally, colored patrolmen can arrest any lawbreaker; practically they cannot and must operate in accordance with their local departmental policies. Without these restrictive regulations, Negroes probably would not have been employed in the first place, but it would seem that in some communities which have had years of experience with Negro police, there would be no serious protest if these restrictions were quietly removed. After all, in most places, the Negro lawmen patrol segregated neighborhoods exclusively, and the white offender is on the Negroes' beat. (There are only a handful of police departments which do not require that Negro police patrol colored neighborhoods exclusively and which at the same time restrict arrest powers, e.g., Jefferson County, Arkansas and Pensacola, Florida.)

If, according to the rationalization, Negro police lack the skill to arrest the white lawbreaker on their beat, they may also be inept in arresting Negro violators. Where such a situation exists, the appropriate remedy lies in improved selection and training procedures, not in restriction of arrest authority. But it has already been observed that some Southern communities have attracted Negro lawmen whose educational achievements are actually higher than their white counterparts. Then why is the Negro lawman not permitted to arrest a man he is allowed to "hold"? The restriction in arrest power is socially symbolic of the denial of race equality. So long as the Negro policeman

lacks the authority to arrest all violators, regardless of race, he symbolizes second-class officership and is clearly and dramatically "kept in his place". He is part of Southern law enforcement which is modernized enough to hire him, albeit in token numbers, but which is not yet sufficiently respectful of the very badge given to him--the badge which should signify to all that its bearer possesses the complete trust and complete power of his community to uphold the law.

In the South (as well as in other parts of the country[14]), there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above. Since most Negroes in the South have joined the force within the past decade, limitation in promotions should hardly be surprising. Yet, there has been improvement in rank in some communities. For example, until 1955, the highest status attained by Negroes in Miami was patrolman first class. In 1959 there were four sergeants. There were three cities in October 1959 which had Negro police lieutenants--Daytona Beach, Florida;* Louisville, Kentucky; and Durham, North Carolina. In late 1959, the administrators of the 146 law enforcement agencies were asked to tell if any Negroes held rank and they reported the following data: Florida--Jacksonville, 4 sergeants; Lakeland, 1 corporal; Miami, 4 sergeants; Orlando, 1 sergeant; West Palm Beach, 1 sergeant. Kentucky--Hopkinsville, 2 sergeants; Lexington, 1 sergeant; Louisville, 1 lieutenant and 4 sergeants.

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* The Daytona Beach lieutenant retired in October, 1959.

Louisiana--New Orleans, 2 desk sergeants. North Carolina--Asheville, 1 sergeant; Charlotte, 1 sergeant; Durham, 1 lieutenant; High Point, 2 detective sergeants; Kinston, 1 sergeant. Oklahoma--Stillwater, 1 sergeant; Tulsa, 3 sergeants. South Carolina--Charleston, 2 detective sergeants; Sumter, 1 corporal. Tennessee--Knoxville, 2 detective sergeants. Texas--Dallas, 2 detective sergeants; Port Arthur, 2 sergeants. Virginia--Newport News, 1 detective sergeant; Norfolk, 1 sergeant; Richmond, 1 detective sergeant.

What have been the results of hiring Negro policemen? White community leaders have been highly gratified. A decade ago, the Mayor of Nashville said, "Any city with a substantial Negro population cannot really afford to be without Negro policemen on its force." The Southern Regional Council conducted a survey in 1953 and found "almost universal satisfaction...among police officials."[15] The police chief of Louisville stated, "Negro policemen have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers." The police chief of Miami noted in 1951, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers was sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about 50 percent."[16]

With the passage of time, most of the objections and reservations of white patrolmen have been overcome. James Ball, in his excellent Florida study, has commented upon the white officers' fears of losing social status when Negro officers were hired. In his notes

on Belle Glade, a small city in South Florida, he observed:[17]

> The opposition to Negro policemen by about two-thirds of the other policemen in the department was a major problem at first. One difficulty was quickly solved when it became apparent that there would be discord over how white and Negro policemen should address each other. They were told by the chief to address each other as 'officer' or by the rank held. The intradepartmental feeling gradually disappeared in a few months as the white officers found that the Negro patrolmen did not try to take social advantage of them. Other reasons for the acceptance of Negro policemen in the department can be attributed to the fact that: white policemen were relieved of the threat of civil rights cases from Negro citizens; Negro patrolmen handled most of the annoying minor cases, such as drunkenness and public indecency, in the Negro section; and, white policemen developed an appreciation for the position of the Negro patrolmen as a result of being subjected to the same difficulties and dangers in performing police duties together.

Negro community leaders feel vindicated and point out that their neighborhoods are now less "roudy", with fewer assault, profanity, and drunkenness cases. ("Before we got Negro policemen, East Market Street was so dangerous you didn't dare walk down it with your wife. Now the street is unimaginably changed. You don't even hear bad language any more.")

However, Southern Negroes are not unanimous in their attitudes toward colored patrolmen. One of the most interesting findings in Ball's Florida study was the observation that "lower class" Negroes prefer white policemen to colored policemen.[18] These poorer, uneducated people, when they need help, frequently ask that a white man be sent; they complain about the severe, dictatorial conduct of colored officers. When arrested by a white man they often plead guilty, but when a colored patrolman makes the arrest, they not infrequently plead not guilty. What generates this hostility when

members of their own race are in positions of authority? Possibly these "lower class" people have been conditioned by tradition to readily accept only white authority. Perhaps Negro officers are resented precisely because they are performing their jobs well. They know their neighborhoods thoroughly and are aware of who creates the disorders. They work full time in the colored community and are less likely to overlook certain types of violations (such as drunkenness), the way white lawmen often do.

Yet there is also a possibility that Negro policemen are actually more severe with colored offenders. If this is the case, it would be quite ironic, since one of the reasons Negroes were added to the force was to combat the charge that colored people were being roughly handled by white officers. Dr. William Kephart compared attitudes of white and Negro patrolmen in Philadelphia and made the following notation which may have relevance in the present discussion:[19]

> Although most white patrolmen admit they are more strict with Negro than with white offenders, Negro patrolmen maintain that white patrolmen are <u>not</u> unduly strict with colored violators. The logical interpretation is that the Negro policeman, himself, is stricter with Negro than with white offenders, and by his own standards the actions of white policemen against Negro offenders do not appear to be unduly severe.

Professor Kephart found that the Philadelphia Negro law enforcement officers, disturbed by the high arrest rates among colored people, were filled with moral indignation against those who were damaging the reputation of the race. However, this same reaction of infuriation did not characterize the colored officers' dealings with the white lawbreaker. Perhaps this manifestation of righteous

indignation may also be operating among some Southern Negro policemen. Certainly, the charge of undue harshness requires further study, and if such severity exists, it requires correction.

The introduction of Negroes on Southern police forces has not come about without a struggle. There have been many obstacles and many petty discriminations. Even today in a few communities, Negroes are not allowed access to the headquarters building and their presence is sometimes unwelcome when the department sponsors a short in-service training institute designed to improve the skills of the force. But it is a long way from the 1930's, when, as in Louisville, Negro patrolmen were not permitted to return home wearing their uniforms.

In some Southern cities, today, they are receiving increasing recognition. But the steps forward have been slow, painfully slow, and Negro police have known disappointment, second class status, and participation in law enforcement only on a token basis. Their future in the 1960's will depend upon Negro political influence on a local level and the ability of race leaders to convince fair-minded whites that the expansion and advancement of Negro police are essential goals in the new South.

Table 2: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954 AND 1959

City or County	Uniformed Policemen 1954	Uniformed Policemen 1959	Detective-Plainclothes 1954	Detective-Plainclothes 1959	Sheriff's Deputies 1954	Sheriff's Deputies 1959	Policewomen 1954	Policewomen 1959	Schoolguards 1954	Schoolguards 1959
Dothan, Ala.	1	2								
Mobile, Ala.	2	12							0	1
Montgomery, Ala.	4	0					3	0		
Talladega, Ala.	2	0								
Fort Smith, Ark.	2	2					0	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	2								
Jefferson County, Ark.					2	2				
Little Rock, Ark.	4	3	0	2						
Alachua County, Fla.					2	3				
Belle Glade, Fla.	2	2							0	1
Broward County, Fla.					2	4				
Clearwater, Fla.	3	3								
Cocoa, Fla.	2	2								
Coral Gables, Fla.	1	1							0	1
Dade County, Fla.					2	5			1	7
Dania, Fla.	1	2							0	1
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7	7					3*	0		
Deland, Fla.	1	0								
Escambia County, Fla.					2	1				
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	2	1								
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2	2								
Gainesville, Fla.	2	2								
Haines City, Fla.	2	1								
Hallandale, Fla.	1	2							0	2

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Table 2: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954 AND 1959

City or County	Uniformed Policemen 1954	Uniformed Policemen 1959	Detective-Plainclothes 1954	Detective-Plainclothes 1959	Sheriff's Deputies 1954	Sheriff's Deputies 1959	Policewomen 1954	Policewomen 1959	Schoolguards 1954	Schoolguards 1959
Hialeah, Fla.	2	1								
Hillsborough County, Fla.					2	2				
Hollywood, Fla.	1	1							0	1
Homestead, Fla.	2	0								
Jacksonville, Fla.	14	27							0	15
Key West, Fla.	3	4							0	2
Lake Worth, Fla.	1	2							0	1
Lakeland, Fla.	4	5								
Melbourne, Fla.	1	2								
Miami, Fla.	55	76	3	9						
Ocala, Fla.	2	1								
Orlando, Fla.	4	4							0	4
Ormond Beach, Fla.	1	1					0	1		
Panama City, Fla.	1	2								
Pensacola, Fla.	2	3								
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	8							0	1
Sanford, Fla.	1	1								
South Miami, Fla.	2	2								
Tallahassee, Fla.	3	2							0	1
Tampa, Fla.	6	11	4	2						
Titusville, Fla.	1	1								
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	12	2	0					0	4
Albany, Ga.									2	0
Athens, Ga.									4	5
Atlanta, Ga.	16	27	0	4					10	28

Table 2: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954 AND 1959

City or County	Uniformed Policemen		Detective-Plainclothes		Sheriff's Deputies		Policewomen		Schoolguards	
	1954	1959	1954	1959	1954	1959	1954	1959	1954	1959
Augusta, Ga.	7	7							5	6
Columbus, Ga.	4	0								
Dalton, Ga.	2	2							0	1
East Point, Ga.			1	0					1	3
Griffin, Ga.									1	1
Macon, Ga.	4	4							4	4
Marietta, Ga.									1	1
Savannah, Ga.	12	14	0	2					0	5
Thomasville, Ga.	0	2							3	2
Waycross, Ga.	2	2								
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3	3	0	1					0	1
Jefferson County, Ky.					6	7				
Lexington, Ky.	6	6	0	1			1	1	0	7
Louisville, Ky.	24	26	6	8			2	3	0	13
Owensboro, Ky.	2	1							0	1
Caddo Parish, La.					3	6				
Lafayette, La.	3	3								
Monroe, La.	2	2							0	3
New Iberia, La.	1	2							0	4
New Orleans, La.	6	28	6	14			0	1	12	26
Shreveport, La.	2	4								
Greenville, Miss.	2	4					2	0	0	3
Gulfport, Miss.	2	2							0	1
Indianola, Miss.	1	2								
Ahoskie, N. C.	1	2								
Asheville, N. C.	3	3							0	3

Table 2: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954 AND 1959

City or County	Uniformed Policemen		Detective-Plainclothes		Sheriff's Deputies		Policewomen		Schoolguards	
	1954	1959	1954	1959	1954	1959	1954	1959	1954	1959
Carrboro, N. C.	2	1*								
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2	3							0	1
Charlotte, N. C.	8	10							0	13
Durham, N. C.	10	9	2	2					6	8
Fayetteville, N. C.	4	4							2	4
Gastonia, N. C.	5	5							0	1
Greensboro, N. C.	9	8							0	7
Greensville, N. C.	1	2							0	1
Guilford County, N. C.					1	2				
High Point, N. C.	6	6	2	2					0	1
Kinston, N. C.	3	4							0	1
Morganton, N. C.	2	1								
Raleigh, N. C.	5	6							0	6
Reidsville, N. C.	2	2								
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2	2							1	3
Salisbury, N. C.	2	2								
Wilson, N. C.	2	3								
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13	12					1	0	5	7
Enid, Okla.	2	2								
Lawton, Okla.	2	2								
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	11	6	5						
Ponca City, Okla.	1	0								
Shawnee, Okla.	1	1								
Stillwater, Okla.	1	1								
Tulsa, Okla.	12	12	7	5			1	1	0	5
Tulsa County, Okla.					2	3				

Table 2: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954 AND 1959

City or County	Uniformed Policemen 1954	Uniformed Policemen 1959	Detective-Plainclothes 1954	Detective-Plainclothes 1959	Sheriff's Deputies 1954	Sheriff's Deputies 1959	Policewomen 1954	Policewomen 1959	Schoolguards 1954	Schoolguards 1959
Beaufort, S. C.	2	1								
Beaufort County, S. C.					2	1				
Charleston, S. C.	8	10	1	2					6	8
Columbia, S. C.	4	4							0	2
Conway, S. C.	2	2							0	1
Dillon, S. C.	1	0								
Florence, S. C.	3	3							0	3
Lake City, S. C.	1	1								
Marion, S. C.	1	2					0	1	0	1
Sumter, S. C.	0	3	2	0					0	1
Timmonsville, S. C.	1	1								
Chattanooga, Tenn.	8	10								
Davidson County, Tenn.					7	9				
Knox County, Tenn.	2	0			6*	2				
Knoxville, Tenn.	9	8	0	2					0	4
Nashville, Tenn.	16	19							12	29
Amarillo, Tex.	2	0								
Austin, Tex.	6	9							0	1
Bexar County, Tex.					1	3				
Beaumont, Tex.	2	4	0	1						
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1	3								
Dallas, Tex.	4	0	0	6						
El Paso, Tex.	4	2								
Galveston, Tex.	11	11	4	5						
Harris County, Tex.					2	3				

Table 2: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954 and 1959

City or County	Uniformed Policemen 1954	Uniformed Policemen 1959	Detective-Plainclothes 1954	Detective-Plainclothes 1959	Sheriff's Deputies 1954	Sheriff's Deputies 1959	Policewomen 1954	Policewomen 1959	Schoolguards 1954	Schoolguards 1959
Houston, Tex.	24	31	1	3			1	1		
Potter County, Tex.					2	2				
Port Arthur, Tex.	4	5					2	0	0	4
San Antonio, Tex.	9	10	2	2			1	0	0	10
Travis County, Tex.					1	1				
Temple, Tex.	2	2								
Waco, Tex.	1	1							0	4
Wichita Falls, Tex.	1	2								
Alexandria, Va.									3	4
Cape Charles, Va.	1	0								
Hampton, Va.	4	3	1	1			1	0	0	3
Nansemond County, Va.					1	4				
Newport News, Va.	6	8	0	1					3	5
Norfolk, Va.	5	4	3	3			2	1	0	19
Norfolk County, Va.							2	0	0	1
Petersburg, Va.							1	1		
Portsmouth, Va.	2	1							0	9
Princess Anne County, Va.					2	1				
Richmond, Va.	16	15	3	4			2	2	0	11
Roanoke, Va.	3	4								
TOTAL	536	646	56	87	48	61	25	14	82	338

* indicates part-time employment

Table 3: NEGRO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS IN SOUTHERN STATES, 1954-1959*

	1954	1959
Alabama	12	14
Arkansas	10	12
Florida	165	218
Georgia	48	64
Kentucky	50	57
Louisiana	23	60
Mississippi	7	8
North Carolina	88	91
Oklahoma	43	43
South Carolina	28	31
Tennessee	48	50
Texas	88	107
Virginia	55	53
	665	808

*This table is based upon the 146 communities which reported to the Southern Regional Council in 1954 and which responded to the writer's questionnaire in late 1959. In this table, law enforcement officers include the following categories: uniformed patrolmen, detectives-plainclothesmen, sheriff's deputies, and policewomen. It does not include schoolguards.

Table 4: NEGRO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS IN 57 SOUTHERN CITIES, 1949-1959

City	Law Enforcement Officers[1]			Negro Law Enforcement Officers per 1000 Negro Inhabitants	
	1949	1954	1959	1949[2]	1959[3]
Dothan, Alabama	1	1	2	.13	.22
Hot Springs, Arkansas	2	2	2	.39	.44
Little Rock, Arkansas	6	4	5	.26	.20
Clearwater, Florida	2	3	3	.69	.55
Cocoa, Florida	1	2	2	.48	.52
Dania, Florida	1	1	2	.48	.72
Daytona Beach, Florida	5	10#	7	.57	.60
Deland, Florida	2	1	0	.92	.00
Fort Myers, Florida	2	2	2	.54	.34
Gainesville, Florida	2	2	2	.34	.29
Key West, Florida	2	3	4	.68	.35
Melbourne, Florida	1	1	2	.91	.79
Miami, Florida	30	58	85	.75	1.29
Sanford, Florida	1	1	1	.17	.15
St. Petersburg, Florida	4	4	8	.29	.33
Tampa, Florida	6	10	13	.22	.28
West Palm Beach, Florida	4	9	12	.31	.78
Atlanta, Georgia	6	16	31	.05	.17
Macon, Georgia	2	4	4	.07	.13
Savannah, Georgia	12	12	16	.25	.30
Lexington, Kentucky	3	7	8	.22	.49
Louisville, Kentucky	34	32	37	.59	.53
Owensboro, Kentucky	2	2	1	.79	.35

Table 4

City	Law Enforcement Officers[1] 1949	1954	1959	Negro Law Enforcement Officers per 1000 Negro Inhabitants 1949[2]	1959[3]
Gulfport, Mississippi	2	2	2	.46	.31
Ahoskie, North Carolina	1	1	2	.66	1.06
Asheville, North Carolina	2	3	3	.16	.26
Charlotte, North Carolina	10	8	10	.27	.18
Durham, North Carolina	8	12	11	.31	.39
Fayetteville, North Carolina	2	4	4	.15	.24
Gastonia, North Carolina	5	5	5	1.04	.75
Greensboro, North Carolina	5	9	8	.26	.26
High Point, North Carolina	4	8	8	.48	.71
Raleigh, North Carolina	4	5	6	.22	.27
Winston-Salem, N. C.	7	14	12	.19	.29
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12	14	16	.57	.38
Tulsa, Oklahoma	14	20	18	.82	.69
Columbia, South Carolina	2	4	4	.06	.13
Conway, South Carolina	2	2	2	.93	.68
Chattanooga, Tennessee	7	8	10	.18	.23
Knoxville, Tennessee	7	9	10	.37	.48
Nashville, Tennessee	6	16	19	.11	.29
Austin, Texas	6	6	9	.34	.36
Beaumont, Texas	2	2	5	.07	.14
Corpus Christie, Texas	2	1	3	.28	.32
Dallas, Texas	4	4	6	.07	.05
El Paso, Texas	4	4	2	1.28	.27
Galveston, Texas	15	15	16	.85	.87
Houston, Texas	17	26	35	.14	.16

Table 4

City	Law Enforcement Officers[1] 1949	1954	1959	Negro Law Enforcement Officers per 1000 Negro Inhabitants 1949[2]	1959[3]
Port Arthur, Texas	10	6	5	.72	.24
San Antonio, Texas	11	12	12	.38	.28
Cape Charles, Virginia	1	1	0	1.30	.00
Newport News, Virginia	5	6	9	.27	.23
Norfolk, Virginia	9	10	8	.14	.10
Petersburg, Virginia	1	1	1	.07	.06
Portsmouth, Virginia	1	2	1	.03	.03
Richmond, Virginia	7	21	21	.10	.23
Roanoke, Virginia	6	3	4	.41	.24
TOTAL	332	451	536		

1 In this table the following categories are included as law enforcement officers: Uniformed officers, Detective-Plainclothesmen, and Policewomen.

2 Since the Southern Regional Council in late 1949 published the figures upon which the Negro police data are based, the present writer decided to use the 1950 census as the source for the Negro population statistics.

3 The population base for the late-1959 police information was the nonwhite population in these states, according to the 1960 Census of Population Advance Reports, PC(A2), issued February-March, 1961. In these states, Negroes constituted 98.3% of the nonwhites. If Oklahoma, with its relatively large number of Indians, is omitted from this list of states, Negroes constituted 99% of the nonwhites. (U. S. Census Release, CB61-32, released April 4, 1961).

Of the ten law enforcement officers in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1954, three were part-time policewomen.

Table 5* ARREST POWER: SOUTHERN NEGRO POLICE AND WHITE OFFENDER, 1959

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR call white police who arrest
Dothan, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Mobile, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Fort Smith, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hot Springs, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jefferson Cy, Ark.	no	call white deputies who arrest
Little Rock, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Alachua Cy, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Belle Glade, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Broward Cy, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Clearwater, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Cocoa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Coral Gables, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dade Cy., Fla.	no	"no fixed rule"
Dania, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Daytona Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Escambia Cy., Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Ft. Lauderdale,Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Ft. Myers, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gainesville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Haines City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hallandale, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Hialeah, Fla.	no	arrest white offender
Hillsborough Cy,Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Hollywood, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jacksonville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Key West, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lakeland, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake Worth, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest

Table 5 (continued)

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR call white police who arrest
Melbourne, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Miami, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ocala, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Orlando, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ormond Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Panama City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Pensacola, Fla.	no	call white police who arrest
St. Petersburg, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Sanford, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
South Miami, Fla.	yes	"depends on circumstances"
Tallahassee, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Tampa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Titusville, Fla.	primarily	call white police who arrest
West Palm Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Atlanta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Augusta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dalton, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Macon, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Savannah, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Thomasville, Ga.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Waycross, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hopkinsville, Ky.	yes	"done both ways"
Jefferson Cy., Ky.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Lexington, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Louisville, Ky.	primarily	arrest white offender
Owensboro, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Caddo Parish, La.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Lafayette, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Monroe, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
New Iberia, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
New Orleans, La.	no	arrest white offender
Shreveport, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Greenville, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gulfport, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Indianola, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest

Table 5 (continued)

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR call white police who arrest
Ahoskie, N.C.	yes	no information
Asheville, N.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Carrboro, N.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Chapel Hill, N.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Charlotte, N.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Durham, N.C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Fayetteville, N.C.	yes	arrest white offender
Gastonia, N.C.	no	arrest white offender
Greensboro, N.C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Greenville, N.C.	primarily	"done both ways"
Guilford Cy., N.C.	yes	serves warrants-processes to Negroes
High Point, N.C.	yes	no information
Kinston, N.C.	yes	arrest white offender
Morganton, N.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Raleigh, N.C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Reidsville, N.C.	yes	arrest white offender
Rocky Mount, N.C.	yes	usually call white police who arrest
Salisbury, N. C.	no	no information
Wilson, N.C.	yes	arrest white offender
Winston-Salem, N.C.	yes	arrest white offender
Enid, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Lawton, Okla.	no	arrest white offender
Oklahoma City, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Shawnee, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Stillwater, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa Cy., Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaufort, S.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Beaufort Cy., S.C.	yes	arrest white offender
Charleston, S.C.	no	arrest white offender
Columbia, S.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Conway, S.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Florence, S.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake City, S.C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Marion, S.C.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Sumter, S.C.	yes	arrest white offender
Timmonsville, S.C.	yes	no information
Chattanooga, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest
Davidson Cy., Tenn	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Knox County, Tenn.	yes	serve civil papers on Negroes
Knoxville, Tenn.	yes	arrest white offender
Nashville, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest

Table 5 (continued)

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR call white police who arrest
Austin, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaumont, Tex.	yes	arrest white misdemeanants
Bexar Cy., Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Corpus Christi, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Dallas, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
El Paso, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Galveston, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Harris Cy., Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Houston, Tex.	no	call white police "to assist in arrest"
Port Arthur, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Potter Cy., Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
San Antonio, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Temple, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Travis Cy., Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Waco, Tex.	yes	no information
Wichita Falls, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Hampton, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Nansemond Cy., Va.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Newport News, Va.	no	arrest white offender
Norfolk, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Petersburg, Va.	no information	no information
Portsmouth, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Princess Anne Cy., Va.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Richmond, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Roanoke, Va.	yes	arrest white offender

* Sixteen respondents were not included in this table because by 1959 no Negroes were employed any longer or they were working only as schoolguards.

FOOTNOTES

1. Monroe N. Work, ed., Negro Year Book, 1921-22 (Tuskegee, 1922), p. 47.
2. Monroe N. Work, ed., Negro Year Book, 1925-26 (Tuskegee, 1925), p. 58.
3. Letter to the writer, August 4, 1959 from Mrs. Ed. A. Albright of the Research Department, Southern Regional Council.
4. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944), p. 543.
5. Ibid., p. 542.
6. "Race and Law Enforcement", New South, February, 1952, pp. 12-13. Changing Patterns in the New South (Atlanta), p. 29.
7. Myrdal, op. cit., p. 545.
8. Changing Patterns in the New South, op. cit., p. 12.
9. For Charleston illustration see, John A. Harris, "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen", New South, September-October, 1950, pp. 7-8.
10. Nineteen agencies ignored repeated requests for cooperation: Ft. Pierce, Florida; Burlington, Clinton, Goldsboro, and Lenoir, North Carolina; Muskogee, Oklahoma; Clover, Darlington, Hartsville, Horry County, Mullins, Orangeburg, Rock Hill, and Spartanburg, South Carolina; Memphis, Tennessee; Fort Worth, Galveston County, Lubbock, and Orange, Texas. In 1954, these communities had reported that colored personnel consisted of 62 uniformed policemen, 6 sheriff's deputies, and 7 schoolguards.
11. Uniform Crime Reports, 1958, p. 99.
12. Monroe N. Work, ed., Negro Year Book, 1921-22 (Tuskegee, 1922), p. 47.
13. Changing Patterns in the New South, op. cit., p. 34.
14. William M. Kephart, Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement (Phila., 1957), p. 138.
15. "Employment of Negro Policemen in Southern Towns and Cities", New South, September, 1948, p. 8. "Negro Police in the South, 1953", New South, October-November, 1953, pp. 7-8.
16. New South, November, 1951, p. 7.
17. James A. Ball, III, A Study of Negro Policemen in Selected Florida Municipalities, 1954, Master of Science thesis, Florida State University, pp. 100-101.
18. Ibid., pp. 76-77.
19. Kephart, op. cit., p. 164.

HF - this is worth reading
JC
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file
Materials: Negro Police

Negro Police Employment In The Urban South

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From 1945 until 1954, the bi-racial Southern Regional Council published reports on the number of Southern cities employing Negro law enforcement officers and the manner in which local campaigns were conducted to bring about their recruitment. The Council also printed testimonials of leading city officials concerning the effectiveness of the newly employed Negro law enforcement officers. The material was regularly published in the Southern Regional Council's monthly bulletin, New South, and there is no doubt that this magazine became the inspiration, guidance, and support of many local groups. Gradually, the regional surveys began to indicate some degree of success. In 1945 the New South reported at least 134 Negro men and women working for law enforcement agencies; in 1950, the number had increased to over 425, and by 1954 over 800. These figures were not complete--some cities did not respond to the Council's questionnaire, and most smaller Southern communities were not included in the survey.

The Southern Regional Council did not make any further annual surveys after 1954. That last report was based on a questionnaire sent to communities in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Replies were received from 143 municipal police departments and 22 county sheriff's offices. In late 1959, the present writer attempted to provide recent data on the use of Negro police in the South and sent a questionnaire to the 165 respondents of the 1954 survey. Over 88% of the

law enforcement agencies cooperated.[1]

The writer was interested in knowing what had happened to the number of Negro law enforcement officers between 1954 and 1959. Had white opposition to the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions snuffed out newly-won gains of Negroes in the police field? Or had these men and women, who had previously received fulsome praise from city officials, become a permanent and increasingly important part of the Southern scene?

The data (see Table I) seem to indicate that during the five year period, the Negroes did not lose ground, but they did not gain much ground either. And the modest increases seem even smaller when it is recalled that Southern Negroes increased in population during 1954-1959. Most of the net growth in the number of Negro uniformed policemen can be attributed to just five of the larger Southern cities--Jacksonville, Miami, Atlanta, New Orleans, and Mobile. The rest of the cities remained essentially stationary (although the number of communities which added Negro uniformed police exceeded the number which dropped them.) Often, not more than one colored officer was added or dropped, although a sharp decline was registered by Montgomery, Alabama, which in 1954 had employed 4 Negro policemen (and 3 Negro policewomen). In 1959, there were no colored law enforcement officers in that city of racial strife.

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[1]Nineteen agencies ignored repeated requests for cooperation: Ft. Pierce, Florida; Burlington, Clinton, Goldsboro, and Lenoir, North Carolina; Muskogee, Oklahoma; Clover, Darlington, Hartsville, Horry County, Mullins, Orangeburg, Rock Hill, and Spartanburg, South Carolina; Memphis, Tennessee; Fort Worth, Galveston County, Lubbock, and Orange, Texas. In 1954, these communities had reported that colored personnel consisted of 62 uniformed policemen, 6 sheriff's deputies, and 7 schoolguards.

A similarly static picture is provided in an examination of the use of Negro plainclothesmen and detectives. Between 1954 and 1959, there was a net increase in the thirteen states of only 31 men--which was almost the number of colored plainclothesmen added during those five years in New Orleans, Miami, Atlanta, and Dallas. Several cities such as Tampa, West Palm Beach, and Oklahoma City actually dropped some or all of their colored plainclothesmen but at the same time enlarged the number of Negro uniformed policemen. In police circles, non-uniformed investigators have higher status than the uniformed patrolmen. The former often receive higher pay and have more mobility and independence. Few Negroes are placed in these positions even though their usefulness is beyond question in the larger Southern cities. Some officials rationalize their exclusion policies by claiming that Negro investigators are incompetent and only white detectives can do the job. ("There have been more arrests for moonshine whiskey and Bolito made by two white detectives in the past year than by all of the negro[sic] police combined, and this done on their own time just to show them that it could be done.")

While the sheriff's deputies made slight gains (13) between 1954 and 1959, the number of Negro policewomen actually decreased from 25 to 14. However, some of the cities which cut the number of colored policewomen decided to hire an even larger corps of Negro schoolguards. (e.g., Greenville, Miss., San Antonio, and Norfolk) Actually, the five years following 1954 may be considered as The Years of the Colored Schoolguard, since their ranks increased four fold in the reporting cities, from 82 to 338. The overwhelming majority of cities using them in 1954 expanded their complement in the later

period. Furthermore, nearly fifty of the cities which had hired them by 1959 did not report having employed them in 1954.

While the proportionate increases in the Negro schoolguards are impressive, it must be remembered that in 1954 there had been a very low base of only 82. Furthermore, although they perform valuable contributions, they do not function basically as law enforcement officers--they are actually traffic monitors. They have only part-time, circumscribed duties and limited powers. For these reasons, their expansion, while desirable, is not as important as numerical gains among the colored police. And quite possibly in some communities, the schoolguards were hired as part of a device to avoid employing Negro patrolmen.

As recently as 1944, Gunnar Myrdal observed in the American Dilemma that in those states with the largest proportions of colored people--Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama, there was not even one Negro policeman.[2] A decade and a half later, all of these states reported at least a handful of colored law enforcement officers; and Atlanta and New Orleans are among the Southern cities which currently employ substantial numbers of Negroes. Florida continues to be the state which employs the largest number and Miami has the largest complement of colored officers (85) of any Southern community.

Of the 146 agencies in Table I, 57 also reported employment statistics in the Southern Regional Council's 1949 survey and these data permit a ten year comparison which is presented as Table II. Since these

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[2] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944), p. 543.

communities have had at least a decade of experience with Negro police, ample time should have elapsed for overcoming the whites' initial fears. Understandably, caution should have dictated that relatively few appointments would be made in the early period in order to allow white and Negro citizens to accommodate themselves to this significant departure from Southern tradition. However, the later period (1954-1959) should have been one of substantial growth. Instead, Table II presents a static tableau of many Southern cities having years of experience with Negro policemen--but little inclined to see these personnel grow in number. In this ten year longitudinal view, the 57 communities had a net increase of 119 officers during the first five year period and an increase of only 85 during the second five year period. It will be observed that during the decade, nearly two-thirds of the net gain was registered by just five cities--Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville. Between 1949 and 1959, almost one-third of the 57 cities either cut their Negro complement or kept it at the same level; another one-third of the cities added only one or two men.

How many Negro policemen should a Southern city reasonably be expected to employ? The answer depends upon many factors, two of which are the size of the city and the size of the Negro population. Nationally, larger cities use more policemen per thousand population than do smaller cities, but in the South this pattern prevails only approximately. According to the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports[3], in the nation as a whole there were about 1.65 policemen for every 1000 inhabitants. In the South Atlantic states the number was also about 1.65; in the East South Central states and the West South Central states, the number was 1.2 and 1.1 respectively. While these

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[3] Uniform Crime Reports, 1958, p. 99.

are "average figures" and "are not intended to serve as suggested police strength for any particular community," these data may be used to give a rough estimate of the number of Negro policemen which the Southern region might have employed if race had not been a barrier. It must be remembered that in the Southern cities to be considered, the Negro policemen are usually assigned exclusively to Negro neighborhoods. But the ratios of Negro police employed per one thousand Negro population should not be interpreted as the measure of total law enforcement coverage in these communities, since white officers also patrol these neighborhoods to some extent. To the degree that race is a barrier, whites get the police jobs which should go to qualified Negroes, and colored areas sometimes receive insufficient protection.

Table III presents the number of Negro police officers to every one thousand Negro inhabitants in the 57 cities which were described in the preceding table. In 1949, only 9 cities had a ratio of more than .75. Thirty-one of the cities had a ratio of less than .35 in 1949--which means that there was less than 1 Negro policeman for every 3,000 Negroes. Some of the largest cities had the lowest ratios (e.g., Nashville, Dallas, Norfolk, Richmond, and Atlanta). Caution is understandable in the face of innovation and these communities had just hired their first colored patrolmen from one to three years before. On the other hand, Knoxville, Austin, Houston, and Tampa had low ratios, and these communities had been pioneers in the use of Negro police, having hired them prior to 1921.[4]

A decade later in 1959 the situation had improved, but only slightly. In these 57 cities in 1949 there had been one Negro policeman for about every 4,000 colored people; in 1959 there was one for every 3,400. But

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[4]Monroe N. Work, Ed., Negro Year Book, 1921-22 (Tuskegee, 1922), p. 47. Monroe N. Work, Ed., Negro Year Book, 1925-26 (Tuskegee, 1925), p. 58

only 3 cities had ratios of over .75 and 38 cities had ratios of less than .35. (see Table III, column 3) It has already been observed that during the decade, Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville accounted for most of the numerical increases in Negro lawmen. Nevertheless, viewed in terms of ratios per 1000 Negro population, all of these cities except Miami had ratios of less than .35.

It may be suggested by some that the present writer's 1959 Negro population estimates are too high, thus causing a deflation in the ratios. For purposes of comparison, column 2 in Table III has been included, presenting 1959 police data with the 1950 census as population base. These figures are certainly unrealistically low but they are not without interest. They still indicate a severe underemployment of Negro police. Fifteen cities, according to these data, would have ratios of over .75, while over 20 cities would have ratios of under .35.

All of the foregoing tables clearly indicate that Negroes serve Southern police departments only in token numbers. For many cities, after the initial complement was hired, there was little net increase in the succeeding years. The colored officers were usually recruited as a result of campaigns by local Negro civic organizations and bi-racial associations. Once the colored officers were hired, the organized local pressures often subsided out of a sense of "mission accomplished" or out of a fear of hurting the opportunities of the new patrolmen. Without the continuing pressure, a static situation developed.

The above comments are not intended to deprecate the efforts of those who broke down the barriers so that even the token Negro policemen might be employed. As a matter of fact, if consideration is restricted only to the number of Southern cities which employ Negro law enforcement officers, tremendous strides have been made since the end of World War II. In 1945, the Southern Regional Council listed 29 agencies employing Negroes, and in

1954 there were 165 agencies.[5] In late 1959, the present writer queried all Southern cities above 10,000 population (1950 census) which were not respondents in the 1954 Southern Regional Council survey. Of the 185 cities questioned, 55 communities reported the employment of 69 Negro policemen, 3 policewomen, and 41 schoolguards. This means that there are at least 200 Southern communities which currently employ Negro police. The task for the 1960's should be the generation of sufficient pressure so that the number of Negro law enforcement officers in these cities will be increased to the point of being equitably related to the size of the Negro population.

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[5] Changing Patterns in the New South (Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1955), p. 35.

TABLE I

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH.....1954 AND 1959

City or County	Uniformed Policemen 1954	Uniformed Policemen 1959	Detective-Plainclothes 1954	Detective-Plainclothes 1959	Sheriff's Deputies 1954	Sheriff's Deputies 1959	Policewomen 1954	Policewomen 1959	Schoolguards 1954	Schoolguards 1959
Dothan, Ala.	1	2								
Mobile, Ala.	2	12								1
Montgomery, Ala.	4	0					3	0		
Talladega, Ala.	2	0								
Ft. Smith, Ark.	2	2					0	1		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	2								
Jefferson County, Ark.					2	2				
Little Rock, Ark.	4	3	0	2						
Alachua County, Fla.					2	3				
Belle Glade, Fla.	2	2								1
Broward County, Fla.					2	4				
Clearwater, Fla.	3	3								
Cocoa, Fla.	2	2								
Coral Gables, Fla.	1	1								1
Dade County, Fla.					2	5			1	7
Dania, Fla.	1	2								1
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7	7					3(pt. time)	0		
Deland, Fla.	1	0								
Escambia County, Fla.					2	1				
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	2	1								
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2	2								
Gainesville, Fla.	2	2								
Haines City, Fla.	2	1								
Hallandale, Fla.	1	2								2
Hialeah, Fla.	2	1								
Hillsborough County, Fla.					2	2				
Hollywood, Fla.	1	1								1
Homestead, Fla.	2	0								
Jacksonville, Fla.	14	27								15
Key West, Fla.	3	4								2
Lake Worth, Fla.	1	2								1
Lakeland, Fla.	4	5								
Melbourne, Fla.	1	2								
Miami, Fla.	55	76	3	9						
Ocala, Fla.	2	1								
Orlando, Fla.	4	4								4
Ormond Beach, Fla.	1	1						1		
Panama City, Fla.	1	2								
Pensacola, Fla.	2	3								
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	8								1
Sanford, Fla.	1	1								
South Miami, Fla.	2	2								
Tallahassee, Fla.	3	2								1
Tampa, Fla.	6	11	4	2						
Titusville, Fla.	1	1								
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	12	2	0						4

TABLE I (continued)

City or County	Uniformed Policemen 1954	Uniformed Policemen 1959	Detective-Plainclothes 1954	Detective-Plainclothes 1959	Sheriff's Deputies 1954	Sheriff's Deputies 1959	Policewomen 1 1954	Policewomen 1 1959	Schoolguards 1954	Schoolguards 1959
Albany, Ga.									2	0
Athens, Ga.									4	5
Atlanta, Ga.	16	27	0	4					10	28
Augusta, Ga.	7	7							5	6
Columbus, Ga.	4	0								
Dalton, Ga.	2	2							0	1
East Point, Ga.			1	0					1	3
Griffin, Ga.									1	1
Macon, Ga.	4	4							4	4
Marietta, Ga.									1	1
Savannah, Ga.	12	14	0	2					0	5
Thomasville, Ga.	0	2							3	2
Waycross, Ga.	2	2								
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3	3	0	1					0	1
Jefferson County, Ky.					6	7				
Lexington, Ky.	6	6	0	1			1	1	0	7
Louisville, Ky.	24	26	6	8			2	3	0	13
Owensboro, Ky.	2	1							0	1
Caddo Parish, La.					3	6				
Lafayette, La.	3	3								
Monroe, La.	2	2							0	3
New Iberia, La.	1	2							0	4
New Orleans, La.	6	28	6	14			0	1	12	26
Shreveport, La.	2	4								
Greenville, Miss.	2	4					2	0	0	3
Gulfport, Miss.	2	2							0	1
Indianola, Miss.	1	2								
Ahoskie, N. C.	1	2								
Asheville, N. C.	3	3							0	3
Carrboro, N. C.	2	1 (pt. time)								
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2	3							0	1
Charlotte, N. C.	8	10							0	13
Durham, N. C.	10	9	2	2					6	8
Fayetteville, N. C.	4	4							2	4
Gastonia, N. C.	5	5							0	1
Greensboro, N. C.	9	8							0	7
Greensville, N. C.	1	2							0	1
Guilford County, N. C.					1	2				
High Point, N. C.	6	6	2	2					0	1
Kinston, N. C.	3	4							0	1
Morganton, N. C.	2	1								
Raleigh, N. C.	5	6							0	6
Reidsville, N. C.	2	2								
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2	2							1	3
Salisbury, N. C.	2	2								
Wilson, N. C.	2	3								
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13	12					1	0	5	7
Enid, Okla.	2	2								
Lawton, Okla.	2	2								
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	11	6	5						
Ponca City, Okla.	1	0								

TABLE I (continued)

City or County	Uniformed Policemen 1954	Uniformed Policemen 1959	Detective-Plainclothes 1954	Detective-Plainclothes 1959	Sheriff's Deputies 1954	Sheriff's Deputies 1959	Policewomen 1954	Policewomen 1959	Schoolguards 1954	Schoolguards 1959
Shawnee, Okla.	1	1								
Stillwater, Okla.	1	1								
Tulsa, Okla.	12	12	7	5			1	1	0	3
Tulsa County, Okla.					2	3				
Beaufort, S.C.	2	1								
Beaufort County, S.C.					2	1				
Charleston, S.C.	8	10	1	2					6	8
Columbia, S.C.	4	4							0	2
Conway, S.C.	2	2							0	1
Dillon, S.C.	1	0								
Florence, S.C.	3	3							0	5
Lake City, S.C.	1	1								
Marion, S.C.	1	2					0	1	0	1
Sumter, S.C.	0	3	2	0					0	1
Timmonsville, S.C.	1	1								
Chattanooga, Tenn.	8	10								
Davidson County, Tenn.					7	9				
Knox County, Tenn.	2	0			6(pt. time)	2				
Knoxville, Tenn.	9	8	0	2					0	4
Nashville, Tenn.	16	19							12	29
Amarillo, Tex.	2	0								
Austin, Tex.	6	9							0	1
Bexar County, Tex.					1	3				
Beaumont, Tex.	2	4	0	1						
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1	3								
Dallas, Tex.	4	0	0	6						
El Paso, Tex.	4	2								
Galveston, Tex.	11	11	4	3						
Harris County, Tex.					2	3				
Houston, Tex.	24	31	1	3			1	1		
Port Arthur, Tex.	4	3					2	0	0	4
Potter County, Tex.					2	2				
San Antonio, Tex.	9	10	2	2			1	0	0	10
Travis County, Tex.					1	1				
Temple, Tex.	2	2								
Waco, Tex.	1	1								4
Wichita Falls, Tex.	1	2								
Alexandria, Va.									3	4
Cape Charles, Va.	1	0								
Hampton, Va.	4	3	1	1			1	0	0	3
Nansemond County, Va.					1	4				
Newport News, Va.	6	8	0	1					3	3
Norfolk, Va.	3	4	3	3			2	1	0	19
Norfolk County, Va.							2	0		1
Petersburg, Va.							1	1		
Princess Anne County, Va.					2	1				
Richmond, Va.	16	15	3	4			2	2	0	11
Roanoke, Va.	3	4								
Portsmouth, Va.	2	1								9
TOTAL	336	646	36	87	48	61	25	14	82	338

TABLE II

NEGRO POLICE IN 57 SOUTHERN CITIES, 1949, 1954, 1959

City	Uniformed Policemen			Detective-Plainclothes			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1949	1954	1959	1949	1954	1959	1949	1954	1959	1949	1954	1959
Dothan, Ala.	1	1	2									
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	2	2									
Little Rock, Ark.	6	4	3	0	0	2						
Clearwater, Fla.	0	3	3	2	0	0						
Cocoa, Fla.	1	2	2									
Dania, Fla.	1	1	2							0	0	1
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5	7	7				0	3(pt. time)	0			
Deland, Fla.	2	1	0									
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2	2	2									
Gainesville, Fla.	0	2	2	2	0	0						
Key West, Fla.	2	3	4							0	0	2
Melbourne, Fla.	1	1	2									
Miami, Fla.	30	55	76	0	3	9						
Sanford, Fla.	1	1	1									
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	4	8							0	0	1
Tampa, Fla.	6	6	11	0	4	2						
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4	7	12	0	2	0				0	0	4
Atlanta, Ga.	6	16	27	0	0	4				0	10	28
Macon, Ga.	2	4	4							0	4	4
Savannah, Ga.	10	12	14	2	0	2				0	0	5
Lexington, Ky.	2	6	6	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	7
Louisville, Ky.	26	24	26	6	6	8	2	2	3	0	0	13
Owensboro, Ky.	2	2	1							0	0	1
Gulfport, Miss.	2	2	2							0	0	1
Ahoskie, N.C.	1	1	2									
Asheville, N.C.	2	3	3							0	0	3
Charlotte, N.C.	10	8	10							0	0	13
Durham, N.C.	8	10	9	0	2	2				0	6	8
Fayetteville, N.C.	2	4	4							0	2	4
Gastonia, N.C.	5	5	5							0	0	1
Greensboro, N.C.	5	9	8							0	0	7
High Point, N.C.	4	6	6	0	2	2				0	0	1
Raleigh, N.C.	2	5	6				2	0	0	0	0	6
Winston-Salem, N.C.	7	13	12				0	1	0	0	5	7
Oklahoma City, Okla.	7	8	11	5	6	5						
Tulsa, Okla.	13	12	12	0	7	5	1	1	1	0	0	5
Columbia, S.C.	2	4	4							0	0	2
Conway, S.C.	2	2	2							0	0	1
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7	8	10									
Knoxville, Tenn.	7	9	8	0	0	2				0	0	4
Nashville, Tenn.	6	16	19							0	12	29
Austin, Tex.	6	6	9							0	0	1
Beaumont, Tex.	2	2	4	0	0	1						
Corpus Christie, Tex.	2	1	3									

TABLE II (continued)

City	Uniformed Policemen			Detective-Plainclothes			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1949	1954	1959	1949	1954	1959	1949	1954	1959	1949	1954	1959
Dallas, Tex.	4	4	6									
El Paso, Tex.	4	4	2									
Galveston, Tex.	9	11	11	6	5	5						
Houston, Tex.	16	24	31	1	1	3	0	1	1			
Port Arthur, Tex.	10	4	5				0	2	0	0	0	4
San Antonio, Tex.	7	9	10	4	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	10
Cape Charles, Va.	1	1	0									
Newport News, Va.	5	6	8	0	0	1				0	3	5
Norfolk, Va.	4	5	4	5	3	3	0	2	1	0	0	19
Petersburg, Va.							1	1	1			
Portsmouth, Va.	1	2	1							0	0	9
Richmond, Va.	7	16	15	0	3	4	0	2	2	0	0	11
Roanoke, Va.	6	3	4									
TOTAL	292	389	463	33	45	63	7	17	10	0	42	217

TABLE III

FULL-TIME NEGRO POLICE OFFICERS PER 1,000 NEGRO INHABITANTS IN 57 SOUTHERN CITIES

City	1949[1]	1959[2]	1959[3]
Dothan, Ala.	.13	.27	.19
Hot Springs, Ark.	.39	.39	.35
Little Rock, Ark.	.26	.21	.16
Clearwater, Fla.	.69	1.03	.39
Cocoa, Fla.	.48	.95	—
Dania, Fla.	.48	.96	—
Daytona Beach, Fla.	.57	.80	.54
Deland, Fla.	.92	.00	.00
Ft. Myers, Fla.	.54	.54	.30
Gainesville, Fla.	.34	.34	.28
Key West, Fla.	.68	1.40	.69
Melbourne, Fla.	.91	1.80	.52
Miami, Fla.	.75	2.10	1.70
Sanford, Fla.	.17	.17	.10
St. Petersburg, Fla.	.29	.57	.32
Tampa, Fla.	.22	.48	.22
West Palm Beach, Fla.	.31	.94	.65
Atlanta, Ga.	.05	.26	.17
Macon, Ga.	.07	.14	.11
Savannah, Ga.	.25	.33	.28
Lexington, Ky.	.22	.39	.30
Louisville, Ky.	.39	.64	.57
Owensboro, Ky.	.79	.40	.26
Gulfport, Miss.	.46	.46	.32
Ahoskie, N.C.	.66	1.30	—
Asheville, N.C.	.16	.24	.22
Charlotte, N.C.	.27	.27	.21
Durham, N.C.	.31	.42	.34
Fayetteville, N.C.	.15	.31	.22
Gastonia, N.C.	1.04	1.04	.66
Greensboro, N.C.	.26	.42	.26
High Point, N.C.	.48	.97	.81
Raleigh, N.C.	.22	.34	.26
Winston Salem, N.C.	.19	.33	.26
Oklahoma City, Okla.	.57	.76	.57
Tulsa, Okla.	.82	1.03	.68
Columbia, S.C.	.06	.13	.10
Conway, S.C.	.93	.93	.70
Chattanooga, Tenn.	.18	.25	.21
Knoxville, Tenn.	.37	.32	.49
Nashville, Tenn.	.11	.35	.33

TABLE III (continued)

City	1949[1]	1959[2]	1959[3]
Austin, Tex.	.34	.31	.34
Beaumont, Tex.	.07	.18	.14
Corpus Christie, Tex.	.28	.42	.17
Dallas, Tex.	.07	.11	.07
El Paso, Tex.	1.28	.64	.29
Galveston, Tex.	.85	.91	.82
Houston, Tex.	.14	.28	.18
Port Arthur, Tex.	.72	.36	.32
San Antonio, Tex.	.38	.42	.29
Cape Charles, Va.	1.30	.00	.00
Newport News, Va.	.27	.49	.18
Norfolk, Va.	.14	.15	.09
Petersburg, Va.	.07	.07	.06
Portsmouth, Va.	.05	.05	.05
Richmond, Va.	.10	.29	.27
Roanoke, Va.	.41	.27	.24

[1]Since the Southern Regional Council in late 1949 published the data upon which these figures are based, the present writer decided to use the 1950 census material as the source for the Negro population data.

[2]The population base for the 1959 police information was also the 1950 census. Obviously the nation has grown substantially since 1950, and because no adjustment for the increase was made in column 2 of Table III, the ratios presented in this column are inflated.

[3]Column 3 attempts to make allowances for population increases since 1950 and relies upon Sales Management population estimates of January 1, 1959. (See the volume of May 10, 1959) The present writer estimated the Negro population at that time by taking the same percentage of nonwhites living in the selected Southern cities at the time of the 1950 census, and applying it to the Sales Management figures. This method has shortcomings and it may have produced Negro population data which are on the high side. If such is the case, the ratios in this column are deflated. Despite this, it seemed more desirable to present these estimates than to rely exclusively on out-of-date 1950 census material as a population base for 1959 Negro police statistics. Unfortunately, Sales Management published no information on 3 of the 57 Southern cities in Table III—Cocoa, Florida; Dania, Florida; and Ahoskie, North Carolina. All three of these cities had 1950 populations of less than 5,000.

Pat Watters

June 15, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear

I am writing from Jackson, Mississippi where plans are underway to engage in a most significant summer of work for human dignity and freedom in the state of Mississippi.

We urgently need your prayers and your support this summer. Especially do we need help in interpreting the Mississippi Freedom Summer program to the people of the state and the nation. We need financial aid and material aid. (See the list of items enclosed.) We also need to have food and clothing collection drives arranged in order that poor and needy people may live more securely in the struggle for freedom.

If you can help by sending aid in any form, and if there are Mississippians whom you know who could help with the program in any way please get in touch with me in care of COFO, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi. I am enclosing some material which describes the work in detail.

Thank you for all of your help. We hope you will be able to respond immediately.

Very truly yours,

Annell Ponder
(Miss) Annell Ponder
Field Supervisor, Mississippi

Sent 7-10-64
Case for Integration
Negro Ballot
Economic Status
MA

encl: Overview of Community Centers
Overview of Freedom Schools
What is COFO
Thompson's Army
Summer Program Brochure

P.S. Any suggestions on resources, human relationship and interracial cooperation in the south (historical and current) would be appreciated. Send them to me at Cofo, 1017 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss.

10/27/65

Due --

It has been a month almost to the day that I requested a copy of the piece you wrote in the springof '64 on Jacksonville.

Could you let me know if you have the piece or not? I certainly would appreciate it. Of course, knowing your habit of putting things off, I know it really isn't intentional to ignore me like this -- but I do feel neglected!

Would you get it for me -- like, right away?

Thank.

Love to Pat.

11/8/65

Pat -

Due's secretary called today + said this piece should be in the V.C.P. files -- he is almost certain he doesn't have it.

Note written 10/27/65 reminding Due of request.

September 28, 1965

Mr. John D. Due, Jr.
Florida Counsel
CORE Scholarship, Education,
and Defense Fund
540½ West Brevard Street
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Due:

Pat Watters has asked me to write you about a piece you wrote in the spring of 1964 on Jacksonville. He says we might want to use a little of it in New South. We don't have a copy of it here in the files, and I was hoping you could send us one. Could you do this for us at your earliest convenience?

How is Pat? I think of you both often, and hope you can get up here soon for a visit.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

JCS

DARTMOUTH CHRISTIAN UNION
COLLEGE HALL
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GEORGE KALBFLEISCH
Director, Undergraduate Religious Life

November 3, 1965

Sent 11/8/65

Pat Walters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Fostyse Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send two copies each of your report on SNCC and on the double standard of justice in the South (issue on Oct. 18) to the Dartmouth Christian Union. The bill for these reports should be sent to the above address also.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

James H. Bopp

James H. Bopp, President
DCU Cabinet of Officers

Sent 11/8/65 JS

Janet — Res

ML

November 24, 1965
2 Felder Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Pat:

I was pleased to see Eliza Heard "s piece in the NEW SOUTH, and as always it is much better after it is pruned. Sorry to have missed you at Chuck Morgan's house, we stayed over night as we never got through talking and I doubt if we ever would.

October Can you send me some extra copies of the NEW SOUTH with my article in it? I will pay for them if necessary but I do want about a dozen copies.

I plan to be over in Atlanta for the Pacem in Terris meeting and hope to see you then.

The comments I have gotten on the article here were mixed, very few people know I am Eliza Heard which I am glad of, but of the few who do know, they thought it was too depressing. I think Lowndes County is depressing and lots of the South is, but I am not despairing at all, I think we are better off in some ways than they are in the big Northern cities where the hate is so manifest toward the white people that even riding through the South side of Chicago, you feel scarred. We are just back from there where Cliff spoke to the University. It is as bad as Harlem I thought.

Please send copies and let me know about money for them if necessary. When will Maggie be back?

Hope to see you at Pacem in Terris meeting. Ping Ferry is an old friend and wonderful person and great speaker too.

Sincerely your friend,

Virginia Durr

Pat 11/29/65

Just release send

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December 10, 1965

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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We are in the process of preparing this years collection for microfilming and have found the following issues of your publication missing from our library:

November, 1964
May, 1965

It is most urgent that we receive these copies as soon as possible. We will be glad to remit.

Very truly yours,

Walter Schatz

WS:irb

Enclosed you will find self-addressed envelope to facilitate handling.

Sent 12/14/65

12/15/65

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Mrs. Helen Cox
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National School Public Relations Assn.
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December 23, 1965

Bernice Cook -
pls send carton

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ATTENTION: Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

Gentlemen:

Would you please forward one hundred twenty (120) copies of your publication, "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation," to The Rev. James R. Noland, 1212 Main Street, Houston, Texas 77002.

Your prompt and courteous attention will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Frankie M. Austin

Miss Frankie M. Austin
Secretary

sent - BCC

Rec'd 2/4/69

FROM

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON

Department of Political Science - Werner Grunbaum

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Sincerely yours,

Charlotte W. Squires

(Mrs.) Charlotte W. Squires
Editor, Vertical File Index

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Since this issue is not the one we requested, and since we have already received it, I am returning it. Please send us volume 20, numbers 1 and 2 (1965).

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Melissa H. Nassiff

SIGNED (Mrs.) Melissa H. Nassiff

Pink copy to U. of N.C.

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Mrs. Melissa H. Nassiff

DATE
April 7, 1966

Sorry for the mix-up. Enclosed are the copies of New South you previously requested. If we can be of further assistance, do not hesitate to let us know.

File: Requests for info

Janet C. Shortt

SIGNED (Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt

MEMO from HENRY SCHWARZSCHILD

4/1

Dear Pat:

Would you send 3 copies of your "Southern School Desegregation" report to me and 1 to

Mrs. Caryl Terry
8504 16th St.
Silver Spring, Maryland.

Thanks!

Henry 4/14/64

LAWYERS CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 • (212) YUKON 9-7530

150

Sa. 251

Second Request

(This blank should be returned to
YEARBOOK OF AMERICAN CHURCHES,
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027)

Below is the material covering your organization as printed in the last edition of the YEARBOOK. Will you please correct the information and return at once?

New information, if required, may be submitted.

Southern Regional Council: 5th Floor, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.; Pres., John H. Wheeler; Exec. Dir., Paul Anthony.
Periodical: New South (~~m~~).

quarterly

Rec'd 4/11/66

Sent 4/11/66

File Requests for Info

Date: April 11 1966.

Information furnished by: W. P. Watters Jr.,

Information Director
Official position

Address: 5 Forsyth Street ~~[illegible]~~ Atlanta Georgia
Street City State Zip Code

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
02139

frequently filled

April 27

Dear Pat -

I hate to keep writing you for favors - BUT -

: Robert Coles will speak to a class of mine in a couple of weeks. Could you send me copies of what you have put out of his? Do you have a further bibliography?

Some day I'll do something for you - -

Yours,
Jim Silver

CROSS REFERENCE

(dated May 7, 1966)
RE: Ltr/from Mr. J. Roy Valencourt, Salisbury, N. C., on request for publications and answer from Robert E. Anderson, Managing Editor, SRC Publications, dated May 20, 1966, and mention of NEW SOUTH Winter Issue.

SEE: New South Winter Issue Responses

Flint Public Library

A DIVISION OF THE FLINT BOARD OF EDUCATION

1026 East Kearsley Street • Flint 3, Michigan

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ASST. DIRECTOR

CEDAR 2-7111

May 12, 1966

Rec'd 5/16/66

Mr. Samuel Adams, Research Department
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Adams:

Your name has been given to us as a reference by Gretchen L. Robbillard who has applied for a position in this library. We shall be very appreciative if you can furnish the helpful information indicated on the attached form and return it in the enclosed stamped envelope. An extra form is enclosed for your files. Do not hesitate, if you prefer, to write a letter or descriptive paragraph concerning the applicant. (The reverse of the form may be used if desired.) You are assured that this information will be considered confidential and that we shall be grateful for your assistance.

Sincerely,

H. G. Johnston

H. G. Johnston
Assistant Director of Libraries
Personnel Office

HGJ/cs

Form filled out by SA + retd same date.

FLOYD T. CHRISTIAN
SUPERINTENDENT

STATE OF FLORIDA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
TALLAHASSEE
32304

May 16, 1966

Rec'd 5/17/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

Mr. Christian asmed me to rush you the material you asked for to use in the preparation of your speech.

I have two problems: First, we no longer have, and have not had for several years, ninth and twelfth grade test results by race. Second, the material about Ocala which you referred to, was not enclosed. My suggestion would be that you might want to write to Dr. McQuitty, at the University of Florida, who handles the 12th Grade Test, as he may have been doing some studies about which we have no knowledge.

In addition, if you will send me the material about Ocala, I will see if we can get up something for you.

The Superintendent asked me to send you a copy of his remarks at the "Education For All" Conference in Jacksonville as it might be of some interest to you.

If you think I can be of any help, please call me long distance and I'll get right on it.

Cordially,

Howard Jay Friedman

Howard Jay Friedman, Editor
Florida School Bulletin

HJF:jm

enc. Material. (Report) Conference on Education for The Disadvantaged
Roosevelt Hotel
By Floyd T. Christian, State Supt.
Jacksonville, Fla.
Given to Research Dept. 6/28/66

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28202
AREA CODE 704-376-6833

May 18, 1966

OK SA

Rec'd 5/19/66

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Cecil Butler, *President Youth Educational Services*
William Pollard, *Treasurer Youth Educational Services*

Mr. Samuel Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

We would like to send to each member of our Board of Directors, a copy of "The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South," a booklet published jointly by the Southern Regional Council and The American Jewish Committee.

Would you let us know the cost of sixty copies of this booklet? If there is not charge, you may ship them immediately.

Sent same date
Carbon

Sincerely,

Roberta E. Blackwell

Roberta E. Blackwell
Office Manager

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

the NEGRO WOMAN in VIRGINIA

In answer to requests The Times-Dispatch is now offering special reprints of the text of the timely and thought-provoking series on "The Negro Woman in Virginia."

Copies of this special series, written by T-D Staff Writer Louise Ellyson and which appeared earlier last winter in the T-D, are available for 10 cents each at the front counter of the lobby of the Richmond Newspapers, Inc., 333 East Grace st., or may be obtained for 10 cents each by using the coupon below:

Times-Dispatch
P. O. Box 1600
Richmond, Va., 23213

Please send me .... copy (copies) of the reprint, "The Negro Woman in Virginia" @ 10 cents a copy.

Send to: Name .....

Street .....

City or Town .....

State ..... Zip No. .....

Ordered 3/20/66
10¢ in stamps sent.
Order rec'd 6/10/66

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 6/16/66

Please send single copies of all our SRC material, including a copy of the spring issue of NS, to:

Mr. Scott B. Smith
Tuskegee Institute
Community Education Program
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Label attached.

(by telephone request 6/16/66 -- PW says not to charge for materials.)

Finished
6-16-66
D.R.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

Send copy of housing paper to:

Mr. Bruce Herrin, dept. of psychatry
Grady Hospital,

Box 26002
80 Butler St. S.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Sent 6/21/66

Miss Peggy Barter
Atlanta Committe For
International Visitors
Biltmore Hotel
817 W. Peachtree
Send
1 copy New South

Sent 7/7/66

July 22, 1966

Miss Nola Fafro
National Educational TV
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Dear Miss Fafro:

Talk to someone at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), about the harassment pictures you want.

Enclosed is the updated list of civil rights related deaths from January 1966 to the present. Since our documentation comes from press clippings, we do not claim this list is complete. There could be others.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosure - 1.

July 29, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JSHORTT

Please mail 20 copies of "A City Slum: Poor People and Problems," to:

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta Street, 4th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Thanks.

Label attached.

jcs

Information requested: Address for Economic Research and Action Project, formally of 100 E. Washington St., Ann Arbor, Mich.; 2 case records: "Life on ADC: Budgets of Despair" by Charles Lebeaux; "Chester, Pa: A Case Study in Community Organization" by Danny Pope, et al.

July 29, 1966

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
National Urban League
78 Marietta Street, Suite 418
Rhodes Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

I asked Al Ulmer this morning about the Economic Research and Action Project and the two case records by Lebeaux and Pope. Al tells me your correspondence was returned because the project has closed down, but the case records can be obtained through the Students for a Democratic Society, 1103 East 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

The 20 copies of, "A City Slum: Poor People and Problems," is being mailed to you today under separate cover. The cost of these will be $4.00, bulk rate.

I hope this information will be of some help to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

9/8/66

Mr. Powledge:

In the summer issue just off the press, we have featured in NEW SOUTH some questions and answers from a tape recording discussion held at Spelman College recently. I am assuming this is the "Carmichael-SNCC thing on Black Power" you refer to, although we did do a tape on the "Meet the Press" interview that featured Carmichael, also.

Mr. Watters is working at home again on the voter book; he will answer you personally when he returns to the office.

If I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

175 Congress Street, Brooklyn, New York, 11201

Pat:

Rec'd 9/8/66

If you've finished that transcript of the Carmichael-SNCC thing on Black Power & have an extra copy, could I get it? I promised the nice lady some compensation for her extra time involved in making a copy, and will abide by that promise. Yrs &ct,

Fred Fred

P.S.: The book publisher is exerting tremenjous pressures; mumbling about having the book in his office at end September.
& we may be buying a house!

9/29/66

Mr. McWilliams:

Mr. Watters has asked me to forward to you the enclosed editorial which appeared in today's Atlanta Constitution.

Sincerely,

Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

(on [illegible])

Janet: Send the enclosed to:

Miss Eleanor Clift
NEWSWEEK
919 Huie Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

~~Dear Miss Clift~~

BA

AN ONTOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE DYNAMICS OF BLACK ANGER IN THE UNITED STATES

By F. C. Campbell

Sent -- 10-6-66 js

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12224

S. GILBERT PRENTISS
STATE LIBRARIAN AND
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER
FOR LIBRARIES

GIFT AND EXCHANGE SECTION
PETER J. PAULSON, HEAD OF SECTION

September 28, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The New York State Library has the responsibility of providing materials for the use of members of the Legislature and for all State officials. Its extensive interlibrary loan facilities serve readers and local libraries throughout the State. For the maintenance and continued development of such services we depend on the generosity of authors, publishers, institutional and individual donors. Your help here will be most gratefully appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Peter J. Paulson

PETER J. PAULSON, *Head*
Gift and Exchange Section

1. ☐ Please place our name on your complimentary or exchange mailing list. Address:
   New York State Library
   Gift and Exchange Section 2
   Albany, New York 12224
2. ☐ May we have a list of your publications?
3. ☑ Please send complimentary or exchange copy, using the enclosed mailing label.
4. ☐ If not available on a complimentary or exchange basis, please send with your bill.
5. ☐

Seen 9/30/66

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY - GIFT AND EXCHANGE SECTION

AUTHOR Southern Regional Council.

TITLE The price we pay.

PLACE Atlanta, Ga. PUBLISHER

DATE 1964 EDITION V. OR P. 44p

☐ L If there is a charge for the above, please advise in advance
PLEASE USE ATTACHED MAILING LABEL

r convenience.

September 1, 1959

Mr. Paul Williams
220 West Minnesota
Brookhaven, Miss.

Dear Mr. Williams:

We are sending you a copy of our Report L-6, which concerns the report on Washington schools by the sub-committee chaired by James C. Davis. We hope this is the report you were told about and the one you have in mind.

We are also sending you a copy of a pamphlet, The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools.

If you would like additional information along this line, you may wish to order Miracle of Social Adjustment, by Carl F. Hansen. The address is noted under "references" on page 5 of the L-6 Report.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

September 1, 1959

Mr. Alfonso Morriconi
R.D. 1
Telford, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Marriconi:

We are happy to send you the Report L-8, "Race and Intelligence" which you requested, and appreciate your telling us that mention of it appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on August 21st. There is no charge for this report.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

September 25, 1959

Mr. J. Irving E. Scott
Director of Education in Negro Schools
The Board of Public Instruction
of Duval County
P. O. Box 4756
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Scott:

We are pleased to mail you today the requested 100 copies of Report L-8, "Race and Intelligence".

On the chance that you may not have seen them, we are taking the liberty of enclosing Reports L-6 and L-10.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Enc: L-6, L-10
Mailed separately:
100 copies L-8

October 6, 1959

Professor Sankey C. Chao
Florida Norman and Industrial
Memorial College
St. Augustine, Florida

Dear Professor Sankey:

We are mailing you today, separately, the requested 30 copies of Report No. L-8, "Race and Intelligence" for distribution to the members of the faculty of your college.

The statement, as issued, also included the signature of Professor Isidor Chein, New York University. We regret that through error his name was omitted.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Madison St. Elementary School
1007 W. Madison Street
Ocala, Florida

Dear Sir:

Please send 25 copies of "Race and Intelligence" for the teachers' use here at our school.

Yours truly,

L. F. Bryant

(Mrs.) L. F. Bryant,
Principal

Sent
10-16-59
JMGa

October 19, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee
to Open Our Schools
P. O. Box 3244
Forest Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

We are sending you five copies of the Report L-11, which we did from your Little Rock Report. We hope you approve of it. If you would like more copies, we will be pleased to send them to you.

The L reports are mailed out to businessmen, school officials, chambers of commerce etc. on a selected mailing list. The response to these reports has been good.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
5 - L-11

October 20, 1959

Mr. L. Francis Griffin, President
Prince Edward County Christian Asso'n
309 Franklin Street
Farmville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Griffin:

We are pleased to mail you, separately, 25 copies of "Race and Intelligence" and "If the Schools Are Closed", our L reports 8 and 8-A, as you requested.

Because of your interest in schools, we are taking the liberty of enclosing, with the above, one copy each of our L-9, L-10 and L-11 reports, and a copy of the the Green-Gauerke pamphlet from which L-8A was condensed. If you would like any of these, the L Reports are without cost; the pamphlet is without cost for one copy, and is 25 cents each for additional copies.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Race & Intelligence
Literature

Mailed separately
25 - L-8
25 - L-8A
1 - L-9
1 - L-10
1 - L-11
1 - If the Schools Are Closed

October 26, 1959

Miss Marjorie Bailey
Education Associate
International Association of Machinists
1300 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Bailey:

We are pleased to learn that you think well of our Leadership Reports, and will send you a complete set to date, with the requested three extra copies of L-8 on "Race and Intelligence."

As you suggested, we are adding to our mailing list Mr. William Clitheroe, of Atlanta, and Mr. Young, of Maryland.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
1 set of Leadership Reports, L-1 through L-11
3 copies of L-8

October 26, 1959

Mr. R. L. Lacy
Division Superintendent
Halifax County Public Schools
Halifax, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lacy:

We are pleased to send you copies of our Leadership Reports one through five and report No. L-7.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
L Reports 1-5, and 7

Original & green
MF

October 30, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Women's Emergency Committee
to Open Our Schools
Box 3244
Forest Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

We are forwarding ten copies of L-11 and would be glad to supply you with more as requested, even if it should require a second run.

It is no nuisance to speak to John Constable and Paul Rilling - they are practically at my elbows. Glad to have something useful to say to them.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
10 - L-11

MA

(I don't think covering letter are needed for this part of request)

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

of New York, Inc.
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

November 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us two copies of the text on Voluntary Racial Integration Exceeding the Court Compelled School Integration.

Sincerely yours,

Ivis Calvet

Ivis Calvet
Administration Secretary

IC:a

Sent 11-30-59
mga

MA

PAULA K. LAZRUS MEMORIAL LIBRARY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

43 WEST 57 ST., N. Y. 19 MU 8-7530

March 17, 1960

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive the two publications, "Racial Differences in Academic Achievement" and "Desegregation and Academic Achievement", released by the Southern Regional Council.

Please notify us if there is a charge. Thank you.

3-21-60

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Elizabeth D. Norris

(Mrs.) Elizabeth D. Norris
Librarian

MA

J. S. WEBSTER, Jr.
401 Grand Ave.
Brooklyn 38, N.Y.

June 1, 1960

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Would you kindly forward reports L-16 and L-17 which deal with desegregation and academic achievement.

Thank you kindly

J S Webster

6-8-60

Also sent MA 5-8 5-13

December 27, 1960

Mr. James M. Wood Jr.
Rt. 2, Box 364A
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Wood:

We are mailing you today the ten copies of Report L-16, "Racial Differences in Academic Achievement." There is no charge; we are please that you find them of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Mailed separately:
10 copies L-16

January 3, 1961

Mr. Glenn E. Snow
Assistant Executive Secretary
The Nat'l Education Assn. of the U.S.
1201 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Snow:

At the request of Mr. Daniel W. Bowers of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, we are adding your name to our mailing list for L-Reports. Underseparate cover we are sending you several earlier items which you may find of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Mailed separately:
L-Reports 5, 6, 7, 8 out, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22
Background Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61
School Desegregation: the first six years
Georgia's Divided Education
If the Schools Are Closed

mailed 1-9-61

January ~~December~~ 5, 1961

Mr. Ivan R. Levin
Anti-Defamation League
Illinois-Missouri Region
721 Olive Street, Room 1525
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Mr. Levin:

We are pleased to send you, under separate cover, the requested five copies of our L-22, the Fowler Commission Report, and one copy of the "outline of approaches."

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

January 9, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are pleased to send you the requested 10 copies of our Report L-21.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 9, 1961

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
512 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

We are very glad to know that you are thinking of reprinting the list of colleges from Report L-23. There are, as you apparently suspected, a few corrections. We had already learned about the Presbyterian School of Christian Education. In addition, another Presbyterian school, Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, should be included. And, of course, the University of Miami.

We sent the report to every school listed with the view that any school "falsely" listed could write and inform us to the contrary. As it happens, we have got two such corrections directly from the colleges and so you should delete Barry College in Miami, Florida and Midway Junior College in Kentucky; the latter also pointed out that it is church-connected (Disciples of Christ).

If we get any more corrections before you publish, I shall sent them on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dubbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 10, 1961

Sister Mary Alice, O. P.
Executive Vice President
Barry College
Miami, Florida

Dear Sister Mary Alice:

Thank you for your letter of February 2. We are deleting the name of Barry College from any subsequent mailings of our list of desegregated institutions. Our source, incidentally, for inclusion of it was the Statistical Summary in Southern School News, October 15, 1958, which noted that the college "reportedly" had dropped racial qualifications.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Reed Sarratt
Southern School News

February 10, 1961

Mr. David L. Cleveland
Director of Public Relations
Midway Junior College
Midway, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Cleveland:

Thank you for your letter of February 3. We are deleting the Midway Junior College from all subsequent mailings of our listing on desegregated institutions.

In designating your school as a "private" institution, we were following the information in the Education Directory, 1960-61, and earlier issues.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Reed Sarratt
Southern School News

February 13, 1961

Miss Ivis Calvet
Managing Editor
Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Miss Calvet:

You have our permission to reprint in full or in part our Report L-23, "Desegregation in Higher Education." On the enclosed copy you will note several changes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 13, 1961

Dr. LeRoy A. Martin
President
University of Chattanooga
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Martin:

We are pleased to send you the requested six copies of our Report L-23. You will note that there are a few changes.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 13, 1961

Dr. Raymond C. Rankin
President
Tusculum College
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Rankin:

I am a bit puzzled by your letter of February 9 calling to our attention that Tusculum had been omitted from our list of institutions without racial qualifications for admission. If you will look again at page four I think you will see that Tusculum was listed.

There are, as a matter of fact, a couple of changes on the list and for your possible interest I am enclosing a corrected copy.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure

February 15, 1961

Dr. Paul H. Morrill
President
Park College
Parkville, Missouri

Dear Dr. Morrill:

Thank you for informing us that Park College has a non-racial admissions policy. We are pleased to know about this, and will add Park College to our current list.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 15, 1961

The Rev. Caxton Doggett
Winter Park Methodist Church
P. O. Box 825
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Mr. Doggett:

We are mailing you today the requested 50 copies of our Report L-22, a reprint of the report of the Fowler Commission on Race Relations. We wish you every success in your efforts to set up such a committee in your area. Incidentally, you may find the enclosed "Recommended Approach" (also from the Fowler Commission) helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

March 29, 1961

Mr. Thomas J. Van Loon
Director of Staff Services
The General Board of Education
of the Methodist Church
P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Van Loon:

I am sorry to inform you that our Report No. L-18 has been exhausted and we do not plan to reproduce it. I am enclosing a current list of our materials, and this includes L-Reports which are still available in quantity. We do not maintain a mailing list by subscription; however, we could put your name on our list to receive the L-Reports as issued (usually once or twice each month) and by subscribing to our monthly magazine, New South, you would be kept informed of other publications as they are released.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure:
Publications list

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS SRC RECEIVES REGULARLY BY SUBSCRIPTION
as of July 18, 1961

NEWSPAPERS

Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Journal
Chattanooga Times
New York Times
Washington Post & Times-Herald
New Orleans Times-Picayune
Norfolk Journal & Guide
Richmond News-Leader
Charlotte Observer
Christian Science Monitor (exchange, New South)

Discontinued:

Houston Post
Arkansas Gazette
Atlanta World

Weekly: Atlanta Inquirer
Augusta Courier
Citizens Council also National Guardian
Monthly: Carolina Israelite
Petal Paper
Southern Patriot
Southern School News

~~Community~~

MAGAZINES

Time
U. S. News & World Report
Interracial Review
Nation
New Leader
New Republic
Presbyterian Outlook (exchange)
Progressive
Crisis
Christian Century

Community

NEWSLETTERS

NAACP Newsletter (also one by youth department, I think; I requested to be on mailing list)
Southern Newsletter
Human Relations Commissions newsletters (3 or 4 now)

JOURNALS

Journal of Negro Education
Phylon
Race Relations Law Reporter

(In addition, MA takes and checks for items of interest:
New Yorker
Saturday Review
Ebony
Look
Readers Digest

July 26, 1961

Research staff (CC: LWD) JAM

Work plan; allocation of responsibilities

I think this is, in substance, a summary of our conversations this morning. It was our feeling that all of the research requests that come to the Council should be channelled through Montez, who will, in turn, allocate the responsibilities to members of the research group. In terms of specifics:

1) Montez is the administrative right arm of the research staff, handling all of the request that come to us and keeping some kind of check on both the channels (telephone call, office visit, mail request) of the requests and will continue, as in the past, to answer letters requesting research information, in addition to seriving as a liaison person between the research group and the staff members of SRC.

2) Meg is primarily responsible for the fact-finding and report-writing of small research requests that come to us (e.g., the request for information on meter readers and bus drivers in the South). She will also assume the responsibility for sharing with me the reading of manuscripts and their editing in preparation for publication as Council documents.

Meg indicates that she will provide through minutes continuity between the staff meetings held by the group and will in conference with Elizabeth schedule the explorations within the research organization. Meg will keep Montez informed of these schedules.

3) Temporarily, Elizabeth will be the person whom we expect to know the location of the files in the research office--this responsibility to be, as soon as possible, jointly shared by all members of the research group. Elizabeth has agreed to prepare for us a descriptive manual outlining all the kinds of material we have on file and where they are located.

4) The research assistants as a group (Jeff and Judy for a time yet, Dotty, Jane, and Elizabeth) will, on a staggared basis, share the responsibility for the reading and the clipping of newspapers and periodicals. In addition the following basic topics will be covered individually by these staff members:

Elizabeth	Dottie
Civil Liberties	Sit-ins
Civil Rights	Public Accomodations
Law & law enforcement	Medical care, Health, & Welfare
Suffrage	Housing
Freedom Rides	Economy
International relations	Politics

Jeff & Judy (to be assigned to Jane in mid-August) Jeff and Judy will instruct her in the routine

Jeff: Employment
Labor
Violence & Intimidation and Resistance Groups

Judy: Education
Religion
Intergroup Relations

In this way, when any request is made for research information, Montez could very quickly call to the research staff member into whose category it falls and ask him (or her) to handle the fact-finding for this request.

I urge upon you to use the next six weeks as an observation and experimentation period pointing up the rough spots ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxx~~ in these arrangements where they occur so that we may have the basis for some discussion upon my return. I ask you also to be of as much assistance as you can to Dr. Parrish in the employment study in order that we may complete that as close to the target date as possible.

READING SCHEDULES FOR ALL SRC PUBLICATIONS
AUGUST 23, 1961

Research Staff

Meg Boozer also: Southern Newsletter	Atlanta Constitution Washington Post Carolina Israelite Southern Newsletter Citizens Council Petal Paper Southern School News (1) Crisis Phylon Race Relations Law Reporter
Montez Albright also: NAACP Newsletter	Atlanta Journal Chattanooga Times Interracial Review Christian Century Community Journal of Negro Education
Jane Bond also: Human Relations Commission newsletters SCLC newsletter	Christian Science Monitor Black Dispatch National Guardian Sun Reporter
Dottie Miller	Dallas News Richmond News Leader Nation New Leader New Republic Progressive Ebony Urbanite (later, JM)
Elizabeth Waters also: Labor publications	Atlanta Inquirer U. S. News & World Report

Other SRC staff, reading for research:

Leslie Dunbar	New York Times Augusta Courier Southern Patriot Current
Paul Anthony	Newsweek Wall Street Journal
William Filmore	Charlotte Observer Norfolk Journal & Guide
Janet Feagans	Congressional Record

Margaret Long	Time
Marge Manderson	New Orleans Times-Picayune

ALSO, READING AT HOME PERSONAL COPIES, BUT MARKING FOR RESEARCH FILES:

Margaret Boozer	Life and Readers Digest
Montez Albright	Look, New Yorker, Saturday Review
Leslie Dunbar	New Yorker
Mrs. Tilly	reads several things and calls our attention to anything of interest

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DISTRIBUTION OF NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES
INFORMATION FOR RECEPTIONIST AND INFORMATION SECRETARY

DAILY:	Atlanta Constitution	Meg Boozer
	Atlanta Journal	Montez Albright
	Chattanooga Times	Montez Albright
	Charlotte Observer	William Filmore
	Christian Science Monitor	Jane Bond (MPB temp)
	Dallas News	Dottie Miller
	New York Times	Leslie Dunbar
	Richmond News-Leader	Dottie Miller
	Wall Street Journal	Paul Anthony
	Washington Post	Meg Boozer
WEEKLY:	Atlanta Inquirer	Elizabeth Waters
	Augusta Courier	Leslie Dunbar to MPB
	Carolina Israelite	Meg Boozer
	Black Dispatch	Jane Bond
	Norfolk Journal & Guide	William Filmore
	Citizens Council, Petal Paper, Southern Newsletter	Meg Boozer
	National Guardian	Jane Bond
	Sun Reporter	Jane Bond
	Southern Patriot	LWD & MPB
MONTHLY:	Southern School News (5 copies) one each to: Les Dunbar, Paul Rilling, Mrs. Tilly, Margaret Long (to research later), Meg Boozer	
MAGAZINES:	Time	Margaret Long
	Newsweek	Paul Anthony
	U. S. News & World Report	Elizabeth Waters
	Congressional Record	Janet Feagans
	Current (2) (second copy, Montez Albright to JM)	Leslie Dunbar
	Nation	
	New Leader	
	New Republic	
	Progressive	
	Ebony	
	Urbanite	Dottie Miller
	Interracial Review	
	Christian Century	
	Community	Montez Albright
	Crisis	Meg Boozer
JOURNALS:	Journal of Negro Education	Montez Albright
	Phylon	Meg Boozer
	Race Relations Law Reporter	" "

NEWSLETTERS:

NAACP NEWSLETTER	Montez Albright
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Human Relations Commissions Newsletters (3 or 4, monthly)	Jane Bond
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Jane Bond
Labor publications	Elizabeth Waters

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The Blessings of Liberty, J.B. Ippincott Co., Philadelphia & N.Y., 1954

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2

3

MATERIALS FILE

Drawer I

A

1. Africa
2. Achievements (2 folders)
3. Agriculture (7 folders)
4. Annual Summaries 1949
5. Anti - Discriminatory Laws
6. Anti - Negro Literature 1944-45
7. Anti - Semitism (2 folders)
8. Armed Forces
9. Atlanta, City of (2 folders)
10. Audio - Visual Aids (3 folders)

B

11. Bibliographies (2 folders)
12. Birth Control 1944-45
13. Book Notices 1958-61
14. Business (3 folders)

C

15. California Council For Civic Unity
16. Capital Punishment
17. Catholic Church
18. Catholic Committee of The South Newsletter
19. Censorship
20. Child Labor 1944-45
21. Children and Youth in General
22. Church and Race Relations (4 folders)

Drawer II

C

1. Church and Race Relations (9) folders.
2. Church and Social Action
3. Church and State
4. Civil Liberties (5 folders)
5. Civil Rights (7 folders)
6. Civil Rights Commission (2 folders)
7. Civil Rights Legislation (2 folders)

Drawer III

C

1. Civil Rights Legislation (5 folders)
2. Communism
3. Community Planning (4 folders)
4. Community Surveys (4 folders)

MATERIALS FILE

Drawer III (continued)

C

5. Conferences and Institutes (3 folders)
6. Congress On Racial Equality
7. Conscription 1944-45
8. Correspondence, Current Self-Survey
9. Court Decisions Crime
10. Crime

D.

11. Democracy
12. Desegregation (3 folders)
13. Directories
14. Documents on Human Rights In Alabama (2 folders)
15. Economic Outlook (2 folders)
16. Economy (8 folders)

Drawer IV.

1. Economy (1)folder
2. Education (8 folders)
3. Education, Anti - Segregation Suits
4. Education, Atlanta School Suit
5. Education, Desegregation (8 folders)
6. Education, Federal Aid
7. Education, Save Our Schools New Orleans.

Drawer V.

1. Education, School Desegregation (2 folders)
2. Education, Teacher Tenure Laws
3. Education, School Districts
4. Education, Teacher Desegregation
5. Education, Vocational
6. Employment (6 folders)

F.

7. Federal Re-Employment
8. FEPC (6 folders)
9. Foundations (2 folders)
10. Genocide
11. Georgia Data
12. Georgia Journal
13. Government, State (5 folders)
14. Government, Municipal (6 folders)
15. Government, General (3 folders)
16. Governor's Speeches To The Legislature 1955
17. Health (8 folders)
18. Highlander Folk School

MATERIALS FILE

Drawer V. Continued:
H

19. Homicides 1946
20. HOPE (Help Our Public Education, Atlanta)
21. Hospitals (2 folders)
22. Housing (2 folders)

Drawer VI.

1. Housing (12 folders)
2. Human Relations Agencies (3 folders)
3. Human Relations Education
4. Human Rights
5. Illiteracy 1944-45
6. Immigration (2 folders)
7. Income
8. Indian Affairs Bulletin 1958
9. Industry
10. Intercultural Education (2 folders)
11. Intergroup Organizations (7 folders)
12. Intergroupa Organizations Publications (6 folders)
13. Intergroup Organizations, Women's Emergency Committee 1960
14. International Organizations (2 folders)
15. International Relations (2 folders)
16. Interracial Marriage 1955- 1957.
17. Jury Service
18. Juvenile Delinquency

Drawer VII.

K

1. Koinonia (3 folders)
2. Labor (10 folders)
3. Latin America
4. Law Enforcement (2 folders)
5. Leadership Project 1959
6. Legal Status of the Negro
7. Legislative Reapportionment (2 folders)
8. Libraries
9. Library Service To Negroes in The South (2 folders)
10. Lists (2 folders)
11. Loyalty Investigation
12. Lynching - Leo Frank Case
13. Lynchings
14. Maps (2 folders)
15. Ministerial Association
16. Minority Groups (American)
17. Mobilization
18. NAIRO (4 folders)
19. NAACP (4 folders)
20. National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
21. National Urban League
22. Negro in America

MATERIALS FILE

Drawer VII. continued.

N .

23. Negro Art and Music
24. Negro Firefighters
25. Negro Representation On Public Bodies Roundup
26. Organizations and Movements (2 folders)
27. Panel of Americans
28. Peonage (2 folders)
29. Peace Planning
30. Photographs (2 folders)

Drawer VIII.

P.

1. Police Brutality
2. Police Training
3. Politics (3 folders)
4. Polls 1944-45
5. Poll Tax 1944-45
6. Population (3 folders)
7. Prejudice (2 folders)
8. President's Committee On Government Contracts (3 folders)
9. President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations 1960
10. Press
11. Professional Associations and Clubs (2 folders)
12 Public Accomodations (3 folders)
13. Public Relations Techniques
14. Race, UNESCO Series
15. Race Relations Institute -- Fisk
16. Race and Racial Differences (3 folders)
17. Race and Race Relations (5 folders)
18. Race Riots and Violence (2 folders)
19. Recreation (2 folders)
20. Regional Planning
21. Resistance Groups (8 folders)

Drawer IX.

R.

1. Resistance Groups (Informational Material)
2. Resistance Groups Publications (2 folders)
3. The Rural Church
4. Rural Life 1944-45

MATERIALS FILE

Drawer IX. continued.

S.

5. Segregation
6. Segregation Legislation (3 folders)
7. Segregation In Recreation
8. Social Quesions Bulletin (Methodist)
9. Social Research
10. Social Security
11. The South, General (2 folders)
12. The Southern Frontier January 1942.
13. Southern History 1958
14. Southern Regional Council (1956 -- 1957)
15. Southern Sociological Society
16. State, Bill of Rights
17. State Constitutions
18. State Governments and Administration (2 folders)
19. Georgia States's Rights Council
20. Suffrage (7 folders)
21. Supreme Court Decisions
22. Transportation (3 folders)
23. UNESCO
24. United Nations (3 folders)
25. United States Armed Forces (3 folders)
26. Venereal Desease
27. Violence (2 folders)
28. Virginia Committee for Public Schools
29. Vocational Guidance
30. Welfare
31. World Affairs
32. World Trade

News papers Kept ~~in Tack~~ intact - 1961 list

4

1. Atlanta Inquirer
2. Augusta Courier
3. The Carolina Israelite
4. The Citizen Council
5. Community
6. Core - Lator
7. Courier Correspondence
8. From The State Capitals
9. The Georgia Journal
10. Georgia Voter -
11. Interracial News Service
12. Interracial Review
13. Joint Newsletter on Desegregation.
~~14. Montgomery Improvement Association~~
14. NAACP Newsletter
15. The Petal Paper
16 Southern News letter
17. Southern Patriot
18. Student Voice
19. Trends in Housing
~~in Virginia~~
20. Urban Studies Report

(MA—This refers to No VI # @)

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS - 1961 — by Subject of folders

5

1. Achievement
2. Agriculture
3. Armed Forces
4. Book Reviews
5. Civil Liberties
6. Civil Rights, General
7. Civil Rights Commission
8. Civil Rights Legislation
9. Crime & Delinquency
10. Desegregation
11. Economic Pressure
12. Economy, General
13. Economy, Southern
14. Education, Federal Aid
15. Education, General
16. Education, Southern
17. Education, Higher
18. Education, Alabama
19. Education, Arkansas
20. Education, Delaware
21. Education, District of Columbia
22. Education, Florida
23. Education, Georgia
24. Education, Kentucky
25. Education, Louisiana
26. Education, Maryland
27. Education, Mississippi
28. Education, North Carolina
29. Education, Oklahoma
30. Education, South Carolina
31. Education, Tennessee
32. Education, Texas
33. Education, Virginia
34. Education, West Virginia
35. Elections and Appointments
36. Employment
37. Foundations, General
38. Government, General — Freedom Rides
39. Housing
40. Intergroup Organizations, Misc.
41. Intergroup Organizations, NAACP
42. Intergroup Organizations, Official Race Relations Committees
43. International Relations
44. Jury
45. Labor
46. Law Enforcement
47. Legislative Investigating Comm.
48. Medical Care & Welfare (Health)
49. Opinion
50. New York Times Libel Suit
51. Politics, General
52. Politics, Southern
53. Politics, Alabama
54. Politics, Arkansas
55. Politics, Florida
56. Politics, Georgia
57. Politics, Kentucky
58. Politics, Louisiana
59. Politics, Mississippi
60. Politics, North Carolina
61. Politics, South Carolina
62. Politics, Tennessee
63. Politics, Texas
64. Politics, Virginia
65. Press, Radio, T.V., & Movies
66. Professional Fraternal Groups & Clubs
67. Public Accommodations & Public Facilities
68. Race & Race Relations
69. Recreation
70. Religion'
71. Resistance Groups, Misc.
72. Resistance Groups, KKK
73. Resistance Groups, Leaders
74. Resistance Groups, White Citizens Council
75. Segregation & Prejudice
76. Sit-ins
77. Sports
78. Suffrage, General
79. Suffrage, Alabama
80. Suffrage, Arkansas
81. Suffrage, Florida
82. Suffrage, Georgia
83. Suffrage, Kentucky
84. Suffrage, Louisiana
85. Suffrage, Mississippi
86. Suffrage, North Carolina
87. Suffrage, South Carolina
88. Suffrage, Tennessee
89. Suffrage, Texas
90. Suffrage, Virginia
91. Transportation
92. Violence & Intimidation, General
93. Violence & Intimidation, Southern
94. Violence & Intimidation, Georgia

Temporary:
Education, University of Georgia
Civil War Centennial

List of Newspapers
which we clip

6

List of Journals + Reviews

1. Civil Rights Commission Reports
2. Crisis
3. Journal of Negro Education
4. Phylom
5. Race Relations Law Reporter
6. Journal of Public Law
7. The American Political Science Review
8. Journal of Intergroup Relations
9. Congressional Record

7

(S)

PAMPHLET FILE

CATEGORIES	RACKS
Achievement and Armed Forces	1
Agriculture	2
	2A
Bibliographies	3
	4
Civil Liberties	5
	5A
Civil Rights	6
	6A
	7
Community Action	8
	8A
	9
Desegregation	9A
Economy	10
	11
	11A
Education	12
	12
	12A
	13
	13A
	13A
	14
	15
	15A
	15A
	16
	17
	18
	19
	20
	21
	22
Employment	22A
	23
	24
Government	25
	25A
	26
Foundations	26
Health	27
	27A
	28
	28A
Housing	29
	29A
	30

PAMPHLET FILE

CATEGORIES	RACKS
International Relations	31
	32
	33
Intergroup Organizations	34
	34
	34A
Labor	35
	35A
Politics	36
Population	36
Press	36
Prejudice	38
Race and Race Differences	39
Race Relations	40
	41
	42
	43
Recreation	44
Religion	46
	46A
	46B
Suffrage	48
	48A
Transportation	49
Violence	50
Welfare	51
Law Enforcement	52
Law Enforcement	53
	53A
	53B
Resistance Groups	54
Health,(Special Florida Data)	55
Pamphlets in Quantity	56-64

1

Basic Topics Into Which most Material Received Will Fall

~~Civil Liberties~~ - E

~~Civil Rights~~ - E

~~Economy~~ gone

gone ~~Education~~

gone ~~Employment~~

~~Housing~~

gone ~~Intergroup Relations organizations~~

gone ~~International Relations~~

gone ~~Labor~~

E ~~Law + Law Enforcement~~

~~Medical care, Health, + welfare~~

~~Politics~~ gone

D ~~Public Accommodations~~

Religion

~~Resistance~~

D - ~~Sit-ins~~ Apathy

E ~~Suffrage~~

D ~~Violence + Intimidation~~

Freedom Rides - Elj

Order:

Industrial Union Dept.,
AFL-CIO, Publication #36
(pay copies free) Sent City
"Honey The Bronx"

RESEARCH FILES

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

For the purpose of organization, the materials which are received in the research department have been categorized into 6 basic types:

1) Books
2) Magazines
3) Materials (incl. manuscripts & newsletters)
4) Newspapers
5) Newsclips
6) Pamphlets

These respective types (as is needed) are then divided into general topics: e.g., voting, education, etc. After this is done the general topics are sub-divided into particular subjects, as "voting, Georgia," "education, Georgia," etc.

II. BOOKS

A. Types of books:

The research department has on file most of the significant books which deal with race and race relations in this country. There is, however, a wider selection of books dealing with the South, and the Negro in the South.

B. Where to find books: Shelves I through III

C. A card catalog, with books filed alphabetically according to authors, is kept in small metal file on top of larger file cabinets.

D. Bibliography: for a list of books we now have, see pp.___

III. MAGAZINES

We now subscribe to (or exchange with) the following magazines: and periodicals:

(list)

IV. MATERIALS

A. Types

Our materials' files include: mimeographed manuscripts, special reports, newsletters, memorandums, news releases, etc.

B. Files

Materials can be found in files I - II.

For a list of subjects under which materials are filed in folders, see pp. ____

V. NEWSPAPERS

There are several newspapers which concern themselves wholly with race relations. Because we need most of the information contained therein, we keep them intact, filed chronologically by date.

1959 - 1961

~~These newspapers are filed in~~ File X, Drawer B ~~-- 1959, 1960,~~ 1961

1954 - 1958 File VIII, Drawer C

For a list of the intact newspapers, see pp. _____

VI. NEWS CLIPS

News clips begin with the year 1954

See pp. ____ for list of categories under which they are ~~fixed~~ filed.

See pp. ____ for list of basic topics under which clips can be classified.

See pp. ____ for list of newspapers which we clip.

VII. PAMPHLETS

A. File plan

Most of our pamphlets are kept in metal racks on shelves IV, V, and VI. (topics listed on each file)

We also ~~hsbr-domr-psmphlryd-chivh-str-brty-hrnrtsl~~ have some pamphlets which are very general and do not fall under any particular subject heading; therefore, these are kept out of racks and on Shelf VII, Rows A - B.

We take several Journals and Reviews. These can be found on Shelf VII, Rows C, D, E.

B. ~~There~~ Card Catalogue

There ~~is a~~ are two card catalogs for pamphlets which are kept in the racks: 1) lists pamphlets according to subject; 2) lists pamphlets in alphabetical order according to authors. There cards are fererred to as subject cards and author cards respectively.

C. For a list of pamphlet files by subject and number, see pp —.

C. List of Journals

For a list of ~~pn~~ Journals and Reviews, see pp._____

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

June 20, 1963

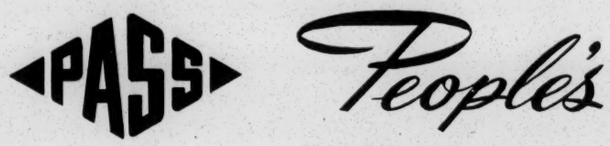
This was mailed out to Atlanta businesses about 10 days ago; this is the copy that came to Muse's.

Obey Brewer was a little alarmed at the boycott threat, but Ed pointed out to him that Maddox is doing business the way he prefers, but is not willing to allow other business men the same privilege. So then he got very angry at Maddox.

SB ✓
PA ✓
VJ ✓
ML ✓
WB ✓
BP

JT -
I'd file it
Res. Groups - misc
wouldn't you
think so?

Resist. Imp. Leaders



...ASSOCIATION FOR SELECTIVE SHOPPING

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

P. O. BOX 1212 - ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

PURPOSE: *To fight for the restoration and preservation of Constitutional Government and to protect the jobs and security of White Americans.*

PLEDGE: *With tens of thousands of White Americans losing their jobs, homes, schools, churches—other properties and their rights and freedom because of attacks from Communist inspired, lawless racial agitators that foster racial integration and amalgamation, the members and supporters of PASS are pledged to "Pass By" the services and products of merchants, manufacturers and industries that place Negro employees on jobs formerly held by White Citizens.*

June, 1963

SPECIAL ATLANTA

TO ATLANTA BUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS:

The "People's Association For Selective Shopping" (organized less than six months and now operating with active members in ten states) urges that there be no further surrender to the Communist inspired lawless racial agitators, within the Atlanta area business community.

Very soon our organization will be operating effectively in most of the United States; and with our largest membership in Georgia-we want to assure Atlanta business and civic leaders that we will concentrate our efforts on Atlanta business concerns that surrender to the racial agitators. We are fed up with the business leader and the public official who for the sake of a dollar would destroy the "American Free Enterprise System" and representative government.

Our rapidly expanding Georgia membership will be fully informed of those business houses such as Stouffer's Restaurants in The Atlanta Trading Mart Building, The Peachtree Manor Hotel, Hilton Inn, Rich's Department Store, Colonial Bread Company, and other concerns that are leaders in the surrender to racial integration, and racial amalgamation that is sure to follow.

Let all who read this understand that if there is a general break through of integration in the hotels, motels, restaurants and other business concerns in Atlanta--"PASS" will immediately activate a massive and never ending campaign to keep all "PASS" members and supporters from doing any shopping, whatsoever, in downtown Atlanta. In addition to our purpose to protect and preserve racial identity, our fight is to help preserve the "American Free Enterprise System", that we may as a free people continue to enjoy freedom and liberty generated from this system.

We have provided you with information concerning "PASS" that you might be fully informed and in a better position to determine the policies of your company.

PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION FOR SELECTIVE SHOPPING

PASS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS . . . POST OFFICE BOX 1212, ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

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★ ★ "PASS" IS AMERICANS IN ACTION ★ ★

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Effective immediately, all members and supporters of PASS are to "PASS BY" the products and services of Dairies, Bakeries, Restaurants, Groceries — and Drug, Variety and Department Stores. Also Banks, Oil Companies, Newspapers; Manufacturers of Automobiles, Furniture, Appliances, Clothing, Tobacco Products and all other Manufacturers, Wholesalers, Jobbers and Retailers and Service Industries, not herein named, that place Negro employees on jobs formerly held by Whites. Not only are members and supporters to pass by products and services of said merchants, manufacturers and service industries, but merchants, manufacturers and service industries handling such products and services will be placed on the "PASS BY" list of PASS.

The products and services of sponsors of National Television and Radio Programs that practice, teach and support racial integration will be on our "PASS BY" list. Public officials who fail to support the objectives of PASS will also be placed on our "PASS BY" list.

In addition, members and supporters of PASS will please notify National PASS Headquarters at Post Office Box 1212, Atlanta 1, Georgia, if you lose your job because you are White or if you know of others who suffer similar hardships where Negroes are placed on jobs formerly held by Whites. Include complete information as to company, job, product or service involved. NAMES OF INFORMANTS WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

This (PASS) is a Nationwide movement and members and supporters are to write or call your friends locally, in other cities and in other states to seek their participation.

PASS will publish and distribute "PASS BY" lists of products and services not approved for PASS" purchasers. The active support of more than 2500 conservative organizations in America will be solicited.

PASS NEEDS YOU!! — YOU NEED PASS!!

You are urged to act now. Join and support PASS. Help to organize your community, city, county and state. THE JOB OR HOME YOU SAVE MAY BE YOUR OWN, or that of your child grandchild or neighbor.

Yours For Freedom and Security

Lester Maddox

July 22, 1963

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To The

Citizens For Better Government Association

Non-Profit Organization

Please return to Research

God fearing men and women, banded together for the purpose of defending our God given rights, separation of the races, freedom of association and freedom of speech. Opposing Communism, striving for better Government, upholding the Flag of the United States of America and defending the rights for which it stands.

Applicants Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

Recommended by _____

Resist. Grp. Leaders
1963

THE PICKRICK

891 Hemphill Avenue, N. W.
ATLANTA 13, GA.

LESTER MADDOX
President

TRinity 4-9344
TRinity 6-0449

July 1963

My dear Friend:

WE HAVE AN EMERGENCY. WE NEED YOU AS NEVER BEFORE. THE CAUSE THAT YOU AND I REPRESENT MUST HAVE MEN AND WOMEN WITH COURAGE AND DETERMINATION, WHO IN THIS HOUR WILL GO THE LAST MILE AND TAKE AN ACTIVE STAND IN OUR GREAT BATTLE FOR SURVIVAL.

In all of my communications to you, none have been as important and urgent as this one. I plead with you---beg you, in the name of all that you and I stand for, to join actively in this fight. Please, please---not next week or next month, BUT NOW. If your physical condition permits, you are urged to immediately do everything within your power to help carry out the following program, remembering that instant action is necessary to bring about victory for segregation and sensible government in Atlanta, and Georgia, which will mean a NATIONAL VICTORY FOR OUR CAUSE.

PRAY PRAY PRAY PRAY PRAY PRAY PRAY PRAY PRAY PRAY

READ THE ATTACHED LIST OF INTEGRATED PLACES IN ATLANTA AND OTHER LOCATIONS BELONGING TO THE ATLANTA OPERATORS, THAT ARE IN OTHER GEORGIA CITIES AND MUST BE TREATED THE SAME AS THE ATLANTA LOCATIONS THAT HAVE INTEGRATED AND BELONG TO THESE PEOPLE. IN FACT IT IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAT THE OUT OF ATLANTA LOCATIONS BE CONSTANTLY CONTACTED AND LET THEM KNOW THAT THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER SUPPORT OF THEIR PLACES, BY YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS, UNTIL THEIR ATLANTA LOCATIONS ARE SEGREGATED AGAIN.

FOR ALL LOCATIONS IN YOUR COMMUNITY WE URGE THAT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY, AND FRIENDS, MAKE DAILY TELEPHONE CALLS TO THE INTEGRATED PLACES, OR THEIR OTHER OUTLETS THAT THEY WERE AFRAID TO INTEGRATE AT THIS TIME. PLEASE DO THIS NOT ONCE, BUT AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY. FOR LOCATIONS OUT OF YOUR COMMUNITY, PLEASE SEND LETTERS, WIRES, AND MAKE VISITS TO SUCH PLACES, TELLING THEM OVER AND OVER THAT YOU WILL NOT BE THEIR CUSTOMER, AGAIN, UNTIL ALL OF THEIR PLACES IN ATLANTA ARE SEGREGATED.

WE NEED YOUR PRAYERS, YOUR MORAL SUPPORT, YOUR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION AND FINANCIAL BACKING FROM THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD IT. WE MUST HAVE YOUR CALLS, LETTERS AND WIRES TO THOSE WHO HAVE SURRENDERED, BUT MOST OF ALL WE NEED, AND MUST HAVE IMMEDIATELY, NEAT AND DETERMINED PATRIOTS WHO WILL JOIN US ON THE PROTEST LINE WITH A SIGN (FURNISHED BY OUR GROUP) FOR A FEW HOURS AT NOON, EVENING, OR BOTH. THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF OUR FIGHT AND WE CAN WIN A MAJOR BATTLE FOR OUR CAUSE WITHIN TWO WEEKS. PLEASE---PLEASE; EITHER TAKE PART (IF YOU ARE IN A CITY WHERE THESE PLACES ARE LOCATED) OR HAVE A MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY, A RELATIVE, OR SOME OF YOUR NEIGHBORS, FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES TO JOIN IN THIS, OUR GREATEST AND MOST IMPORTANT BATTLE.

WE ARE DEPENDING ON YOU AS NEVER BEFORE. IF YOU CAN TAKE PART IN THE SIGN PROTEST, IN THE ATLANTA AREA, PLEASE MEET WITH US AT THE PICKRICK, DAILY, AT 10:00 A.M. AND/OR 4:00 P.M. LATER ANOTHER ASSEMBLY POINT WILL BE ANNOUNCED. PLEASE HELP. THIS IS OUR CHANCE FOR THE GREATEST VICTORY OF ALL OUR EFFORTS. IT IS YOUR FIGHT.

Yours for God, Country and Survival,

Lester Maddox

Lester Maddox

INTEGRATED HOTELS, MOTELS, RESTAURANTS AND CAFETERIAS

Keep this list and be sure to make additional copies for your friends. Firms listed here are those reported to have integrated (or else some of their locations), and all Georgians are asked not to support those firms until they return to a policy of segregation.

This list does not include all such firms supporting integration, but does include most of them, and others will be added as they are identified. As firms withdraw from their policy of integration they will be removed from this list.

S&W CAFETERIAS. (SAY THEY ARE GLAD TO SERVE ANYONE.)
YOHANNAN'S (AT LENOX SQUARE). (A LEADER FOR INTEGRATION.)
CAMELLIA GARDEN. (LEADER IN THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT AND ALSO OWNS THE PAPA JOHN'S LOCATIONS.)
DAVIS FINE FOODS, INCLUDING TOWN HOUSE, CROSS KEYS, SUBURBAN LOCATIONS, ALL DOWNTOWN ATLANTA LOCATIONS AND OPERATIONS IN ATHENS AND MACON. (A TOP LEADER FOR THE INTEGRATION MOVEMENT.)
DAVIS BROTHERS CHAIN; INCLUDES ALL ATLANTA LOCATIONS AND THE JOHNNY REB LOCATIONS, PLUS OPERATIONS IN WEST END, STATE FARMERS MARKET, SUBURBAN LOCATIONS AT BELVEDERE SHOPPING CENTER AND ELSEWHERE, AND TWO OPERATIONS IN ALBANY, GEORGIA, AND THREE OPERATIONS IN COBB COUNTY (MARIETTA).
HERREN'S RESTAURANT. (TOP OF THE LIST FOR INTEGRATION AND HAS BEEN BRAGGING ABOUT IT.)
DALE'S. (ALL LOCATIONS, INCLUDING THE FARM.)
POLLY DAVIS, MIAMI BUFFET (DOWNTOWN); ALSO PEACHTREE ROAD, BUCKHEAD, AND DECATUR LOCATIONS.
HARVEST HOUSE (LENOX SQUARE), OWNED BY F. W. WOOLWORTH CO.; AND WOOLWORTH SHOULD NOT BE SUPPORTED ANYWHERE IN THE COUNTRY.
STOUFFER'S (TWO LOCATIONS AT ATLANTA MERCHANDISE MART AND OTHER LOCATIONS THROUGHOUT THE NATION).
ESCOE'S (PEACHTREE ROAD, ATLANTA).
MAMMY'S SHANTY (PEACHTREE ROAD, ATLANTA).
SEVEN STEERS RESTAURANTS (ALL THREE LOCATIONS IN ATLANTA); STATED, "WE HAVEN'T HAD <u>ONE</u> YET BUT WE ARE PREPARED TO SERVE THEM WHEN THEY COME."
HOWARD JOHNSON MOTOR LODGES AND RESTAURANTS (ALL ATLANTA LOCATIONS AND ALL OTHERS EXCEPT SOUTH GEORGIA LOCATIONS THAT DO NOT BELONG TO THE HOWARD JOHNSON COMPANY, BUT ARE FRANCHISED OPERATIONS).
CARUSO'S ITALIAN RESTAURANTS (ALL ATLANTA LOCATIONS).
SHONEY'S BIG BOY DRIVE-IN RESTAURANTS. (ONE ON PEACHTREE ROAD ALREADY INTEGRATED; THEY WERE AFRAID TO INTEGRATE THE COLLEGE PARK LOCATION. STAY AWAY FROM BOTH PLACES.)

IN ADDITION, THE FOLLOWING HOTELS, MOTELS AND ALL OF THEIR DINING FACILITIES ARE INTEGRATED, AND YOU ARE ASKED TO STAY AWAY FROM THEM AND SUPPORT THE HUNDREDS OF HOTELS, MOTELS, RESTAURANTS, DRIVE-INS AND CAFETERIAS THAT HAVE THE COURAGE TO RESIST THE COMMUNIST-INSPIRED RACIAL AGITATORS.

AIR HOST INN, AMERICANA MOTOR HOTEL, BILTMORE HOTEL, ATLANTA CABANA MOTEL, ATLANTAN HOTEL, DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL, HILTON INN (ATLANTA AND ELSEWHERE), PEACHTREE MANOR HOTEL (LEADER FOR INTEGRATION AND ALSO CONNECTED WITH THE AMERICANA), PIEDMONT HOTEL, MARRIOTT HOTEL (NOW UNDER CONSTRUCTION) AND THE RIVIERA MOTEL.

STAY AWAY FROM THESE PLACES. DO NOT EAT OR SLEEP INTEGRATED.

KEEP THIS LIST AND SHOW IT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES.

CITIZENS FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT

The Citizens for Better Government organization was organized to allow God-fearing men and women to band together for the God-given purpose of striving for a better government and community and for dissemination and dissertation of information towards that goal; to exercise their rights for freedom of association, to strive and work for the separation of races; to oppose communism and to uphold the flag of the United States and the rights for which it stands.

We believe that we must have a return to the spiritual and ethical values. We must imbue and rekindle in ourselves and our children the so-called old-fashioned way of patriotism, a burning devotion to the principles and ideals upon which our country was founded.

With these things in mind, we intend to emphasize to the people a need for a thorough knowledge of good constitutional government, and thus promote a desire for the best in government on the Federal, State and Local levels.

If you subscribe to the above principles and would like to work with us in this most important undertaking, we invite you to join with us and seek to achieve our objectives.

P.O. Box 365
Marietta, Ga.

. . . .

Lester Maddox Marietta July 12, '63

not one prominant citizen attending
all lower-middle or middle-middle class
prayer led by 'holi-ness' type minister - kind
of a "funny" prayer. "Help us be segregated, etc."
Hoot (J.M.) Gibson - M.C.

Newspapers - "think more lately like
papers" --- giving both side - T.V. - propa-
ganda. Quotes from paper inserting Nigger
for Negro - folksy platitudes... more
paper quotes - Pickrick - cuts Constitution -
says M'rietta Journal - "good paper." Piney
Wood Pete - JFK. '64 ? Irrelevant
quotes - mentions Look's - "W'ton is Sick
City." says this is facts. Hoot's a
big man - politics is rotten - he
doesn't care if his position is hurt
by this affilation. Quotes Sen. Richard
Russell - JFK's Bill - propaganda
Quotes scripture -
Russell - Shadrack
Talmage - Meshack
Maddox - Abendigo - Finally

150 attending

socialism, welfare state, communism — defeat will come from within —
Sponsors - Citizens for Better Gov - Ass.
time for action
Picket sit-in - truth not reported May 17
4 blacks & 3 whites - Atlanta Police not allowed to interfere - great exaggeration!
Atlanta Inquirer - gooted - cuts JFK & his "stupid brother" bad grammar - cuts Ralph McGill - Ross Barnett & George Wallace - great men - mispronounced Herron's - which is a relatively simple word - 25,000 white families can't get out (3) housing - because of Negro situation - is this documented?
Journal gone conservative - refers to Atlanta as "My" city. Pres. cans 6, 8, or 10 cities to be under Marshall Law. 5 mile swim in Potomac recommended for Negroes. St Louis Post-Dem. SCLC - cuts as communistic - refers to King's pic - as communist; Highlander Folk School refered too.

Motive of Negro - intermarriage & extinction of white race. Newspaper "cover-up" - J.C.'s against J.F.K's Civil Rights Bill. calls Ralph - "Benedict" McGill. To hear him talk you'd think everything in Atlanta ~~would~~ ~~[illegible]~~ from the police force to the Negroes themselves belong to Maddox - "My city", "my police", "my boys" etc. cuts Ivan Allen for having rocking chairs like J.F.K.'s. Says Negro schools have to have police... because the Negro children are busy wasting "our" money by throwing "our" books out the windows at pigeons. He says don't contribute to United Appeal cause they aid Urban League - 14th Amendment never ratified!! Is he serious - he needs to study up on his Gov.! Boycotts are good!! according to Lester.

maybe they'll help us-

Lester is part of the Free American Enterprise System! Bah! Blames his stupidity on God's will - Heaven help him!!! No middle-road in this issue. Cuts Rich's - blames Mr. Rich for Ga.'s race problems.

Fight!

Lefin-

Thank God

Resist Gov. Leaders.
Mar — '63

PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION FOR SELECTIVE SHOPPING

PASS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS . . . POST OFFICE BOX 1212, ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA

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Yours For Freedom and Security

Gene Wallace

PASS Pledge

...ASSOCIATION FOR SELECTIVE SHOPPING

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June, 1963

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We have provided you with information concerning "PASS" that you might be fully informed and in a better position to determine the policies of your company.

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

COPY

January 25, 1962

Mrs. B. J. Bowlen, Acting Secretary
Peoria Catholic Interracial Council
The Far Hills
East Peoria, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Bowlen:

Your letter to the Executive Director requesting information as to the best publications dealing with inter-racial work and problems has been directed to me. Enclosed you will find a bibliography of books that we find very helpful.

Many intergroup organizations, such as the Anti-Defamation League, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and many others, publish annually lists of books that they reccommend for furthering better intergroup relations. The Council On Human Relations of Cleveland, Ohio publishes a very useful book that is especially helpful in working with librarians since it contains descriptions and evaluations of nearly 1000 books, films, drama, dance and music productions, listings of organizations working in the human relations field, etc. Their material is listed according to what age group would enjoy each thing best. The adress of the Council is 281 The Arcade, Cleveland 14, Ohio, and a paper bound copy of The Resource Handbook is $1.15, cloth bound $2.25.

If I can be of further help, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Jane M. Bond, Research Assistant

Bibliography of human relations books

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COPY

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Check List Of State Anti-Discrimination and Anti-Bias Laws. American Jewish Congress, 1953.

COPY

January 25, 1962

Mr. Seymour Samet
National Labor Service
1208 Congress Building
Miami 8, Florida

Dear Mr. Samet:

In response to Mr. Fleischman's letter of January 17 to Les Dunbar, we telephoned Woolworths' regional office here in Atlanta. The regional manager was out of town but an assistant, Mr. Evans, spoke with us. We asked him what effect, if any, was experienced by their stores as a result of the desegregation of lunch counters in southern cities.

Mr. Evans said that he had been trying to analyze this situation for weeks and that it was very difficult, if not impossible, to do. He said that his reports on one day would seem to indicate that they were feeling adverse financial effects from lunch counter desegregation, but the next day the situation would appear to be completely reversed. He stated that it was impossible for him to draw conclusions in this matter. When questioned specifically regarding their Miami stores he replied that the picture was no clearer and was further complicated by the "Cuban situation." In closing the conversation he quipped, "if you find any definite answers be sure to let me know because I certainly can't come up with any."

You may find the enclosed material interesting and perhaps helpful since it is relevant to the effects of economic pressures on business ways in the South. If we can be of any further service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc.
cc: Mr. Harry Fleischman

Enclosures

Food Service Desegregation: Experience with Nonsegregated Service in Kentucky Eating Establishments, July, 1961

A report prepared by the Social Research Service, Univ. of Ky.
for
The Commissioner on Human Rights
Commonwealth of Kentucky
Frankfort, Kentucky

New Business ways in the South
Business Week 8/5/61 (Econ. South.)

February 26, 1962

Mr. Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne St., Suite No. 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Henry:

Paul has passed on to me your request for information on studies surveying the attitude of Negroes toward discrimination in the South. While I do not know of any formal opinion polls or surveys reported in this area, I would suggest that a review be made of articles published in the Public Opinion Quarterly. This is the journal of the American Association of Public Opinion Research. It may well be that a review made of articles appearing in the Journal of Negro Education might turn up some research in this area.

Beyond that I think some real inferences might be made about the attitudes of Negroes from books written about Negro status in the South by Negroes themselves. Some thoughts which come immediately to mind include:

"Being a Negro in America," J. Saunders Redding
"The New Negro", edited by Mathew H. Ahmann
"The Southerner as an American," edited by Charles Sellers
"Nobody Knows My Name," James Baldwin
"Stride Toward Freedom," Martin Luther King, Jr.

Aaron?

I hope that these suggestions will provide some clues as to the range and depth of attitudes that Negroes presently have in respect to racial prejudice.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[redacted] ORGIA
[redacted]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 3/9/62

To: JM From: PR

Subject: Guide for community self-surveys

You will remember that during the state staff meeting you told the state Council directors you would be willing to work up a sort of guide for community self-surveys. ????!????

(Jim: The old guide, "Your Community Looks at Itself, A Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey," to which Frances Pauley referred during the meeting, is attached. (New South, April, 1951.) This has long been out-of-print; however, during the several years I was in research I had some 10-12 requests for it by name, and many other occasions arose when this type of resource would have helped greatly in answering requests. There was some talk of up-dating and reworking it then, with Dr. Parrish helping out, as I remember, but we never got to do it. Marge.)

Sent:

L-report No. 5
Private Business & Public Education in the South by Helen Miller, Reprinted from Harvard Business Review - July-August, 1960
New Business Ways in the South - Reprinted from Business Week 8/5/61
L-report No. 19
L-report No. 18
The Negro in Our Economy - SRC
The Economic Effect of School Closing - reprint of a talk by Jim Montgomery, Business Editor, The Atlanta Constitution, 1/19/59
The High Cost of Conflict: A Roundup of Opinion from the Southern Business Community on the Economic Consequences of School Closings and Violence

April 2, 1962

Mr. Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

In a recent letter to Mr. Rilling you requested information on the adverse economic effects to the community produced by discrimination. Under separate cover we are sending you several publications which we feel will give you some aspects of this problem.

We would also like to suggest that you request a copy of "The Growing Power of the Negro Market," which was published by the Opinion Research Corporation, Research Park, Princeton, New Jersey.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Research Department
Administrative Secretary

what about that other article?

April 13, 1962

Professor Charles S. McCoy
Department of Religion in Higher
Education
Pacific School of Religion
1788 Scenic Avenue
Berkeley 9, California

Dear Professor McCoy:

Thank you for your kind letter of March 29.

I hope you will think to send us a copy of your paper on "The Protest Movement for Racial Justice" when you have written it. I shall be greatly interested in reading it.

Under separate cover we are sending a package of things which have come from here regarding the Movement. It is a little hard to suggest other items because the bibliography is, as you know, by now pretty large. Some things which occur to me, however, are the following:

(1) Howard Zinn's fine article, "The Force of Non-Violence," Nation, March 17, 1962.

(2) Louis Lomax's Harper's article, "The Negro Revolt Against 'The Negro Leaders'", June 1960.

(3) The script of the Nashville Story to be found in the Congressional Record for January 1961, pp. 1233-1238.

(4) Tom Hahn's Unfinished Revolution, available from Roodenko, 36 E. 10th Street, New York 3, New York.

(5) George McMillan's perceptive piece in Look Magazine, July 5, 1960 on "Sit Downs-The South's New Time Bomb"

(6) Katharine Kinkead's piece in the New Yorker, April 15, 1961 called "It Doesn't Seem Quick to Me."

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Separate mailing:
Harris Wofford's, "The Law and Civil Disobedience" (mimeographed copy)
July/August, 1961 New South - "Freedom Rides"
January 1961 New South, "The South and Civil Disobedience," MArion A. Wright
"Reflection on the Latest Reform of the South," Leslie W. Dunbar
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, G. McMillan
October 1960, New South, "A Selected Bibliography"
"Civil Disobedience," Leslie W. Dunbar
"The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960", (Special Report of the Southern Regional Council, Apr. 1, 1960)
"The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation," September 1961 (Special Report of SRC)
L-Reports #20, 22, and 28
"The Freedom Ride, May 1961," (Special Report of SRC)
"Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas," Kenneth Morland, (Special Report of SRC), May 10, 1960

April 23, 1962

Dr. Ovid L. Futch
Assistant Professor
Office of Evaluation and INstitutional Research
The University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida

Dear Dr. Futch:

Thank you for accepting our apology. We were so sorry to learn that your letter had not received a reply and had been filed by mistake.

Under separate cover we are mailing you thermofaxed copies of materials we have on hand. Lillian Smith presents some interesting analyses of the role played by the churches in the area of race relations in the South in her book, "Killers of the Dream," (W.W. Norton & Company, revised and enlarged, 1961) and we would also refer you to "The Mind of the South" by Wilbur J. Cash (Knopf, 1941, regular edition - Vintage Press, Paperback). We suggest also that you write to the American Friends Service Committee for a copy of "Race and Conscience in America," a review prepared for them.

Dr. Futch, the next time you are in Atlanta, we would be happy to make arrangements for you to stop in at the Council office if you would be interested in viewing our extensive file of newspaper clippings in this category. If we can help you in any other way, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

Pre-Library - 1st 6 years
29

New South, December, 1958
New South, January, 1960
The Roots of Bias (reprint from Look 3/14/61)
Fellowship for Whom? by Herman H. Long
Religious Bodies and The Supreme Court Decision (Special Report SRC)
The Agony of the Southern Minister, Ralph McGill (Reprint NYTimes)
Are Southern Ministers Failing the South? Reprint from Sat. Eve. Post
The Church in Areas of Racial Tension (Tarplee) Notable Addresses

Reprints:
m Southern Churches Back Supreme Court - Murray Friedman (New Leader)
Christianity and Crisis - The Southern Churches and the Race Question
The Myth of the Moderates (Christian Century 5/24/61)

The Challenge to America (issued by the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis)
What Saith the Scripture (Arkansas Council of Churches)

Text of letter by Arcnbishop Jos. F. Rummel of New Orleans, 2/19/56

Nairo Reporter October, 1954, Religious Reaction to School Segregation Ruling: A Survey of Statements and Actions

Church Social Action Survey - Church Dept. of NAACP, 1960

Revised version of chapter from doctoral dissertation by Francis M. lWilhoit, Dept. of Govt. Univ. of Miami "The Puritan Ethos and the STatus Quo

A Statement to the South and Nation (Southern Leaders Conference on Transportation 1/10/57

Discrimination and the Christian Conscience - Catholic Bishops 11/22/58

Interracial News Service Vol. 27, Vol. 30, and Vol. 25

April 27, 1962

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

I hope the materials we are sending today, under separate cover, will meet your needs. We found, as we got them together, that very few analyses of school desegregation have been done recently. Everyone is busy writing about sit-ins, Freedom Rides -- and like that.

We are sending in bulk the following items:

1. The Face of Desegregation Today, by Les Dunbar, reproduced from the Phi Delta Kappan, January, 1961.

2. The South's New Resistance, which I did for The Progressive in March of 1962.

3. The Turning Point for Desegregation, by G. W. Foster, in the Saturday Review, December 17, 1960.

4. School Desegregation: The First Six Years, Southern Regional Council, May, 1960.

5. The Truth About Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knowl.

6. A Chronology of Principal Cases on Segregation, New South, October, 1959.

7. Academic Achievement and Desegregation, Southern Regional Council Report L-17.

8. The Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry.

9. Integration: Seven Lean Years, by Alex Bickel, New Republic, September 25, 1961.

10. Action Patterns of School Desegregation, by Wey and Corey.

As far as bibliography is concerned you will note there is one on the back of School Desegregation: The First Six Years. I would particularly refer your people, for additional background reading, to Don Shoemaker's With All Deliberate Speed, published by the Southern Education Reporting Service -- a little out of date but still good. Also, the Integrated Classroom, by H. Perry Giles, published by Basic Books, 1959, and particularly section I. Also, Jack Peltason's new book 58 Lonely Men, an excellent overview.

So far as periodicals and pamphlets are concerned -

Margaret Anderson - They're Ready - Are We?, New York Times Magazine, January 14, 1962.

Integrated Parochial Schools, Benjamin Muse, Commonweal, March 9, 1962.

Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools?, Anti-Defamation League, December, 1959.

Carl F. Hansen's Addendum: A Five Year Report on Desegregation in Washington, D.C., Anti-Defamation League.

Southerners and Schools, a reprint of seven articles by Helen Fuller, from the New Republic, 1959.

Education, Prejudice and Discrimination, by Melvin Tumin, and Paul Barton, American Sociological Review, February, 1958.

Again, let me call your attention to the excellent material in the Education volume of the 1961 report of the Commission on Civil Rights, particularly pages 39-97.

Cheers!

Very truly yours,

Paul Relling
Director of Field Activities

PR:jl

May 17, 1962

Mr. Edgar Brown
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brown:

We have been thinking about materials for you since your telephone call and we have pulled out of the files some recent clips on recent employment moves with respect to Negroes in the South which may not have come to your attention.

I am also including a round-up of what I perceive as recent employment trends in the South, an article prepared for publication in a race relations quarterly. We are enclosing also copies of four studies which SRC undertook this past year and I would refer you to the additional items listed on the attached page.

This is all that comes to mind presently. If we can be of any additional help to you you know that we will be only too glad to do so.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
attach.
enc.

"The Changing Status of Negro Southerners," Lewis W. Jones, Current History, Nov., 1958, p. 274

Bulletin No. 1119, U.S. Dept. of Labor; "Negroes in the United States, Their Employment and Economic Status," 1955

Hearing before the Special Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Part I., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1962

Studies in Unemployment, Prepared for the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, United States Senate, Pursuant to S. Res. 196, p. 194.

"Executive Support of Civil Rights," Southern Regional Council, March 13, 1962

"Southern Tradition and Regional Economic Progress," William H. Nicholls, Southern Economic Journal, January, 1960

"The Negro Potential," Ginzberg, Eli, et al., New York, Columbia University Press, 1956.

"Equality of Opportunity: A Union Approach to Fair Employment," Hope, John II, Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956

"Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South," National Planning Association, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955

May 21, 1962

Miss Bernice L. Bell
The Library
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Miss Bell:

We have not produced anything like a definitive study on the desegregation of public libraries in the 13 southern states you inquire about in your letter of May 15. I will, however, try to include here what information the Council had gathered as of mid-April, 1962.

Libraries in the following cities have desegregated fully (i.e., no "stand-ins") and so have their various branches:

Tulsa	Richmond	Charlotte
Raleigh	Nashville	Jacksonville
Chattanooga	Durham	Miami
Memphis	Savannah	Louisville
Little Rock	Atlanta	Houston
Dallas	Charleston (S.C.)	

We also know that Bookmobiles are desegregated in Montgomery (Ala.) and in two counties in Mississippi, and that our surveys showed Tennessee to be the state with the largest number of desegregated public library facilities. We know, too, that the following major southern cities have <u>not</u> desegregated public library facilities:

Columbia (S.C.)	Oklahoma City
Jackson	Birmingham

There are doubtless omission since we have not queried every city, but I trust the above information is of some usefulness.

Sinnerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

May 23, 1962

The Rev. Mr. Maurice J. McDonald
Holy Trinity Rectory
351 Amelia, N.E.
P. O. Box 515
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McDonald:

There are two types of biracial groups which are in operation in the South with varying degrees of strength and effectiveness. One is the kind of official biracial committee or commission which is sometimes appointed by Mayors, by City Commissions, et cetera. We are sending you some materials relevant to this kind of committee under separate cover.

The second type of biracial group is the private human relations committee or council on human relations consisting of citizens striving to improve interracial communication and understanding. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations represents such an effort in South Carolina, and we cooperate closely with the SCCHR, which has local units in 5 South Carolina communities. You may want to talk with the Director of the South Carolina Council, Mrs. Alice Spearman, 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, or perhaps you are already in contact with Mrs. Spearman.

The Southern Regional Council cooperates closely with some 10 such state Councils on Human Relations and approximately 60 local Councils related to them. These are simply organizations of white and Negro citizens who wish to consult together on a regular basis about common aims and concerns. There are also a number of local interracial councils and committees not cooperating with us or with the state councils.

We are sending some materials that may give you some idea of how these groups operate. As you might expect, they

vary considerably as to strength and program, depending on the local climate and leadership. Some are large organizations of several hundred members; some are small committees of 15-25. Some of them operate as public civic groups attempting to analyze their local problems and improve community understanding; others, as in some parts of Alabama and South Carolina, meet quietly without public attention and attempt to do little more than keep the channels open between the races. Councils in some communities such as Nashville, Tennessee, Atlanta, Georgia, Fairfax County, Virginia, etc., have been able to contribute directly to the elimination of some aspects of discrimination.

For the most part, I think it would be fair to say that the major achievements of such groups are: (1) the establishment of regular liaison between white and Negro leaders or citizens; (2) the education of those participating, as they learn to know each other and study their mutual problems; (3) where possible, some contribution toward the education of the total community. In many communities, the Council on Human Relations is the only group with biracial membership which can provide some antidote to the Ku Klux Klans and the White Citizens Councils.

As to the officially appointed committees, the size and the structure of these groups vary widely and it is difficult to develop general rules as to what structure is most effective. I believe it is generally agreed that the committee functions more effectively if members are appointed as individuals rather than representatives of groups and organizations. Of course, the most important single factor is that the committee include citizens who command respect in the community and who are truly representative of leadership in the community. One of the mistakes most frequently made is for the appointing authority to select Negro representatives who are most acceptable to them rather than actual Negro leaders.

Such committees or commissions generally serve as advisory groups to local governmental authorities, althoughthey are sometimes asked to help to mediate or resolve specific problems on their own.

Although such committees can play a very constructive role in the community, it should also be noted that unless the appointing authority acts in good faith and unless the committee is well selected it can be a negative influence. This has been true in several places where attempts were made to use the existence of the committee as an excuse for inaction by local officials, or where the committee has been used as a means of stifling pressure for change. When such an effort proves ineffective, it becomes difficult to try again for some years because many people will assume that the interracial commission procedure has been tried and was not helpful.

If we can be of any assistance in the project you

Have in mind, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Materials under separate cover.

BLIND COPY: Mrs. Alice Spearman

June 1, 1962

Mr. C. Merrill Proudfoot
Church of the Master
360 West 122nd Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Proudfoot:

In response to your letter of May 28, we have put together some materials for you, our own publications, other newsclips and articles on hand, and a suggested bibliography on lunch counter desegregation and the sit-in movement since the fall of 1960.

Most of the information we have on lunch counter desegregation is contained in The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation. This brings the numbers of counters actually desegregated up to date, though the figures on arrests are up to September, 1961. However, the letter sent to Miss Charlotte Devree of CORE gives the total arrest number since the movement began. I have also included articles on or references to the Freedom Rides and voter registration campaigns, as well as information on public accommodations, because the original sit-in movement has widened to embrace these aspects.

In addition to the attached lists, I would suggest that you get in touch with Marvin Rich of CORE, at 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y., to get a copy of the record of their May 25th hearing with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on the administration of justice in the South since 1960. I believe the record will probably include most of the arrests, incidents of violence, police protection, and legal results of the sit-in protests.

If you would like any additional information, please do not hesitate to let me know. I hope this has been helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Miller
Research Assistant

Under separate cover:

The Freedom Ride

The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation

Albany

New South, "Freedom Rides...", July-August, 1961

New South, "The Right to Protest," by Marion Wright, February, 1962

Clip from Time, January, 1962

Clips from U.S. News & World Report, January, 1962

Letter to Charlotte Devree, May 3, 1962

Bibliography:

Revolution in Mississippi, Tom Hayden, SDS, 112 E. 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

"Young Negro Rebels," Charlotte Devree, Harper, October, 1961

Freedom Ride, Jim Peck, Simon & Schuster, 1962

"The Force of Nonviolence," Howard Zinn, The Nation, March 17, 1962

Script of the Nashville story in Congressional Record, January, 1961, pp. 1233-1238

"It Doesn't Seem Quick to Me," Katharine Kinkead, New Yorker, April 15, 1961

It Happened in Baton Rouge, CORE

The Student Voice, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 135 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga. (Specifically, articles on Talladega.)

June 4, 1962

Mr. John L. LaHoud
The National Observer
1213 K Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

Dear Mr. LaHoud:

The Southern Regional Council has not published any studies on the White Citizens Councils since 1957. The results of what research was done then are being mailed to you under separate cover, although their value is largely historical. Their current power is largely concentrated within Mississippi and they carry little authority elsewhere. You might wish to be inundated with some of their literature directly, in which case you could write to The Citizens' Council of America, 315-25 Plaza Building, Jackson, Miss.

For ? Ala ?!! Ga ? Macon ?

For more recent reporting on them, the current issue of The Progressive carries an article by Reese Cleghorn; Hodding Carter's book, "The South Strikes Back" (Doubleday, 1959), is available; and we are advised Americans for Democratic Action has a booklet available, "What's Wrong With the Far Right."

Our research department maintains a newspaper clipping file on the subject and should your pursuit of facts bring you to Atlanta, we should be only too happy to share it with you.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

June 5, 1962

Mr. William Peters
44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham Manor,
New York

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are a few things which may help.

Some other things which you might wish to look up are:

(1) Gomillion vs Lightfoot by Bernard Taper, first published in the New Yorker beginning June 10, 1961;

(2) Articles by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokeley, New York Times Magazine, September 21, 1962; Bruce Galphin in The Nation, September 23, 1961; Russell Middleton in Social Forces, March 1962; Pettigrew and Campbell in the Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall 1960; Emerson and Bondfield in The Nation, January 21, 1961;

(3) Several pieces about Fayette and Haywood Counties, including:
Ebony, September 1960
Ebony, March 1961
Ebony editorial, November 1960
Article by Fred Travis in The Progressive, February 1961;

(4) Articles in U. S. News and World Report, March 28, 1960 and June 11, 1962.

An article which I think you would especially want to see is by Charles McCord in the May 1962 issue of Interracial Review; it's about the current registration drive in New Orleans. A little piece by Elmo Roper in the Saturday Review of March 18, 1961 has some interesting background statistics about plain ordinary non-voting.

For your confidential use I am enclosing a copy of a brief report regarding the recently completed Atlanta registration drive.

Best wishes.

Sin

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Enclosures:

Atl. Journal, 3/25/62 - Margaret Shannon piece: "Negro Vote Strength Shifts Little (reproduction)

Ltr. and report from Jesse Hill, Jr. to Wiley Branton of May 21, 1962 re: All-Citizens Registration Committee's 1962 Voter Registration Campaign.

Revolution in Mississippi - special report by Tom Hayden Students for a Democratic Society publication

The Negro and the Ballot in the South - Margaret Price (1959)

The Negro Voter in the South - Margaret Price (1957)

HCF's article, "Universal Suffrage for Negroes" carried in Christianity and Crisis, May 29, 1961

"Studies of Negro Voting in 8 Counties of Georgia and 1 of South Carolina," Dean B. R. Brazeal (1960)

June 13, 1962

Mr. James Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
135 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

I have made copies of materials about Hill-Burton hospitals as you and Chuck McDew asked during the Coordinating Committee conference. I am sending, under separate cover, copies of stories on the two NAACP suits in Greensboro and Orangeburg along with several pertinent articles.

As far as I can see from our clippings the only places with a fairly concentrated direct action program against segregation in hospitals are Charlotte and Atlanta. In Charlotte the protest groups are the Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs and the Charlotte Citizens-Student Coordinating Committee. So far the action in Charlotte has been limited to picketing. You are already familiar with the Atlanta situation so I don't need to go into that.

I'd like to suggest that your office get the following pamphlet from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare: The Hill-Burton Progress Report: July 1, 1947 - June 30, 1961.

I hope you and the SNCC are successful in this new program. If you need any further information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Jane M. Bond
Research Assistant

cc: Mr. Charles F. McDew, Chairman
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
135 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

List of Materials Sent Under Separate Cover

Newspaper Clips

"11 Negroes Challenge Federal Act; Doctors, Dentists Seek Staff Status," Charlotte Observor, February 13, 1962.

"NAACP Bids to End Bias In Hospitals Aided by U.S.," Claude Sitton, New York Times, February 13, 1962.

"Hospital Is Sued For Segregation; Injunction Is Asked Against Orangeburg, S.C., Facility," Claude Sitton, New York Times, March 25, 1962.

Debate on Hospital Construction Activities, Congressional Record - House, March 27, 1962.

Amending the Hill-Burton Act, Congressional Record, May 2, 1962.

"Motions Ask Equal Hospital Privileges," Charlotte Observor, May 5, 1962.

"U.S. Charges Bias At 2 N.C. Hospitals, " Charlotte Observor, May 9, 1962.

"Segregation Ban Possible In Hospitals," Don Seaver, Charlotte Observor, May 9, 1962.

"U.S. Moves to Integrate Federally Aided Hospitals; Joins Suit by Negroes in North Carolina Seeking End of Color Line - Calls '46 Separation Act Unconstitutional," New York Times, May 9, 1962.

"2 N.C. Hospitals Want U.S. To Stay Out of Negro Suit," Charlotte Observor, June 9, 1962.

Magazine Articles

Journal of the National Medical Association
"Hill-Burton 'Separate But Equal' Provision Unconstitutional," Vol. 53, NO. 6, November, 1961.
"Javits Bill To End Hospital Discrimination Under Hill-Burton Act," Vol. 54, No. 1, January, 1962.
"Hospital Discrimination And The Sixth Imhotep Conference," Vol. 54, No. 2, March, 1962.

"Discrimination In Medicine," Earl Belle Smith, Interracial Review, December, 1961.

All c/o

June 18, 1962

Mr. John Hartman
19691 Renfrew
Detroit 21, Michigan

Dear Mr. Hartman:

I do have some suggestions for you on Negro executions in the South.

Perhaps the best source of information is an article by Franklin H. Williams in the October, 1960 issue of Crisis (the magazine put out by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) entitled, "The Death Penalty and the Negro." I understand that this is one of the best compilations on the subject, though I don't think it covers executions by county -- but does by race and offense.

Dr. Dunbar suggests that you get in touch with James W. Kelsaw, Associate Professor of Sociology at Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, who may be able to help you.

Finally, I can give you some pertinent information included in an unpublished paper by Dr. Elmer H. Johnson of North Carolina State College. According to him, 54% of capital offenders executed by the states from 1930-1960 were Negro. 90% of executed rapists were Negro, and except for seven executions in Missouri, all executions of rapists were in the South. In the last 10 years, 77% of all executed Negroes were in the South, compared with 81.3% in the 1930-1952 period. You might want to get in touch with Dr. Johnson also. His address is 3921 Arrow Drive, Raleigh, North Carolina.

I hope these recommendations will be of use to you. If I have any more, I'll send them along to you. And if you have any other questions, please don't hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Miller
Research Assistant

unemployment
employment
Student

June 19, 1962

Mr. William Randall
395 Grant Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Randall:

I am enclosing the clips of employment breakthroughs that you asked for. As you can see, very little has been done in this area.

From our files I have found that the following cities have at least one major store in which Negroes are hired as clerks, sales people, etc.: Lynchburg and Richmond, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; Greensboro, North Carolina.

Here in Atlanta, several grocery stores have hired or up-graded Negroes. In addition to the Colonial store mentioned in the newspaper clip, several other smaller neighborhood stores have Negro cashiers. In Atlanta, and probably in other cities, employment breakthroughs in small locally owned stores are not reported in the press. Because of the poor newspaper coverage in order to get exact facts and figures I will have to talk to the people involved in the movement. As soon as I get all the correct information I will send it to you.

In a conversation with John Lewis, the chairman of the Nashville Student Central Committee, he said that at least 4 downtown stores had opened up new areas of employment to Negroes. Also one jewelry store and a few grocery stores use Negroes in other than menial jobs. Mr. Lewis suggested that you might like to get in contact with someone in Nashville. He thought Rev. Kelly Miller Smith of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council, 319 8th Avenue North could be most helpful.

I hope this information is useful to you. As I get new facts I will send them on to you. Good luck in your negotiations.

Sincerely yours,

Jane M. Bond
Research Assistant

Enclosures:

"Greensboro Stores Plan Staff Integration," Norfolk Journal and Guide, March 31, 1962

"Merchants in Greensboro to Hire Negroes," Norfolk Journal and Guide, April 21, 21, 1962

"Stores Act To Integrate Sales Staff," Charlotte Observor, February 21, 1962.

"Colonial Employs Negro Clerks Here," Atlanta Daily World, September 25, 1962

"2 Negroes Hired At Lynchburg Store," Washington Post, March 16, 1961.

"Negro Employment," Washington Post, March 19, 1961.

"Progress in Richmond: Urban League Opens Up New Job Opportunities," Norfolk Journal and Guide, October 21, 1961.

"Stores Hire S.C. Negroes After Boycott," Charlotte Observor, April 22, 1962.

"Negroes Hired; Charleston Boycott Working? Depends On Who's Talking," Charlotte Observor, May 13, 1962

"At Least 2 Retailers Hire Negroes As Sales People," Charleston News and Courier, May 22, 1962

46

June 19, 1962

Mr. Hugh Sanford, Jr.
Box 1511
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sanford:

Your request for information about Atlanta movie theatres has been referred to me by Carl Braden, and I am happy to send you whatever data I have on the Wilby-Kincey Corporation.

According to Miss Ruby Doris Smith, a member of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights (the Atlanta student group), four downtown Atlanta movie theatres -- the Roxy, Fox, Rialto, and Loew's Grand -- have been desegregated since June 1. I called the Wilby-Kincey Corporation, at 16 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., and was told that it owns the Roxy and Fox theatres.

Apparently, desegregation of these four theatres is proceeding smoothly.

If you need any more information on theatre desegregation, please do not hesitate to write. I hope this has been useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Miller
Research Assistant

Good letter

July 5, 1962

Mrs. Kathryn W. Moseley
President
Young Women's Christian Association
344 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mrs. Moseley:

Your letter of June 23 arrived the day after Paul Rilling's departure for Europe; he won't return until August 15. I am enclosing such material as I can gather here relating to united approaches to community-wide desegregation in various communities. Paul will send you any supplementary information he may think useful, along with his own insights, immediately upon his return.

As you will see from the enclosed clips and materials, circumstances were different in each of the communities in which there have been such joint efforts. In Louisville, long-term picketing and an effective boycott provided the backdrop for negotiations; Louisville's Mayor Hoblitzell and his appointed committee were instrumental in the final resolution in that community. (Question #5, "What approaches did you use...", as answered by each of the agencies and organizations active in the situation, contained in the enclosed "Louisville Moves Again: Chapter II," may be useful to you.)

In Dallas, the Dallas Citizens Council, an unofficial body of business leaders, acted as the catalyst. The Council appointed two "Committees of Seven," white and Negro, which worked together in planning for peaceful school desegregation and negotiating desegregation in other areas in advance of demonstrations. A series of Federal court suits and demonstrations stimulated discussions and negotiations in Memphis. Here, an interracial group of civic and business leaders, the Memphis Community Relations Committee, played a major role, according to the enclosed clipping.

In San Antonio, representatives of the Council of Churches and the Community Welfare Council joined with the NAACP in a movement urging lunch counter desegregation; since that time an interracial commission has been set up and it, apparently, has quietly negotiated with managers of various facilities.

Knowledgeable persons who could provide you with additional information about Louisville are:

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Chairman, Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
(Part-time member SRC staff)

Mr. Charles Steele,
Executive Secretary
Louisville Urban League
608 W. Walnut Street

Mr. F. L. Stanley
Editor
Louisville Defender
418 S. Fifth Street.

Dr. Parrish will be able to provide you with names and addresses of persons active in bringing about effective action; the latter two persons may or may not have been influential in such action themselves. They are both knowledgeable leaders in the Negro community, and they would, I am sure, also provide useful names if they did not play leading roles themselves.

In Memphis, helpful contacts would appear from the enclosed clipping to be:

The Rev. Dr. Paul Tudor Jones
Pastor, Idlewild Presbyterian Church
1750 Union Avenue
(President, Community Relations Committee)

Mr. Jesse H. Turner
Executive Vice President
Tri-State Bank of Memphis
386 Beale Street
(President, Memphis Branch, NAACP).

In Dallas, Mr. C. A. Tatum, President of the Dallas Power and Light Company (home address: 4009 Grassmere Lane), heads the Citizens Council white Committee of Seven; its

Negro counterpart is headed by Mr. C. Maceo Smith. We are unable to locate an address for Mr. Smith. Mr. Gus Falk of the American Jewish Committee's Southwest Regional Office, 523 Fidelity Building, Dallas 2, would be able to give you some information and perhaps names of other persons involved in the effort.

I am sorry, but we do not have names of contacts in San Antonio. Perhaps inquiries addressed simply to the Executive Director of the Council of Churches and the Executive Director of the Community Welfare Council, in Dallas, both of whom were active in negotiations, as reported in the enclosed Special Report, would be fruitful.

Good luck in your efforts.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enclosures:
Louisville Moves Again: Chapter II
"The Virtue of Preparation" (Dallas, Texas), Christian Century
"Louisville Quick in Racial Change," NYT, 9/25/61
"Race Relations Gain in Memphis," NYT, 2/16/62
"Dallas Braces for School Integration," Ata. Jnl. Const., 7/30/61
Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi,
Galveston, and San Antonio, SRC-15

July 9, 1962

Mr. Ralph Elliott Jefferson, Architect
703 East Seventh Street
Plainfield, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Jefferson:

Under separate cover we are sending you some studies on Open Housing. Most of them include selected bibliographies which may be helpful.

Other related materials are in our files but no extra copies. If you would like any further titles, please let us know if you are interested in a specific aspect of the subject.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

Materials sent: Research Report on Integrated Housing in Kalamazoo, July 1959
Who's My Neighbor, Algernon D. Black, P. A. Pamphlet No. 273, Oct.'58
Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends and the Housing of Minority Groups, Robert A. Thompson, Reprint PHYLON, 1st Qtr., 1958
Homes and Community, AFSC, September 1961
San Francisco's Housing Market -- Open or Closed?
Discrimination in Housing: A Handbook of Fact, Grier and Grier, ADL, '60
Residential Desegregation - Social Progress, September 1958
Residential Desegregation: Confrontation for the Churches, S. Garry Oniki; Probing the Ethics of Realtors, Kenneth Underwood and Elden Jacobson, Christianity and Crisis, May 29, 1961
(pamphlets in quantity)

July 27, 1962

Mr. Galen Martin
Commission on Human Rights
168 Capitol Annex
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Martin:

When I wrote you yesterday that I would be mailing you materials pertinent to community self surveys, I did not realize that the bulk of our materials would turn out to be one-of-a-kind file copies. I was able to send you a copy of "A Status Study of Negro Employment and Training Opportunities in Four Southern Cities," an SRC research project in July, 1961, and a copy of "Greenville's Big Idea" a self survey of Negro conditions in Greenville, South Carolina. Included with these pamphlets was a copy of a form used by SRC in surveying biracial convention facilities in the South, just as a sample.

Enclosed with this letter is a bibliography of other pamphlets published as guides for community studies which you might still be able to obtain from the agencies which published them.

Let us know if we can assist you in any other way.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

Community Dynamics Processes: Two Community Case Studies of People in Development; Loureide J. Biddle and William W. Biddle; Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y., 1962.

Helping Communities to Help Themselves: The Community Self-Survey in Race Relations; Herman H. Long; Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., Date unknown.

Teen-Agers Look at Their Town; A Leader's Guide for Conducting a Community Program; Ann G. Wolfe; The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

How Well Do You Know Your Community?; Mell H. Atchley; Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla., 1951

A Handbook in Community Development; The Southeastern Community Workshop; Furman University Press, Greenville, South Carolina, 1941

Shall We Make a Survey?; National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc., 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y., 1949

Let's Look at Ourselves; National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights, 20 West 40 Street, New York 18, N.Y.

Toward a Delineation of Community Research: With Special Implications for Community Action with Reference to the South; Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State College, State College, Mississippi, 1954

July 27, 1962

Mr. Gilbert James, Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
The University of Wisconsin
Fox Valley Center
Menasha, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. James:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to send you self-survey materials requested in your recent letter.

We have only one or two copies of most of these materials and so are enclosing only the following:

Our "Your Community Looks at Itself" - PLEASE RETURN
"A Status Study of Negro Employment and Training Opportunities in Four Southern Cities"
"Greenville's Big Idea"
"Directory of Biracial Convention Facilities in the South"

The American Jewish Committee, "Teen-agers Look at their Town"

National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights, "Let's Look at Ourselves."

Other pamphlets in our files which likely would be helpful are:

Mell H. Atchley, "Community Study Guide," University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, 1951

"Jacksonville Looks at its Negro Community," Council of Social Agencies, Consolidated Building, Jacksonville, Florida, 1946

"A Handbook in Community Development," The Southeastern Workshop, Greenville, South Carolina, 1941

"Shall We Make a Survey?" National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc., 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y., 1949

Herman H. Long, "Helping Communities to Help Themselves," Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, undated

"Toward a Delineation of Community Research with Special Implications for Community Action with Reference to the South," Community Series No. 4, The Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State College, State College, Mississippi, 1954

Biddle and Biddle, "Community Dynamics Processes," Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y., 1962

James W. Morrison, "The Negro in Greater Miami," Greater Miami Urban League, Community Services Building, 395 NW First Street, Suite 209, Miami, Florida, 1962.

If you would like to see these guides and do not care to order them directly, we can lend them to you provided you will return them.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

August 17, 1962

Mr. Robb Burlage
266 Seaver Street
Apartment 11
Roxbury 21, Massachusetts

Dear Robb:

I have made copies of all the articles you wanted. As you will see when the materials arrive Negro political efforts across the South have been considerable, or at least have taken up a lot of newspaper space.

Wiley Branton, the director of the Voter Education Project, felt that if you wrote to the five organizations in the project (SNCC, NAACP, SCLC, CORE and NUL) they could give you detailed information about their various voter registration projects.

As far as schools for political candidates in Mississippi, we have nothing at all in our files about them. I think if you ask SNCC or write directly to Bob Moses (1104 Lynch Street, Jackson) or Tim Jenkins you can get the information. You will probably see Bob and Tim at the NSA Congress next week, so you could ask them then.

I have turned your money for a New South subscription over to our subscription lady and you should be getting your copies soon.

Robb, very often in going through our clips I came across material that seemed pertinent to what you wanted but I wasn't quite sure. For instance, here in Atlanta we've just had a vote for an $80 million bond issue. The mayor, the newspapers, and most leading white citizens supported the bond issue. At first the Negro Atlanta Voters League was reported to be against the bond issue. Later on they endorsed it. However, the bonds were defeated and one of the major reasons is many Negro voters (who had previously supported the mayor) stayed away from the polls, making the negative votes count heavily. Are you interested in this sort of thing? Or, in the Charlotte Observer during the recent Eighth Congressional District race a story appeared one day in which a candidate was quoted as saying he was opposed by "certain elements of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." The next day

the headline was, "Kitchin Says He Wants Negro, Labor Support" which I took to mean that both elements were powerful enough for him not to want to risk antagonizing. Or, in a story by Charles Pou in the Atlanta Journal about a Griffin rally in Darien (Marvin Griffin is one of the leading candidates for governor in Georgia) the first sentance is, "Marvin Griffin ... emphasized what he did for Negroes as governor in his first campaign talk where many Negroes were present." Later on in the story Pou says, "Negroes comprise almost exactly one-half the population in McIntosh and represent the balance of voting power. They have mainly been voting on the side of Sheriff Poppell." (McIntosh is a county and Sheriff Poppell is a Griffin supporter) If you would like stories like this, please tell me.

I can't find too many references for you to read. The recent articles I found are:

"Mississippi Political Handbook" by William L. Higgs April, 1962

"Negro Political Participation In the South" by Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina October, 1961

"The Kennedy's Move In On Dixie" by Louis E. Lomax Harper's Magazine, May, 1962

"Freedom Riders To the Polls" by Staughton Lynd The Nation, July 28, 1962

"The Negro In The South" Congressional Quarterly Service, March 27, 1962

Again, if you would like more information, I will be glad to help you.

Sincerely yours,

Jane M. Bond
Research Assistant

August 24, 1962

Miss Mae G. Banner
Department of Broadcasting Services
The University of Tennessee
Division of University Extension
14 Ayres Hall
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Banner:

Paul Rilling has asked me to forward you a list of suitable materials and films for use in connection with your forthcoming Television Course in Social Studies.

As a source of material on the concept of race, you may find the enclosed SRC L Reports, "Race and Intelligence" and "Association Re-affirms its Position on Race," suitable for adaptation. Pamphlets from the UNESCO series on race would also be useful; they may be ordered from Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, New York. "The Race Question in Modern Science" is the particular UNESCO series you would wish to order; it includes:

Race and Culture by Michel Leiris
Race and Biology by L. C. Dunn
Race and Psychology by Otto Klineberg
Racial Myths by Juan Comas
The Roots of Prejudice by Arnold M. Rose
Race and History by Claude Levi-Strauss
Race and Society by Kenneth L. Little
The Significance of Racial Differences by G. M. Morant
Race Mixture by Harry L. Shapiro
~~The~~Race Concept - Results of an Inquiry.

"Sense and Nonsense About Race," by Ethel Alpenfels, a 46 page pamphlet published in 1946 by Friendship Press and available from the Anti-Defamation League (address enclosed) is another source which might be of help.

We are enclosing from our research files an extra copy of Ashley Montagu's "What We Know About 'Race'," which is more recent and perhaps more interestingly written than the Alpenfels pamphlet.

For adaptation into discussions of the sociological and psychological dynamics of prejudice, we would recommend that you consult any or all of the following:

1. "The ABC's of Scapegoating," by Gordon W. Allport, pamphlet, 56 pp., 1948. Available from the Anti-Defamation League.

2. "The Nature of Prejudice," by Gordon W. Allport, book, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954.

3. "The Authoritarian Personality," by T. W. Adorno and others, book, N.Y.: Harper.

4. "The Social Psychology of Prejudice," by Gerhart Saenger, book, N.Y.: Harper & Brothers, 1953.

A copy of an article by Marie Jahoda, "What is Prejudice," from our research files, is enclosed.

We are also sending you an annotated listing of films available from the Anti-Defamation League, along with an SRC film bibliography. I should think that the two films listed under "Race and Race Relations," page 2, would be the only two of our listings which might be suitable. Distributors addresses may be found on the final page. The ADL carries and is the actual distributor for a number of films which appear to me to be suitable for lower grade levels.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the "Resource Handbook in Human Relations." The films, books, plays and poetry which are annotated therein are divided by grade level suitability.

Please let us know if we may be of further help.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

September 11, 1962

Dr. John J. O'Conner
Department of History
Georgetown University
Washington 7, D.C.

Dear Dr. O'Conner:

Miss Long has asked me to answer your request for information on race and reapportionment.

I have gathered some material for you, but there has been very little written on this subject. So far, as I'm sure you know, most reapportionment has been in the courts and only one suit, the one from New York, has specifically mentioned race.

Mr. Staige Blackford, our Research Director, has suggested that you write the Louisiana State University Press at Baton Rouge about their forthcoming book, The Politics of Mis-Representation by Havard and Beth. This is a case study of the Florida Legislature. Other source material that may be of interest to you are the publications on legislative apportionment from the National Municipal League. I have enclosed a copy of their list. Perhaps the pamphlet from the University of Virginia Bureau of Public Administration, "Devaluation of the Urban and Suburban Vote," by Paul T. David and Ralph Eisenberg might prove useful.

Several members of the research department think that data about the white and non-white populations (those registered, those of voting age, etc.) of the southern states involved in reapportionment suits may be of use to you. A publication of the Bureau of the Census, "Congressional District Data Book," is a very good source for this information. If you would prefer, we could send you what voting statistics we have here.

I hope the material enclosed is what you wanted. If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Jane M. Bond
Research Assistant

Enclosures:

New Publications On Legislative Apportionment, National Municipal League

"Decision Put Off On Redistricting," Layhmond Robinson, New York Times, August 16, 1962

"22 States Battle On Redistricting," Layhmond Robinson, New York Times, August 6, 1962

"Reapportionment Is Gaining Momentum," Anthony Lewis, New York Times, June 17, 1962

"U.S. To Hear Suit On Districts Here," New York Times, August 9, 1962

"Redistricting Suit Charges Race Bias," New York Times, May 12, 1962

"Redistricting Making Foes of Ex-Colleagues," Edgar Poe, Times-Picayune, April 22, 1962

"Attack On Unit System Filed in U.S. Court Here," Douglas Kiker and Walter Rugaber, Atlanta Journal, March 26, 1962

"Supreme Court's Decision Will Linger In The South," Charles Hauser, Charlotte Observer, April 1, 1962

"Apportioning Mushrooms On," Martin Murphy, Atlanta Journal-Constituion, June 10, 1962

"Nullification Eyed Before May 15 Vote," Robert E. Baker, Washington Post, May 1, 1962

"City Folks Want Representation, And They Have A Very Good Case," Douglas Kiker, Atlanta Journal Constitution, February 11, 1962

"Rural Officials Attack Decision," Worth Wilkerson, Cattanooga Times, March 27, 1962

"Democrats Fight Districting Here; Suit Charges," Layhmond Robinson, July 27, 1962 (New York Times)

"Courts Act Swiftly To Force Reapportionment By States," Lawrence Emery, National Guardian, July 2, 1962

September 17, 1962

The Rev. Fred M. Reese, Jr.
5415 Sylvan Drive
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Reese:

We are enclosing some material which will, we hope, be of use to you and others in Columbia in the event that there is some movement to revert to segregated lunch counters. Unfortunately, we know of no published studies of long range economic patterns as they relate to lunch counter desegregation; we have, however, prepared for your use data on department store sales in Georgia cities with desegregated lunch counters. This material is explained more fully below.

In previously published reports we do find the following statements (copies of these reports are enclosed):

1. "All of the managers report that their general business is back to about normal; one reported an increase. They report their lunch counter business somewhat under, equal to, or above what it was a year ago, varying with the facilities and location of the various stores...."

Lunch Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N.C.: Patrick, Clarence H., 1960; p. 22.

2. "They reported food service had fallen off slightly in the stores and that a few employes had quit rather than work in an integrated lunch room.

"They also reported, however, merchandise sales were booming and there was no indication the integration of the lunch counters was interfering with this most important source of revenue for retailers."

Settling a Sit-in: Westfeldt, Wallace; p. 7.
(This was the report made some two weeks after desegregation.)

3. "Managers of the stores reported no difficulty and no loss in sales following the desegregation."

Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas: Morland, Kenneth; p. 8, "San Antonio."

Table 1 of the material which we prepared shows, in terms of the percentage change from the corresponding period one year earlier, department store sales in Georgia cities with desegregated lunch counters. Tables 2-5 show the same data in graphs. The month in which desegregation occurred in each city is indicated.

These data should be used with some caution or explanation, however, in dealing with store managers. The tables represent first of all an index to the general economy of an area; secondly, for our purposes, data from Atlanta, Savannah, and Augusta may be used to show long range economic patterns as experienced by department stores (only) with desegregated eating facilities. Variety stores do not appear to fall within the Federal Reserve definition of Department Stores and are not, therefore, reflected. Only in the case of Atlanta, Columbus, Savannah, and Augusta do we know that department stores have desegregated eating facilities. Columbus, Georgia, unfortunately, stopped reporting to the Federal Reserve one month before desegregation. According to news clips, only variety stores desegregated in Macon.

(I am enclosing a copy of the Federal Reserve "Definition of a Department Store." The type of merchandise carried by several Atlanta "variety stores"--Newberry's, Kresge's--- would, it seems to me , permit them to report to Federal Reserve as "Department Stores." We cannot determine, however, exactly which stores in a given city were used in compiling these data, nor are data on Variety Stores available from Federal Reserve.)

To summarize:

1. Table 1 reflects percentile change in department store sales in all Georgia cities having desegregated eating facilities; tables 2-5 reflect the same data in graphs. "Department Store Sales" are one of the standard indices used to determine the general ~~economy~~ prosperity of a city or region.

Cont 2. Figures and graphs for Atlanta, Savannah, and Augusta may be used to indicate economic patterns in Department Stores most of which, if not all of which, in these cities have desegregated lunch counters, and restaurants.

3. Figures and graphs for Macon, Georgia are useful only for purposes of comparison or for showing general economic prosperity or decline, since only variety stores in that city are reported by the press to have desegregated lunch counters, and variety store sales are not normally reflected in the Federal Reserve Bank Department Store Sales series. However, it is quite possible that some of the Macon variety stores actually are represented in the data; this would depend on their individual merchandising.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Enclosures

September 25, 1962

Mr. Roger Hagan
Council for Correspondence
P. O. Box 536, Cooper Station
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Hagan:

Please accept our apologies for the delay in answering your queries on Negro candidates and the Negro vote in "insurgent politics." Since you had mentioned having talked with Jack Minnis earlier, I relayed your topic to him first and he submitted the thoughts in the enclosed, type-written memorandum.

Along more specific lines, the Richmond story (as told in the enclosed Washington Post reprint) points up the power of the Negro vote in the case of councilman Heberle in that city. Messrs. Higgs and Smith, about whom you inquire, are identified in the Afro-American clipping. The balance of the clippings deal largely with Negroes who have run for office in to-them virgin soil in the South. For your purposes the news accounts will be perhaps by no means complete, but may serve as examples or points of departure for further study.

Trusting this information will be useful and that you will call on us if we can be of further help,

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enclosures:
Minnis memorandum
L-36
clippings covering
Rivera Beach, Fla.
Hinesville, Ga.
Birmingham
Hartford (Conn.) & Jefferson County (Ala.) - Democratice Exec. Committees

The Clarence Mitchell referred to would seem to be Clarence Mitchell, Jr., of Baltimore, who was recently elected to the Maryland legislature. (Clarence Mitchell, Sr., is Director of the Washington bureau of the NAACP.)

The Negro vote is, of course, crucial in any place where its magnitude makes it a noticeable factor in an election. One instance of this was in the 1961 mayoralty election in Atlanta where Ivan Allen actually received a minority of the white vote, but was able to get a majority of the total because of the Negro vote. Another example occurred in Memphis, Tennessee, where Congressman Clarence Davis's campaign tactics were noticeably different from previous years becuase of the large Negro registration.

One factor which sometimes operates to diminish the effectiveness of the registered Negroes is illustrated by the 1961 race for mayor in New Orleans. The Negroes voted for one of the two major candidates in the first primary. The other candidate was able to charge, in the second primary, that his opponent was the Negro's candidate and that, therefore, all who opposed racial "mongrelization" should vote against that candidate. He was able to stir up enough racial strife in the community to acquire a large white majority in the run-off, thus defeating the Negro vote. In this case the winner was the incumbent, who had the enormous forces of city hall working for him in the election. Had there been no candidate in the race who had such an edge, it may be that the Negro vote would have been a deciding factor.

Thus, the crucial nature of the Negro vote in a given election depends to some extent on factors other than simply its own magnitude. On the other hand, the influence of the Negro interests on the conduct of an administration is likely to be in direct proportion to its magnitude. Despite the fact that Mayor Schiro, in New Orleans, won without the Negro vote, he would be less a politician than he is if he did not consider the implications of a 36,000 vote minority group for his own political future. A politician who is not completely bughouse on the race issue is not going to conduct himself in such a way as to ensure the estrangement of a sizeable bloc of voters, apart, of course, from the public statements he feels it necessary to make in the heat of a campaign.

28 September 1962

Mr. John Emmerich, Editor
McComb Enterprise-Journal
P. O. Box 310
McComb, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Emmerich:

Enclosed are materials which we hope will be helpful in your study of Mississippi voting although the current clips will afford only spot comparisons. Regrettably, we have been unable to secure much information regarding Mississippi registrations. You likely already are familiar with the 1961 Commission on Civil Rights report on voting which gives statistics for most Southern counties.

Please let us know if we can supply further information. We look forward to seeing your article.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

Enc: Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South
The Negro and the Ballot in the South

Clips: "Negro Vote Strength Shifts Little," Atl. J-C, 3-25-62
"White Voter Gain Outstrips Rise in Negro Registrations," B'ham News, 6-10-62
Congressional Record, 4-27-62, re Arkansas registration
"23 of 100 Negroes Registered in State," Washn Post, 4-22-62
"Negro Vote Register Up In Virginia," Washn Post 5-26-62
"S. C. Voter Registration Up 70,000," News & Courier 9-16-62
"S. C. Negro Registration Increases," Charlotte Obs., 6-3-62
"Negro Registrants Exceed Whites in Number," News & Courier 8-17-62
"Negroes Drive Registers 1,450," Chattanooga Times 6-30-62
"7 Biggest Counties Add 113,034 Voters," Atl. Const. 9-9-62
4 Times-Pic clips 8-14-62, 2-3-62, 8-27-62, 7-11-62 re La. registrations
"Negroes Register Over 1600 Here," Raleigh News and Observer 8-4-62

October 2, 1962

Mr. Will Bloch
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Bloch:

Thank you for your letter of September 27 with its generous check for "literature and good will." As I recall, the materials we mailed you last spring came too late for your debate, but I am glad they proved useful in the long run.

You ask about long-range reporting on desegregation, and bibliographies. The latter is simpler. The Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., periodically publishes an extensive mimeographed bibliography. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES, by Alexander D. Brooks, has recently been published by Civil Liberties Educational Foundation, Inc., 200 Park Avenue South, New York City, 3. And the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York City 22, monthly produces "Articles of Interest in Current Periodicals." SRC's listing of current materials is enclosed. We will be happy to send publications on it which you would find helpful for your project.

Two examples of long-range reporting come to mind: the enclosed reprint from the Washington Post on the Richmond story; and SRC's Albany. The latter has a sequel in process at the moment. I believe you have the January, 1962 report. If not, we can send it, too, along with the present study when it is completed. Both have been done by the same reporter. And, if your library receives the Washington Post, you may want to watch ahead or long back for other Robert Baker pieces. He frequently covers such subjects in depth and over a considerable time period.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (2)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

October 3, 1962

The Reverend Duncan Hunter
District Superintendent
The Methodist Church
1009 Westmoreland Avenue
Huntsville, Ala.

Dear

Here are a collection of statements; also some sentences which I hastily jotted down. Please let us know how you make out.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enclosures:
LWD notes
Albany Ministers statement
Hill, This I Believe
McGill, The Agony of the Southern Minister
Sessons, Are Southern Ministers Failing the South
Atlanta Ministers statement, 2nd
New South, April 1957, Richmond Ministers statement
Nov. 1957, Atlanta ministers, 1st
May 1958, Gainesville ministers
June 1958, Dallas ministers
December 1957, Greater Houston ministers
foto copies newsclips, with more recent statements, including Catholic Bishops statement

8 October 1962

The Reverend William Linder
Immaculate Conception Seminary
Darlington-Ramsey P. O., New Jersey

Dear Mr. Linder:

Enclosed are some materials that may be helpful to you in preparing your seminar on interracial justice. Additionally you might like to secure the following:

The Houston Murder Problem, by Henry Allen Bullock for The Mayor's Negro Law Enforcement Committee, Houston, Texas, June 1961.

Please let us know if we can supply additional information.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

enc: Claude Sitton, "When a Southern Negro Goes to Court," New York Times Magazine, January 7, 1962
Exceppt from Charge to the Grand Jury, delivered by Judge Luther Alverson, Superior Court, Atlanta Circuit, May 6, 1958
SRC, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
Race and Law Enforcement
Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence

RALPH McGILL

Atl Constitution, Oct. 11, 1962

Only the Nation Is "Sovereign"

As at the time of resistance to court orders in Arkansas in 1957, and later in other states, there are always the deceitful voices insisting that states' rights have been denied—that state sovereignty has been violated.

This is simply not true. We owe it to ourselves to cease believing falsehoods.

The U. S. Supreme Court has deprived no state of a single right it possesses under the Constitution. We see the court diligently at work in the field of individual rights in the state reapportionment cases, in eliminating Georgia's notorious unit law which caused one urban vote to be worth 1-117th of a rural vote. Not many persons know that perhaps the most taxing work of the U. S. Supreme Court is in reading the hundreds of handwritten letters which come each week from prisoners in penitentiaries saying their constitutional rights have been ignored and presenting their reasons for this charge. The court, at many times in moments of emotional crisis, has been subjected to unreasonable, even vile abuse. Time passes and men see how wrong they were. Meanwhile the court, as our forefathers meant it to be, is the one great anchor that our free society and our individual rights and human dignity possess.

No State Deprived

No state has lost, or been deprived of, a single states' right. The University of Mississippi can continue exactly as before. It can teach as it did. It can hire or fire what professors it wishes. (About one-fourth of its faculty left in a period of about two years.) The U. S. Supreme Court has said only a citizen of the United States may not be discriminated against because of his race. A qualified student cannot be denied a chance at the same sort of education all other citizens have because of race. The Negro is a citizen of this country. There are many who do not like this. But it is true. What, then, can the federal government do if a citizen is deprived of his rights as a citizen? Is this what the extremists mean by states' rights? It is, of course, precisely what they mean. But this is not a state's right.

No state is sovereign. The 13 members of the old Confederation of colonies, formed after the Revolution, were in fact sovereign. They fell into factional disorder. The United States was created. The states adopted a Constitution providing for the necessary central authority. There has not been a sovereign state since 1789. The Civil War was fought on that issue.

The original Constitution said, in section two and three of the original seven articles: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

Bound by Oath

". . . The senators and representatives . . . the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution. . . ."

This would seem plain enough. There is a lot of childish nonsense about invalidating the 14th amendment. No American who reads that amendment will want to live without it. The corporations of the nation, who use it more than individuals, would be most unhappy without it. It is impossible to believe that those who complain about it have read it.

We would have no national citizenship if one state could deny the constitutional rights guaranteed to all citizens. Mississippi set out to do just that. Gov. Barnett declared he would deny federal court orders. He showed the nation and the world his state patrolmen blocking federal marshals bearing a court order. Can anyone imagine Gov. Barnett, or any other governor, has a "sovereign right" to destroy the central authority of our nation? Does anyone wish a state to have such a "right"?

The nation is sovereign—as it must be. And persons who live under law accept laws even if they do not agree—the cry babies and the subversives to the contrary notwithstanding.

10-11-62 Atl. Constitution

Eugene Patterson

Legalism Breeds Illegality

President Kennedy had both the duty and the authority to enforce the federal court orders against the forcible resistance in Mississippi, according to the deans of the law schools of Harvard, Virginia, Yale, Pennsylvania, Vanderbilt, Chicago, North Carolina, Northwestern, Duke, Columbia and Notre Dame.

Against this rather authoritative opinion, David Lawrence arrays himself, and the number of people who admire that columnist's conclusions is surprising in view of the poor quality of his argument.

His editorial in the Oct. 8 issue of his magazine presents a dog-eared picture: The Supreme Court school ruling of 1954 was not a legal opinion but an emotional one; it was based on an illegal amendment to the Constitution, the 14th; and President Kennedy and the others who are trying to enforce it are impatient fellows who are somehow committing an outrage upon the law.

* * *

This is, of course, precisely the same picture Gov. Ross Barnett presented to Mississippi. It is no more defensible in the turgid columns of a conservative publication in Washington than it was in the flaming streets of Oxford.

Surely it is time, after the Ole Miss bloodletting, for certain facts to be faced about the difference between debate over law and defiance of due process.

Instead of devoutly lamenting the imperfections he spies, Mr. Lawrence could better serve the cause of domestic tranquility, after the Mississippi inferno, if he also mentioned the remedies available under American law to undo those things which he claims should not have been done, and the folly of defiance until then.

If the 14th amendment is unconstitutional, the American people are as much at liberty to repeal it as they were to repeal the 18th amendment, which they did repeal. There is, of course, no such dominant sentiment in America.

And if the Congress thinks the Supreme Court usurped its constitutional powers or those of the states, let the Congress pass and the people ratify a new amendment to the Constitution removing school desegregation from the authority of the court. Sen. Herman Talmadge did, of course, introduce such an amendment, and neither Congress nor the people wanted it.

* * *

The question, therefore, becomes one of whether dissenters are going to obey the 14th amendment while it remains on the books, or whether they are going to defy it; whether they are going to accept the Supreme Court's interpretation of what the Constitution means so long as Congress and the people accept the interpretation, or whether they are going to defy it.

That is the point of law which becomes overridingly important when a Mississippi mob, feeding on the justifications presented to them, begins to defy, to pillage, to kill and maim. There is not much cautioning against defiance in Mr. Lawrence's editorial, but there is justification of Barnett and criticism of the President's acts against the defiant, and this is presented as a celebration of law!

The aforementioned law school deans, who are perhaps more learned in the field, said: "The real issue (in Mississippi), therefore —and it is a momentous one—is whether the rule of law . . . may be flouted and dishonored. . . . Under his constitutional mandate to take care that the laws are faithfully executed, together with his supporting powers, there was laid on the President the duty and authority to enforce the decree of the Federal Court of Appeals against forcible resistance."

16 October 1962

Mr. Roland E. Brack
4910 Illinois Avenue, N. W.
Washington 11, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brack:

Your request to Mr. Rilling for information regarding discrimination within labor unions has been referred to me for reply. Since you have materials from the AFL-CIO and state that you wish "to get as many views as possible," I am enclosing no AFL-CIO releases. You may want to secure additional publications from the Jewish Labor Committee, 25 East 78th Street, New York 21, N. Y., and from the Labor Department, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. (e.g., "Has Organized Labor Failed the Negro Worker?" by Herbert Hill, and "Racism Within Organized Labor: A Report of Five Years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960").

Please let us know if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

enc: Labor Reports, 12-61
"The Negro Bids for Union Power," The Nation, 3-5-60
"Labor and the Civil Rights Revolution," The New Leader, 4-18-60
Clips: "NLRB Puts Rein on Racial Tactics," NYTimes, 8-11-62
"Race Bias Denied in Garment Union," NYTimes, 8-18-62

October 25, 1962

Miss Annell Ponder
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Annell:

I am sending you our Atlanta employment study along with a few newspaper clips that I hope will be of interest to you.

I hope my delay in sending you these materials hasn't inconvenienced you or Reverend Abernathy.

Sincerely yours,

Jane M. Bond
Research Assistant

Enclosures:
Atlanta Employment Study
"Negroes Sue Railway, Union, Claim Job Loss Due to Race," Atlanta Journal, October 9, 1962
"Atlantic Steel Union Accused of Racial Bias," Atlanta Constitution, October 17, 1962
"Negroes Pressing Hard To Abolish Discrimination In Jobs," New York Times, August 12, 1962
"Nonfarm Workers Climb in Georgia," Atlanta Journal, June 20, 1962
"Thousands Remain Jobless As Incomes Climb to Records," Jim Montgomery, Atlanta Constitution, October 17, 1962

Atl Const.
10-17-62

Eugene Patterson

Do Not Say No To Future of Man

President Rufus Harris has done a great thing at Mercer University. He has challenged the minds of his students to think, instead of blunting them to an unthinking acceptance. This, more than any other value, has been rare in American education. To see it kindled to a bold light at Mercer is a tremendously cheering development in Georgia where too many times truth has been approached on tiptoe.

The universities bear severe responsibilities as "the molders of the ideas and standards by which we live," Dr. Harris said in his convocation speech Oct. 2. "Education must not be afraid to confront the people with central questions."

Our culture is more than stone and steel and technology, he told the students. "Our most important foreign aid could be our assistance to all people . . . to find the secrets of independence and freedom as well as the secrets of technology and science. Our processes in education should reflect it."

* * *

Bluntly meeting some central issues, Dr. Harris said that "in a very vital sense the chief danger to our nation is that in so many ways our people have not grown up. The danger is obvious if our enemies outgrow us."

Biologists have a term, neotony, meaning a determination to remain fixed on an infantile level. Dr. Harris fearlessly called Gov. Barnett's recent actions in Mississippi a "grotesque example" of this condition and expressed his astonishment that Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell had seemed to express approval of Barnett.

For what has happened in Mississippi, Dr. Harris said, "I share with millions of Southerners a deep and abiding shame."

"The frightful silence of men and institutions of good will in the most critical social issue of our generation exposes the great need of valiant religious forces to help the young people to grow. . . . Freedom is that kind of quality whose very nature is to be continually threatened, and the idea of a university and the idea of race hatred are mutually exclusive."

Urging grown-up qualities in Mercer students, he directed them away from having "so little faith in God that one prefers to say no rather than yes about the future of mankind."

* * *

And in a magnificent declaration of academic purpose, the Mercer president concluded: "I declare to the entering college students of this day that a grown-up person is a humane person, and a humane person is an humble and reverent one; that he is one who comprehends but does not accept the abundant evil of the universe; that he responds to the voice inside his heart; that he is one who desires not the death of the person in error, but that he repent and live. This mature religion is not something to be used, but to be lived.

"It is not something to imbue you with fear, but to ennoble you with love. It is not something to cater to your base instincts, but to lift your eyes to greater levels. It will wisely vest all the wondrous progress we have made in every area of human endeavor with the essence of the spirit of God. I urge you at Mercer to try to grow up to this. May God grant you His help to do so."

A college president would not speak so plainly to Georgians unless he had a deep confidence in them. In such freely-expressed ideals lies the real key to academic worth.

November 6, 1962

Mr. W. Sprague Holden, Chairman
Department of Journalism
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mr. Holden:

The Southern Regional Council is an organization which really dates back to 1919. We were the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a group of Negro and white liberals which was reorganized into the Southern Regional Council in 1944. We are now a board of eighty some distinguished Negro and white Southerners, from business, education, and other professions. We do not have members but we work with state and local Councils on Human Relations, which are membership groups. These Councils are autonomous but, of course, we have the same interests and we give them a little money.

We are now committed to complete desegregation and public equality in the South and direct our persuasions to that end. We are an organization of fact finding and persuasion, I should say, and our research department is our most important function for its reports, reprints of important ideas and opinions and new findings on the state of race relations in the South.

We're enclosing a little history of the Southern Regional Council which also explains our purposes better than I have here.

I certainly hope we will have a chance to see your Australian story if you could arrange to get us a copy.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
ML/mg

November 6, 1962

Bernice Cook Barbara Patterson

Distribution & Mailing of ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATL. RESPONSIBILITY

#9 - this is to be mailed on Friday, November 9, and is to have included in the envelope a news release

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FCR
VIP

- the above categories are to be mailed on but <u>not before</u> Tuesday, November 13

the mailings can be done in the 6½ x 9½ envelopes.

In addition, copies should be delivered by hand on Friday, November 9 to

Claude Sitton	NY Times
Fred Powledge	Journal
Hal Gulliver	Constitution
Bert Shor	Wall St. Journal

and Bob Baker, Wash. Post, to be air-mailed a copy late Thursday, Nov. 8

Also, special mailing to chiefs of police (special list - needs typed labels)

November 27, 1962

Mr. Lee Nichols
1301 South Peninsula Drive
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Nichols:

I was glad to get your letter of November 20. I have spoken with Dr. Lincoln and he will be sending to you a couple of later papers of his about the Black Muslims. Enclosed with this letter are some articles you may have missed.

A later book than Eric's is by E. U. Essien-Udom, titled Black Nationalism and published this year by the University of Chicago Press. I have not read this but I am told it is extremely interesting.

In the November 17 New Yorker there is a long article by James Baldwin which, in part, treats of the Black Muslims; I found it most helpful in guiding my own thinking.

I do think, in answer to your question, that there is reason not only for Detroit industrialists but for all of us to be alarmed by the growth of Black Muslims. It seems to me that this movement spreads as more and more Negroes become conscious of an alienation from American society. I suspect there is only one adequate preventative against Negro Americans turning toward Black Muslims (or other so-called nationalists) or toward anti-American expressions of one kind or another, and that is for us to complete the process of integration. This includes legal integration but it also includes the establishment within the Negro populace, especially in the large cities, of a realistic belief that they do have a self interest in the institutions of American life.

Our information is that the Black Muslim temple in Atlanta has not grown much and that in other southern cities

there is not great strength, but Dr. Lincoln can inform you much more expertly.

Please let us know if we can be of any further help.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A
CC: Dr. Eric Lincoln

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enclosures:

Alex Haley, "Mr. Muhammad Speaks," Readers Digest, March 1960
Harry Ashmore, "Negro Ghettos in the North," Atlanta Constitution, May 11, 1960
Nat Hentoff, "Black Nationalism in the U. S.," Current, September 1960
Charles West, "Negro Race Supremacists Are Moving South," Winston-Salem Journal & Sentinel, Sept. 11, 1960
Bayard Rustin, "Race Tension in the Ghetto Unites Integrationists and Black Muslims," New America, Sept. 22, 1961
Robert Spike, "The Black Muslims," Christianity & Crisis, May 29, 1961
Book Reviews, The News Leader, November 12, 1962, Morroe Berger reviews Lomax, The Negro Revolt, Ahmann, The New Negro, E. U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism, under title "The New 'New Negro'"

P.S. There is a chapter on the Black Muslims in Louis Lomax's The Negro Revolt.

November 28, 1962

Mr. Howard Livingston
23 Rockledge Road
Hartsdale, New York

Dear Mr. Livingston:

I apologieze for the delay in answering your letter but what with our annual meeting, out-of-town trips, etc., we have been rather snowed under in recent days.

Now, regarding your request for literary studies that present a positive image of the American Negro or deal with a predominant theme of tolerance and understanding, we ourselves have not conducted such studies. I would like, however, to recommend the works of the following southern authors as relevant to the theme of your dissertation:

William Faulkner, of course, particularly his short story, "The Bear," and his novels, Intruder in the Dust and The Sound and the Fury;

Elizabeth Spencer's novel, The Voice at the Back Door, is a beautifully written account of the relationship between a white man and a Negro in Mississippi;

Carson McCuller's latest novel, Clock Without Hands, is by no means her best work, but it is most concerned with tolerance and understanding of the Negro;

The short stories of Shirley Ann Grau and Flannery O'Connor deal, to some extent, with the subject of your thesis; I would also recommend a perusal of Peter Feibleman's A Place without Twilight and William Styron's Lie Down in Darkness.

Finally, I would like to make the suggestion that you write directly to Professor Louis Rubin, chairman of the English Department, at Hollins College, Hollings, Va.

Allen Tate

Rubin is, for my money, the best critic on modern Southern writers in this country today. I would further suggest that you pick up a copy of an anthology he edited for an Anchor paperback published late in 1961. The title is: South: Modern Southern Literature in Its Cultural Setting. See also Rubin's essay, "The Faraway Country" in the Summer 1962 issue of the Virginia Quarterly Review.

One last thought occurs to me: for the kind of thesis I gather you have in mind, you will certainly want to read the works of James Baldwin who is, I think, not only the best Negro writer in this country today but also one of the best living American writers, period.

I hope these recommendations will be of use to you, and I would be most interested in seeing a copy of your thesis when it is completed.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

November 30, 1962

M. André Terrot
c/o Madame Oderio
Chemin de la Poterne
Grenoble
Isère
France

Dear M. Terrot:

You should not apologize for your writing facility in English. It is excellent and I wish we could do as well in French. Our office remembers your group's visit earlier this year and are only too glad to send what follow-up information we can.

First, we do not have any published materials dealing specifically with the desegregation process among Georgia's institutions of higher education. We have, however, records of what desegregation has taken place. This is as follows:

Georgia State College - Atlanta - state -
desegregated in 1962
at present 1 Negro undergraduate;
University of Georgia - Athens - state -
desegregated in 1961
at present 6 Negro undergraduates
gave its first degree to a Negro
at the August 1962 commencement -
Mary Early - M.A. in music education;
Georgia Institute of Technology - Atlanta - state
(popularly called "Georgia Tech")
desegregated in 1961
at present 6 Negro undergraduates;
Columbia Theological Seminary - Decatur - Presbyterian
this seminary is 128 years old and,
according to a recent statement, has
never had a segregated or desegregated
admissions policy - Negroes have been
in continual attendance in recent years
although other Presbyterian seminaries
in the South (Louisville, Ky., Austin,
Tex.) offer more attractive locales -

at present 1 Negro undergraduate and 3 Negro graduate students;

Emory University - Atlanta - Methodist
1 Negro at present enrolled in an evening adult education non-credit course
2 Negro nurses accepted for the graduate school of nursing to enter in January, 1963.

As for the political, judicial, and sociological implications which you raise, neither do we have any published materials on that aspect. I am enclosing a copy of a news item from the Washington Post which appeared September 13. As well as any one report it gives a perspective on Georgia which would indicate that this state is far more painlessly than its Deep South neighbors of Alabama and Mississippi moving into the "moderate" department. The recent elections which the news clipping describe underscore this point. A~~s~~ most enlightened newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution, and publisher, Ralph McGill, have had their effects here. It should be noted, too, that all of the instances of desegregation mentioned, with the exception of the University of Georgia at Athens, have taken place in the Atlanta area, which is cosmopolitan and rather a-typical. On the other hand, the recent electors of Georgia's governor-to-be, were state-wide.

Since we realize you are facing a deadline on your paper and wish to send this air mail, we are not including other of our publications - these deal wholly with education in the secondary schools. They are available to you, if you wish, just let us know. A publication list is enclosed. And just parenthetically, you might be interested to read what student writers and editors throughout the South had to say about the recent University of Mississippi tragedy.

Our research director has further suggested that the United State Information Agency in major European cities maintains a library of current periodicals and books and that Grenoble might be one of these cities. If so, that office would surely share contemporary publications with you.

Let us know if you would like more.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (3)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

P.S. It occurs to me that in mentioning "moderate" states a valid instance of comparison would be North Carolina, which, to the best of our knowledge, has at present 20 institutions of higher education with desegregated admissions policies and of these, six have state or local government legal control.

Dec. 3, 1962

Dear Miss Gutman,

I'm afraid Linda Dunbar and Charles McDew over-estimated me, and the SRC, as sources of much study on the Negro role in Atlanta's cultural life. It has, of course, been limited by segregation which is breaking down, now in the last few years.

We do have a study on the state of segregation, or de-segregation, in movies, auditoriums, museums and such in southern cities, a spot survey which includes Atlanta, and which I'll send you. We can also refer you to a Fortune FORTUNE story, Sept.,1961, on the general state of culture, or sub-culture, and to a piece on Negro living and housing which LOOK ran last Spring.

For many years Negroes have contributed richly, if seasonally, to the white community in the Christmas carol sing of Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, a thrilling performance of familiar and exotic carols. White people go for three nights in great throngs, and have to get there an hour early for a seat, or standing room. Big Bethel AME Church has for 20 or 24 years presented HEAVEN BOUND so expertly and with such charm that it is also a November institution for both communities. The Morehouse-Spelman Players at Atlanta University, in gaily and handsomely done musicals and usually excellent drama and comedy, also attract a good many white people.

For three or four years Negroes have attended plays, concerts and other events at the Atlanta auditorium, but in no great numbers. They may, and sometimes do, go to our High Museum for regular and special (or any) exhibits. The "little theaters" around town, three of them, I believe, are desegregated. Local Negro artists, after auditions, have sung and played with our Sunday pops orchestra, whose concerts are desegregated, and Negroes have performed in the summer Theater Under the Stars at Chastain Park.

Downtown and "art" theater movies have been open to Negroes for nearly a year.

Our whole Negro community (well, nearly, or at any rate in a much larger proportion than most people get involved in change) certainly has taken a very lively, and often arduous and sacrificial, interest in "improving itself." Negro ministers in 1957 went singing and praying onto segregated busses, got arrested, instituted a suit and desegregated city transit, in 1959. Our students in 1960 started months of sit-ins, demonstrations, jailings and non-violent protests which resulted in agreement with two big department stores and all dime stores and drugstores to desegregate lunch counters, restaurants and rest room. Students and older people are also pressing to desegregate hotels, and we understand this will be settled soon. (we have only one "white" hotel now open). Negroes ~~suitx~~ sued to desegregate our schools, and a handful of their children, at great heroism, did so, successfully. Leaders at the university, in churches and in business, have pushed and pressured for improvement for years, and have reached with great generosity, and much effect, to the white side for understanding. There is now a Negro ministers' campaign, with boycott of businesses heavily patronized by Negroes, for equal employment.

All this is general, and my view of it. So do come down and see us in the Spring. Keep in touch, and I'll get you up a list of important people to see.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long

P. S. Negro and white people interested in integration here do feel that there is a bad lag in the followup on these achievements, that not enough Negroes use the facilities they have opened. I understand this is pretty general, and is considered the "next phase" for southern Negroes to work on, to come on in in greater numbers.

7 December 1962

Mr. Glenn Abney
Box 423
American University
Massachusetts and Nebraska Avenues, N. W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mr. Abney:

Too long ago Mrs. Patterson, our Research Secretary, asked me to pull together newspaper clips concerning U. S. v. Beaty, U. S. v. McElveen, In re Crum Dinkens, and U. S. v. Alabama for use in preparing your research paper. I regret that we have not done this sooner and, even now, more thoroughly. Enclosed are some clips relating to each case. Undoubtedly there are others in our files which we shall be glad to forward (hopefully with less delay) if there is still time.

The second Albany report is being sent separately.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

enc: Clips, Suffrage: Asked to
Washn Post 1-23-60 "Court ~~xxxxxxx~~ ..."
NYT, 1-12-60 "Court Restores Vote ..."
NYT, 1-13-60 "The Greater Offense"
Washn Post 2-26-60 "Luzianans Can Vote ..."
Washn Post 2-21-60 "High Court to Hear ..."
Afro Magazine Section 10-28-60 "...Gerrymander?"
NYT 10-25-62 "Registration in Alabama"
NYT 10-26-62 "U. S. Judges Given Power ..."
NYT 11-4-62 "Votes for Negroes:..."
Fayette Falcon 1-5-61 "Boyd Sets Hearing..."
NYT, 1-6-61, "Court Again Bars..."
Chatt. Times 3-30-61, "Eviction Review Denied..."
PressScimitar 4-8-61 "Defendants in Haywood..."
NYT 4-7-61, "U. S. Court Bars..."
Chatt. Times 8-7-61, "Judge is Ordered to Enjoin..."

December 7, 1962

Mrs. Patricia Steck
860 Chimalus Drive
Palo Alto, California

Dear Mrs. Steck:

Ralph McGill's secretary telephoned us yesterday and asked if we would answer your letter to him. He was out of town and is not always able to answer such queries as fully as students desire. Moreover, she did not want to delay you in finishing your paper.

Under separate cover I am enclosing clippings and publications of ours which partially describe the process of integration in Atlanta and Georgia public life. In addition, you may want to check in your library three recent magazine articles:

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, Oct. 1962, "Honeychile at the Barricades," Florence B. Robin;
GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, May 1962, "How Women Won the Quiet Battle of Atlanta," Gerald Walker;
FORTUNE, Sept. 1961, "Life in Buckhead," Seymour Freegood.

Also, you might wish to take note of several other facets of the situation. For example, in December 1955, following a federal court ruling, public golf courses in Atlanta peacefully desegregated. A peaceful sit-in at Chastain Park (Atlanta outdoor theatre) in the summer of 1960 desegregated that facility. A student group, Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, began planning movie theatre desegregation in the summer of 1961 and following a year of negotiations with theatre managers - then-mayor William B. Hartsfield acting as mediator - the first-run theatres (eight) opened to all in the summer of 1962. Some of these are in suburban Atlanta.

Outside of the Atlanta area there is much less integration. But in Savannah, for example, where the parks are now integrated, this was accomplished by an enlightened mayor apppointing a Negro to the park board with no public announce-

ment until after it had worked out in practice. The University of Georgia at Athens and St. Joseph's High School (Catholic) in Marietta are at present the only examples of desegregated educational facilities outside the Atlanta area. Lunch counters in five other cities (Savannah, Brunswick, Athens, Macon, and Augusta- here voluntarily after negotiations with merchants) are open. These are in marked contrast to rural areas, where intimidation of Negro voter registration drives continues, and to the smaller city of Albany (report included in separate mailing), for example.

We trust that if we can be of further help you will call on us.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

17 December 1962

Mr. Ben Haas
P. O. Box 5214
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Haas:

Miss Margaret Long asked me to collect samplings of materials which you might use in beginning your book about the Ku Klux Klan. Actually, our rather extensive files on the Klan include newspaper clips, leaflets, newspapers, typed information, and single copy pamphlets and our judgment as to where to begin in reproducing them in this volume likely would be faulty. We are enclosing Facts, Vol. 14, No. 1, which we hope will be helpful.

Have you seen Arnold S. Rice's The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics and "The Klan Revival," by James W. Vander Zanden published in The American Journal of Sociology, March 1960?

According to recent news stories, Calvin Craig is Grand Dragon of the Georgia Realm of the United Klans of America, Inc. A Calvin Craig is listed in the telephone directory at 751 Formwalt Street, S. W., Atlanta. I believe Robert M. Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, is Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, Inc.

As Miss Long told you, we shall be happy for you to use our files should you come to Atlanta after Christmas. You may want to check, too, with the Anti-Defamation League here.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

December 18, 1962

Mr. Robert W. C. Brown
International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

Leslie Dunbar showed me your letter of December 12 concerning the study your organization is doing for the American Library Association. It sounds very interesting, and I hope you will send us a copy when it is completed.

Meanwhile, our research staff has pulled together a few publications which we think will be pertinent to your study, and they are being forwarded under separate cover. I hope they will be helpful, and I trust you will let us know if we can be of any further assistance to you on this or any other projects undertaken by the International Research Associates. Incidentally, if you regularly publish a list of the publications available from the IRA, we would appreciate being placed on your mailing list.

It occurs to me that Section Nine of Volume 2, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1961 Report on Education, deals with southern libraries, if you are not already familiar with it.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
Separate mailing of:
New South,
Jan. 1954
Sept. 1962
1956 mss. on southern libraries
copy Zinn article in Crisis, Oct. 1959
publication list

18 December 1962

Mr. A. J. Clement, Jr.
1716 West Santa Barbara Avenue
Los Angeles 62, California

Dear Mr. Clement:

We have received your letter requesting the approximate number of Negro registrants in previously all-white high schools, colleges, and state universities and the number of the institutions desegregating in the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina since the Supreme Court decision in 1954. We delayed answering until the arrival of Southern Education Reporting Service's yearly statistical summary of school desegregation and are now enclosing copies of pages of this report and of earlier reports covering these states.

There has been no desegregation in Mississippi public schools and no high school desegregation in Louisiana. We have no breakdown of grade-level desegregation in North Carolina. Consequently, we cannot arrive at an approximation of high school registrants. As you will see, the 1962 summary gives the number of high schools desegregated in Georgia (10) and the number of biracial schools in North Carolina (52) with the number of Negroes presently enrolled. Figures are given for North Carolina public schools since they first were desegregated in 1957.

On the higher education level, 15 public colleges presently have Negro enrollment of approximately 950 students. In some instances there have been summer school enrollments but figures are incomplete. We are uncertain as to whether you are interested in private colleges. Some information regarding them is given but complete enrollment figures are not available. Several more colleges, both private and public, are desegregated in policy but have no Negro students.

Possibly you will want to check the following sources both available from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., and maybe at your local library:

1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report 2, Education

Integration in Public Education Programs, Report of the Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Public Education Programs of the Committee on Education and Labor, May 1962.

We hope this information will be helpful. If we can provide further materials, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

December 19, 1962

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P.O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I apologise for my delay in answering your letter of December 3, particularly the query regarding KKK strength. But since the Anti-Defamation League has the best estimates we know of, I have been trying to get in touch with their Klan specialist for more than a week now. (Apparently, the ADL regards itself as a civil rights CIA; Janet Smith called first, was told they couldn't give any figures over phone, and that we'd have to come there to see their lawyer about it. Just why all this hush-hush business is anyone's guess.)

Finally, however, I reached said lawyer (by phone) this morning, explained who I was and why I wanted an estimate or guesstimate. Since SRC seems to be considered cleared for ADL's top secrets, he let me have this information via the Bell telephone:

In January 1961, the ADL got out an estimate of Klan strength at that time. It concluded: "in sum the total south-wide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." Moreover, my source said that while Klan membership has widely fluctuated since 1954, he is dead certain that Rice's estimate is way off, way too high. He pointed out that the Klan has a habit of going "way overboard" in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since gone from this earth). He did say, though, that there were some indications of a slight increase in Klan strength this past year, but nothing significant. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, he estimated that 1) KKK has held its own this year in Alabama, and 2) shown definite signs of increase in Georgia up to September and October (but may be falling off now that the old order has collapsed). At any rate, whatever increase there has been this year or in the past eight years, there is no indication of the Klan rising anew as the Phoenix of old.

To sum up; you are safe in saying that Klan membership has fluctuated widely in the past decade, but at the most never exceeded 50,000 and is likely to have been considerably less throughout the whole period.

I enjoyed reading your latest installments, but did make some edit changes and a few comments. As Les mentioned last week, they'll be forthcoming, together with his. I just wish I could write as fast -- and as well.

Just let us know when you want the material about teacher desegregation and the situation in the North, and we'll send it along. Same for Ole Miss information.

I was glad to see you last month, but sorry we didn't get a chance to discuss your book and other matters at great length. Let's plan on a real session when you come down for the Executive Committee meeting in February. I also enjoyed meeting your wife, as did Bettina, and I hope you'll give her our best.

A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to you both.

Best regards,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

WEDNESDAY

27

MAR. 1963

MARCH						
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Buenos
list of Negroes in politics

Daniel Mitchell
604 University Ave.
Syracuse 10. N.Y.

"The Negro in Politics"

news release

VEP
voter regis
frustration

THURSDAY

FEBRUARY						
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MAR. 1963

APRIL						
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8:00
8:30 L- report
9:00 Richmond, Va.
9:30
10:00
10:30
11:00 Speech - Tech U.
11:30 Killers of the Dream Norton
12:00 Lillian Smith
1:00
1:30 Race, Jobs & Politics
2:00 Louis Ruchames Columbia
2:30 Southern Politics
3:00 V. O. Key Jr. for
3:30
4:00 Alfred Knopf Politics
4:30 Am
5:00 "On the South"
5:30 Dewey W. Grantham Jr
Chapel Hill

in The Southern Democrat
ed by Chas. Grier Sellers, Jr.

Memo

from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

4-1-63

References: the Negro in Politics
For: Daniel Mitchell
604 University Avenue
Syracuse 10, N. Y.

speech at Fisk University: Race & Politics, 1962
L-Report on Richmond, Va.
VEP news release
lists of elected and appointed Negroes in politics

Books:
V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics. Alfred Knopf
Louis Ruchames, Race, Jobs & Politics. Columbia
Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., "An American Politics for the South", chapter in The Southerner as American ed. by Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. Chapel Hill
Lillian Smith, Killers of the Dream

news clips

The Annals of the Am. Academy of Political & Social Science Nov. 1962

Matthews & Prothro, "Southern Racial Attitudes: Conflict, Awareness, & Political Change

Negro & the Ballot
Minnis VEP figures on voting

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

Examples of the demonstrated effect of the Negro vote on state and local elections: (see newsclips)

1. In Atlanta, despite his victory over Representative Davis, Charles Weltner would not have defeated his GOP opponent in the general election without the Negro vote which was overwhelmingly in his favor.

2. In November elections to chose a mayor and council for the Nashville-Davidson County metropolitan government (which will go into effect this April), of the 40 positions on the council, five were wone by Negroes. The election of these Negro councilmen was partly, if not largely, due to the efforts of the Davidson County independent political council, an organization which advocates voting solidarity among Negroes (even though the council backed the losing candidate for mayor).

3. For an indication of the power o f the Negro vote in Richmond, Va., see Baker's piece on which he writes: "The Negro vote, once the kiss of death, is now an asset; no candidate for City Council can afford to offend it and expect to win."

4. So far as state elections are concerned, one can say that the Negro vote had something to do with the senatorial victories of Lister Hill in Alabama and Olin M Johnston in South Carolina, though it's hard to say how much. But a recent Birmingham News editorial contends that the Negro vote in these states "did in fact decide the outcome", and it presents a pretty convincing argument for its case.

news clips
U.S. News & World Report, Dec. 10, 1962, "Is the South Really ~~Integrex~~ Integrating Now? (note charts on voting strength)
VEP chart on Negro registration
The Negro & the Ballot

cc: for Francis
Yes.

May 22, 1963

Mr. Ray H. Averett
132 North 10th Street
Griffin, Georgia

Dear Mr Averett:

Paul Anthony, who is presently out of town, has asked me to send you materials and suggestions for program activities for your local Council on Human Relations (together with his apologies for not writing himself; his travel commitments are quite heavy this month and in the interest of time he thought you would prefer that I write in his stead).

Materials we have on hand here demonstrating types of local Council program are enclosed; unfortunately those program ideas which have been written up are for the most part activities of Councils in the larger urban areas and in all probability not applicable to your community. Some suggestions you might want to consider include:

1.A series of film showings for your Council members on human relations topices might be of interest. Some fairly good films are available,many of which can be rented at minimal cost. A very old SRC bibliography of films is enclosed and we will be happy to collect add send you information about more recent films if the idea appeals to you. Movies of course are a good entree to group discussion of the topic they cover. Several albums of Protest Movement Freedom Songs, with narrative, have recently been recorded. They might be an interesting adjunct to the films, although I don't know about their acceptability to your particular group. Too, they must be purchased, not rented.

2. Your group may wish to undertake a community survey of discrimination, as many other local Councils have done. Such a survey would provide you with a base of factual data for future Council action; it could also, if publicized or placed before responsible citizens, stimulate action by the larger community to eliminate some of the inequities which exist. A sample copy of a very simple community audit conducted in Arlington, Virginia, is enclosed.

cm

3. Many local Councils divide membership into committees to enable concentration on specific areas, e.g., employment, public facilities and accommodations, hospital facilities, recreation facilities and programs, education, etc.. After apprising themselves of the prevailing situation, they seek to effect change for the better through whatever means seem best--public statements spotlighting conditions and suggesting remedial steps, quiet negotiation with or persuasion of responsibile agencies or persons, etc.. (SRC often has useful resource materials which might be used in the latter type of action.)

4. Regular meetings of the Council might include informal presentations from members, perhaps in conjunction with a meal or social hour. For example, the Atlanta Council holds monthly luncheon meetings which are primarily an excuse for Council members to meet together and talk and catch up on matters in which the community is involved. There are no formal speeches, however, there are reports by Council members on voter education plans in the area, on the current legal picture, etc..

5. Special projects (perhaps none of them suitable for your community at this particular juncture, but which may suggest other, more suitable ideas to you) recently undertaken by local Councils include: (1) a project to maintain and circulate among Negroes a listing of government contractors in the community who are obligated★ to hire and upgrade without regard to race; (2) get-togethers for promising Negro high school students with the purpose of preparing them, through mock interviews, etc., for applying for non-traditional jobs (see enclosure from Charlottesville, Virginia); (3) a skit contest on Brotherhood and Freedom for elementary school students in summer Vacation Bible Schools, etc.--a brief description of a current contest in Houston, Texas is enclosed; (4) a tutoring project for culturally deprived children (such a project for New Orleans children scheduled to enter desegregated classes is described in the enclosed November-December 1962 New South, "To Show the Way."

The best of luck to you and your group.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

★ as signators of "Plans for Progress"

c on o

Enclosures:

"What is the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations?"
1962-63 program of the Richmond Petersburg Area Council
"Looking for a Job?"
Nov. Dec 1962 New South
June 1961 New South
The Montgomery County Council on Human Relations
The Negro Citizen in Arlington
SRC Film Bibliography
"Report on 'Dessert Party' for Breakthroughs" page 3
May Newsletter

SUNDAY

JUNE						
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23

JUNE 1963

Voter Registration

Core - 38 Park Row, NY 38
"The Right to Vote"

Copy of AFL-CIO, 815 16th St
Washington 6, DC
"How to Win an Election"

SATURDAY

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APR. 1963

Intimidation
Reprisal + Violence
summary

July-Aug. 1959 New South

p 11-12

MONDAY

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MAY 1963

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8:00
8:30 Ev. Orts
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10:00 Business week
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11:00 Conflict
11:30 High Cost of
12:00
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2:00 Mulcahy & interview
2:30
3:00 Jim Montgomery —
3:30 school drop out
4:00
4:30 Newsweek, May 6
5:00
5:30 Mississippi Response

SUNDAY

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FEB. 1963

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Valery
Wash Post article
"70 million Americans
denied Vote" by Pat Frank
2-10-63

SUNDAY

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MAY 1963

Harvard Business Review
March-April, 1963

Business: next target for integration John Perry

SATURDAY

FEBRUARY						
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23

FEB. 1963

Dr. Dan Ross
Castler Bldg.

Negro Higher Edu.

Journal of Negro Edu.

Morris, "The Future of the Negro Public College" Summer 1962

Werner, "The Private Negro Colleges & Universities — an Appraisal" Spring 1960

LWW "Excellence & Equality"

Gipper "Future of the Predominantly Negro College" memo

Ec status of Negroes in U.S.

Becker, Gary. The Economics of Discrimination. Chicago: U. of Chi Press, 1957.

Ginzberg, Eli et al. The Negro Potential. New York: Columbia U. Press, 1956.

Harrington, Michael. The Other American. New York, MacMillan, 1962.

"The Negro in Am. Today" Ernest Dunbar, Look, 4-10-62

The Ec Situation of Negroes in the U.S. U.S. Dept. of Labor, Reprint 1962 (Rand

THINGS TO DO TODAY

"Family & Appointments — Wed 4/5"
Cent 63 Pharmacy, Capitol 1562,
pp 55-60. W. Fred 4-25-63
"Insure Jones."

TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1963

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120th Day — Patented — 245 Days to Come

Negro Teachers

SSN - Dec. 1962 Delaware

Bias Against Negro Teachers
Is Charged

SSN - Dec. 1962
Ohio

Teachers - (white)

Post Card Campaign Seeks
Faculty Members' Dismissal

Colleges

Christian Brothers College
Memphis, Tenn. R. Catholic

see p. 1-8 - SSN, Nov. 1962

Police Dist.
p. 12

SSN - May 1963
Lexington, Ky.

Politics –

SSR, Sept. p. 14 Delaware
"Assemblyman Blames NAACP for
His Defeat – GOP Primary"

SSR – Nov. 1962 – p. 5
Race Enters ~~New~~ Orleans Election

p. 6 – Penn.
Negro Voters Group Endorses
Candidate in Metro Election.

Park design —

SSN — July 1962

Summers County (W. Va.)

County Bldg. Charles A. Hunton

YMCA Camp

Politics

SSN - Jan. 1962 p. 2

Ga. - Negro Senator First in Legislature Since 1870.

SSN - april 1963

"Record Burning from Veto Elects Bentwell ~~(Mayor)~~ new Gov. Head."

Negro Teachers

SSH - Sept. 1962 Fla.

Fed. Court decision (August 1962) ordering two Fla. counties to cease making racial distinctions in teaching, supervising & adm. personnel of school systems

Duval (Jacksonville) ~~and~~ and Volusia (Daytona Beach ~~and~~ ~~Hills borough~~

Politics - Sept. 1962 SSH p. 5

"Race Becomes Hot Issue in Campaign" Ga.

Cross reference

Negro teachers

SSN - July 1962

"Teacher Hiring Main Issue at Conference" — long article

Maryland

SSN August

Also p. 16 - "Raise Standards, Negroes Urged"

Politics

SSN - July 1962 long article

Ark - School Desegr. Begins developing into Major Issue in Political Campaign

1. The Journal of Negro Education
Bureau of Educational Research
Howard University Press
Howard University
Washington 1, D.C

2. Journal of Intergroup Relations
Editor
Nat'l Asso. of Intergroup Relations
Officials
(2027 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.)
Washington 6, D.C.
55 West 55 42nd St.
New York 36, N.Y.

3. Negro Educational Review

P. Phylon
Atl. Univ. Review of Race & Culture
223 Chestnut St. S.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.

Virginia Quarterly?

Nov - Dec
Fall - 1962

Washing ~~Post~~ story by Bob Baker
on Richmond, Va.

U. S. News & World Report ✓
Negro Voting
(also Mississippi report)

Journal & Const. analysis of
Wallace vote

Nashville - David Cass County
story

Burning Issue Newsweek story on ✓
Fisher Hill
Memphis Zenn

{one that will do; not one quoted

SPM

Price
Morlent
New South - July, Aug, Sept 1961
Racial Violence
Civil Disobedience - Hanbar

Employment

3. Employment

1961 Com. on Civil Rights Report

The 50 States Report, 1961 comm

Federally Supported Discrimination

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 20 W. 40th St. NY 18

gotten

3-12-64 letter
vacant copy
Faculty Integration
in City Pub. Schools

Libraries

May, 1961 issue The Wilson Bulletin

Professional preparation for Desey.

V. 35, pp 707-8

Writing Room

Times, Jan. 29, 1962
Anthony Lewis
spot checks added to letter
Feb 22, 1962

Negroes in Social Work
The Negro Yearbook
11th ed, pp 198-200

Memo

Study Groups

FROM THE DESK OF **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

The Reduction of Inter-group Tensions, Robin W. Williams, Jr.
Soc'l Science Research Council, 1947.

The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions, Gordon Allport
Nat'l Coll. of Christians & Jews
1952

Guide to Community Action
Mark Matthews
Harper & Bros., 1954

Manual of Intergroup Relations
John P. Dean & Alex Rosen
U. of Chicago Press, 1955

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Democracy

Herbert Agar, *A Time for Greatness* 1942

America, Stephen Vincent Benet 1944

Elizabeth Jackson, *The Faith + Life Within Us.* 1944

To Secure These Rights, Pres. Comm. on Civil Rights, 1947

The Great Enterprise, H. A. Overstreet

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

State Laws re Segregation of Schools

1. Greenberg, Race Relations & Am. Law
1959. N.Y.; Harper

2. Shoemaker, With All Deliberate Speed
1957. N.Y.: Harper.

3. Race Relations Law Reporter
Vanderbilt University School of Law
Feb. 1956 - to present

4. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Report. 1961: Education

5. "Va Law Review; Meador, pupil placement laws
May, 1959

Board SSN Dec. 1962

Mrs. Chas. E. White Negro school bd member Houston Texas reelected over 5 white opponents

White 54,254
Negro 43,953
Others 17,000

supported by as many whites as Negroes.

John H. Wheeler –
member of Gov. Sanford's 1963
Good Neighbor Council.
Pres. Comm. on Equal Employment 1962

Pitts, president Am. Teachers Asso. (Negro)

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

Resources

Human Resources in the South

speech - LWD

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

REUBEN CLAY – FHA Intergroup Relations – Richmond – FHA

No where in local area for N to build expens. housing – must build beyond the busline, beyond the river, beyond the paving

Abortive subdiv – N along R1, 7 mi above city – 250 houses for N
"Randolph Ridge" – Henrico
Slow sell – 25 houses built + event sold
Sponsor built no more, 25 other indiv's built. Normal bus traffic w/in 3-4 miles of site.

Several 1000 houses in sub-urb area subject to 11063. Few N's apply for

Richmond population is stable in sense of little in and out-migration

Richmond has 2nd largest % age of Negro non-whites in country. next to Wash

Racissue involved in non-favorable attempt of city to annex in Henrico.

Richmond — ~~[illegible]~~ 1960

TOTAL HOUSING UNITS —	69,105	100%
non-white	24,099	34.8%
nonwhite owners —	9,400	39.0
	14,699	16.0
Population —	219,958	100%
non-white —	92,382	42.0%

Where Richmond negroes live (1960)

Manchester (South side)	5400	Northside	9,000
Church Hill	42,000	Wash-Providence	1,000
West End	13,000	Scotts Addition	1,500
Central	16,000		

Unemployment — % growing, but leaves a lot to be desired. Concentrated in lower grades. Few in professional class.

① Why no new housing for N's, just apartments —
② Availability of financing for N's —
③ Annexation problems?
④ What happens to Richmond with N majority?
⑤ Cephus? Dorsey? Politics in general?

Perhaps 25 of FHA homes bought by N's. Very few repossessions to begin with. Plus Habit Problems.

Have had new N houses built. But in all N-. N'hoods. slowly - townhouses, community ownership + tenant asso. not free standing. Bard

e.g. (98) Hartshorne Homes - Lee - 1961
20 Brownsboro. — 1953 — S. Side
115 Eastwood — 1952-56 — Church Hill
25 plus (45 now) Rand. Ridge — 195?
60 units rental Carver Manor — 1957 — (Rental)
20 Friendly Manor — 1954 — (Phaup St.)
38 Carneal Court — 1962 — East End
(9) only Petway Homes — Whitcomb St
(44) Westwood — 1958-61 — E.B. Poole
80 Rose Gardens — 1959-60 — East End
25 Skywiew — 1959-60 — West End nr. Maymont
(25) Archmore — 1960 —
(10) Cardinal Homes — 1960 — East End
Builders E.B. Poole, Bill Witt

500 rental units — apartment projects
25 to 50 units each, by conventional builders

E.B. & Rudy Allen corp. Richmond

The quantity of housing for N's in Richmond is suff, but the quality needs to be upgraded. Hasn't been dirth of bldg. Negro can find housing in Richmond. May not be the type & kind, but he can.

If Negro is credit sound, he will no more difficulty in financing home than anyone else. No more devaluing home because he's overbuilding n'hood.

No reluctance on part of fin. inst to handle N mortgages. Competition dictates that. From 1950 to 1960, there was a desparity between % points charged whites + N's. Used to have to pay thru the nose in

Do have Negro bank — Consolidated Bank & Trust Co. Now holds $1,100,000 FHA paper. Also Prudential, Metro, NY Life to finance N housing. Big national finance cos in, + Negro brat. — 3 + 1 Negro Dep, 1 small N S+L, 1 larger N Bank (approx 3rd largest) No need to rely on white financial

institutions not needed - so whites come in to get mkt share. If they hadn't been needed, they probably would not have come in. But in the last few years only. Right now there is a glut on the mortgage money mkt. Also infl whites to come in is the Civil Rights trend.

Negro Ins Co's — Va. Mutual
Richmond Benef.
Southern Aid

Also very lg. office of NC Mutual.
and then the
? third ? lgst Negro bank.

Would it matter where the negro were buying? How would this influence loan?

Would be with some a hindrance in getting some mortgages, but there are who would make loan

---

new mortgage co. in Richmond - aiming actively at N. Mkt.

Clay - Negro will not be allowed to become a majority in Richmond. Annexation will take place first.

Cephus manages more than sells or owns.
Got on city council because power structure wanted N on council - time had come.

Doesn't think any N owns a great deal of property in Richmond. Slumlords in Richmond are white.

Negro becoming more affluent - is going to want more + more & more - and this includes housing.

End of Clay

Barbee – Va. NAACP

Housing seg + Δ to get around Brown decision, and Civ Rights bills.

Very conscious effort on part of planning commissions to increase housing seg. Planning years ahead. Would min. education, job, etc, deseg.

Planning includes schools – Largest N school in city built right in the heart of Negro community.

Neighborhood elementary schools particularly. Build elem sch for e.g., housing project – housing project (PH) N. ∴ school is N.

Q: How planning commissions pull it off?

See Willey Hall – Was ever dir Rich Urb Leg. And was on City Zoning Commission.

Tremendous Δ in Richmond race relations – Not because of mass conversions, but because pow. structs recognize which way things were going to go. Demonstration pressures, etc.

not all the way home, by far, or by any means as prog as Dabney says, but improved in last 3-4 years.

Swimming pools (all public) in Richmond are closed. Why - chk with Bobby D. for excuse -

"Very real" participation by N's in city, gov't.

Richmond-Henrico part of Chesterfield - floating assembly, assembly, delegates elected at large from this district to min N vote.

Banks agrees that Rich will AWEX before N majority comes to city.

N's = 30%-33% Reg voters in Rich.
No diff. registering except 3-poll tax req't.

Disagrees that there is an adequate supply of housing for N's, regardless of income.

Enforcement of housing codes is especially lax in low income areas, N + W. D vs poor & N's most poor.

Majority of N dwellings owned by whites, but some owned by N's.

There are some instance of panic-promotion + bloc-busting tactics,

End of Banks

Bailey — Downstairs Realtor

Birddogging — can be used to get info to realtor. Keeps "car to ground" to learn whats for sale. But, also, can be and are used to spread rumors. Then, after rumors have been spread, regular r.e. agents move in to handle the sales.

Now — all r.e. agencies use "birddogs." But some use them to spread rumors.

Check out the Baileys further on practices.

Mrs Ballard

N. popn has ↑ 2% since 1960.

Close of school yr, '64 — 59.2% N.
approx close of '65 — around 59%

Urban renewal annexation was motivated by desire to bring white voters into city. So was combination of Rich-Hen Chest for state assembly slots. Already Hen + Rich combined pol in Assembly.

City real est tax less than county, this is why Hen voted against it.

Not enough SEG housing avail for expanding N popn.

Former urban federal project — turnpike to Broad, 4th to 8th

renewal — replace N housing + bus with hi rent + businesses.

Rejected — pressure by small but negro homeowners. Emotional appeal at losing homes, churches. BCT:

Businesses coming in and buying downtown N owned land. ∴, N's losing downtown land they own.

New apts for N's - not the best, but are keeping rents about 70-80.

Rental prop. avail to N's ltd, for less than N needs

And for his money N gets less.
N's cinder blocs less desirable.
Asphalt tile floors.
No frig; only furnished A/C,
for $100, W could get almost "lux" apt, being built d-town + in suburbs.
Hi-rises built in d'town cost way beyond N's means, except for very few, who can afford beautiful homes.
Per historical pattern - N's just begin to get good housing (homes)
Not yet ready for downtown apt living pattern

Large public housing waiting list proves that there isn't enough low-income housing. These people have already been rated as eligible.
Atlch's PH units are filled, + stay filled

Middle Y [lower than white mid-Y]
More rental prop avail in this
bracket. But it's RENTAL.
most of it gets rented as fast as completed,
or made avail.

Checkmate:
Mr. Cephus said N housing avail,
but wrath of gods descended on him.
[about 3 mos ago. Since 1st of yr]

Upper Y housing [again rel to wh Y] - much to little
avail.

Paul Gordon (builder) building some
N homes in city.

Problem - Remember very little land avail w/in
city limits.

Wholly because of race Ballard fam
can't find housing they want w/in city
limits.

Real estate men b-Busters, but won't
rock the boat.

Barton Heights

In 1941, white with grudge vs neighbor fixed them by selling 10-room frame house to N's in white area, $2000. Crosses burned, hurt.
Was old area — was ex-elite.
Needs read "no N's after dark."
Started flood — whites moved out.
Overpriced to N's.
After N's took over, improved, assessments went up.
Rose, north, Hendell — dividing line School — Washburn St. — div. line
Then Overbrook Rd. — " "
Then Brookland Park Blvd — " "
Then came school integration. N's start going to J.E.B. Stuart school.
Then Lady's Mile Rd. — " "
But —
Richmond Historical Assoc — around St. John's Church area buying & restored, & selling to white — this area has come full circle in about 100 yrs.

Whites r.e's will "go into" adjoining block — adj to N's —
But — N family seeing house for sale which is far beyond "the line" — no r.e. will handle.

The higher the price, the less likely the whites will turn.

Negroes who have gone into higher price housing have built, and have built in N N-hoods:

N Builders — but don't build much of large bldgs.
Davis + Myers —
Patterson —

Fewer N lending institutions in Richmond limit avail of big fin to N's —
Also N bldg in Rich vs Atlanta.

If N had the collateral, she doesn't think that banks would refuse.

Agrees on comp for N money w/bt.

N. job mkt in Rich beginning to expand
Lack of specialization among N high school & college grads.
N educators very threatened now.
Waiting to do what downtown tells them — reluct to show any initiative
Still preparing N child for N job mkt.

[Richmond is an apartheid city both W's + N's part.]

Can't get message across that new employ't climate is here — N kids not being prepared for job world that exists, esp. the one that is coming.

Frequently have ~~more~~ applicants for jobs × that come available, but many more applicants than jobs

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Slumlord ~~Sam~~ Richmond — agents + owners
Gibson, Melvin — (W)
Plotkin — owns + handles
Nelson WD — handles a lot (? owns ?) (com + Smoky)
Sam Perry — buys up a lot of slum prop.

Slumlords, cont'd:

H.T. Richardson (not R+R) — handles a lot.

Dorsey might own.

Thurkin Realty (A. D. Green) owns a lot

Very def. majority N slums owned by W's.

N partcip in pol (gov't) in Rech is really on upsurge. More N's running, more voting. More interest among N's.

Negro P.H. projects much better kept up than the one white P.H. project. [Hillside Courts iow]

Negroes aren't allowed to stay in if they don't keep up their apts, throw out the garbage, etc.

Negro projects have Negro managers.

Would be interesting to study costs + tax valuations houses which have been through transition. Cost to build, sale price, + tax valuations before and after racial ownership changed.

FEELS SURE STUDY WOULD SHOW RISING VALUATIONS IN NOW N N'HOODS

Zoning Commission is separate from Planning Comm. Works in conjunction with

Zoning Commission only works with things as they are now — i.e., rezoning of already zoned neighborhoods. Zoning Comm. makes recommend of zoning Δ's to Planning Comm.

Plan Comm. makes recommend to City Council -

End of Ballard

J. R. Picott

Northmin Bapt tried to org a prop. owners group - will buy house of any person wanting to sell to an N.

Resegg of schools in N — [J E B Stuart specif.]

Younger people don't stay when N's move in. Some older people who can't afford to move stay. Can't get credit as well as younger. Can't blame young whites who can get credit and who can get higher than value for houses for selling.

Chamber of Commerce has been integr. for a long time, i.e. 3 N orgs in it. Typical N bus man could be in it, if he wanted to (pretty sure). Va Union Univ Southern Ct, VTA belongs. Local med soc has 2 N's. None in Bar Asso.

Nothing effective being done about getting whites to remain - lots of talk about it, though.

Negro r.e. agents - blockbusting.

Feels little progress made in Rich in school acceptance of N's.

Not much bldg in Rich - new constr of good houses for N's ($20000 plus) persons(?) Mtg. money difficult to come by. Negro banks, ins. Co's, little money, ultra-conservative.

Certain that few years ago was hard for N's to get mtg money - now - don't know. Some N's could always but only some.

First Federal has had lot of Negro financing.

Rich will move, if pushed. ["Richmond is a conservative place"]

UR's integration ← federal funds.

Richmond has not done one thing without pressure.

Willett is a good educator, but a master politician.

Could have five times more N pupils in "white" schools if they applied.

In his block, taxes have been +↑ 6 times in 6 yrs. Would think that if N'hood didn't complain, city service like sweep streets + garbage pickup would be neglected.

Apparently, poorer N N'hoods get less services of this sort, or "they have an abundance of paper."

Of course, white poor sections are littered, too, which indicates they don't get good ~~poor~~ garbage service, too!

Plan for urban renewal was to remove almost every bldg
might have had empty land
Rich whites not yet necessary to move back into downtown hi-rises

Understands that whites buying N-land in downtown.

Jerry-built cinder block apts. — become slum in first year
Paid for in one or two.
Protected for five.
3 yrs clear profit.

Negro demand for housing which has not been met — esp in the upper brackets.

Paul Gordon — builder.

A lot of Rich + Va "integration" result of Fed Gov'ts push.
End of Nicott

Walter Loving

Economics of no N housing in subs
No land in city. N's can't be two car families. Even when both hus + wife of N fam work, still not enough Y to afford to cars, which they would need if lived in suburbs. If, of course, they could afford subs. Also, N's have not developed suburban living pattern, yet.

Negro appraiser seldom never gets into setting values for public takeover & negotiation. Appraisal vals, etc, set by wh of pow struct connect

Negotiations — works both ways, N vs W + W vs N. The bus. firm trying to buy the block — all except one agreed. N + N negot. would have avoided it. N has natural suspicion that wh is taking him.

Boycott vs Thalheimer's to open coffee shop.

Newspapers very responsible for Rackets sig. in Richmond. Recommends boycott vs papers

If newspapers changed, race rels would improve.

Not more race sig in hsng than formerly and less trouble for N to move into W n'hood.

Would sell to N anywhere, but wouldn't sell to N on grudge of white vs. neighbors.

Retaliation + vengeance sales - ways N's break into W N'hoods

Doesn't believe Mrs. Solon's social pressure explan.
Whites sell for money. Some of them, that is.

N's go into N-hoods, property appreciates. Assessments are raised, but not because N property, but because improvements.

County vs City is reason pub transp not extended to suburbs.

If balance politically were to shift, even Byrd would shift.
e.g. — what happened to Johnson early to late.

End of Loving

Impression — Loving much concerned with racial grievances — too much so.

Remember — as you drove around looking for place to park before seeing Loving —
the kid sticking his head out of the window, and spitting some of his breakfast out on the sill.

J. REG. HARRIS

Schools outside corp Richmond even more poor than in Rich.

Pattern of living in Richmond city instilled in N's, and they don't know why.

Suburban hsng don't sell — Rand. Ridge case. 25 eventually sold. Few more built but other than not older yet — Eastover 100 homes sold out almost immediately.
The difference — transport (Lovings argument) and schools.

Econ status of N in past ten yrs have improved tremend in last 10.
But —
some of these things still prevail.

Richmond has no land to build on.
One cause — Richmond has gone out rather than up. This wastes land.

Creates pressure on border areas, this land shortage, land wastage.

Only opptty N's have to ↑Δ housing condition is by buying into white N'hoods.
No areas to develop for N's. When there was land, no one with money and faith in N hsng mkt.

N's often must go into hsng that the use has been worn out of. Newcomer negroes go into hsng completely depreciated. Because of type of tenant, lack of ownership, prop depr faster than should be.

Such hsng is wearing out disappearing faster than being replaced. "untenable."

Public construction displaces much more hsng than is being constructed. And, then, not enough of new hsng can be afforded by displaced persons

More apts built for N's in last 3 than in previous 20.

Wearing out N hsng faster than its being replaced.

Why W's & N's - similar backgrnds - can't live together —

(1) Bigotry (2) Economics - money factor —

block is broken for 3 reasons —

(a) Vengeance sale - white owner goes to negro realtor, sacrifice for fair hsng. but —

~~Of lots of~~ the blocks that break, this is the rarest causes.

(b) Someone in border neighborhood has to sell for legit reason. But, house won't sell to whites, because whites buyers see N's close by. Owner must sell, and whites won't buy, so he sells to N, even vs his own conscience and beliefs.

Can't afford to lose on the house.

(c) Another seller - could sell to whites but has been told than he can get 2 - 3 T more from Ns. When N's pump several blocks, usually is this type of seller.
(d) Another seller - doesn't have enough house to get money he wants the money.

"Smart" seller uses N real estate op to blackmail neighbors into buying his house at a premium.
Using the negro rel est man for this.

White realtors preach that once N is in n'hood, property depreciates. Even whites who wouldn't sell are made afraid that prop values will fall.
Was common practice in Richmond 7-8 yrs. ago. May be less common now.

Moved into wh n'h thru necessity to get decent house.

Story about 85 yr old Mrs Green - her white friends DO VISIT HER.

HARRIS:

If N's depreciate property values, why do r.e. taxes go up?

Says assessment in Richmond is fair. Only thing is they reassess when real est. trfd. New value set by purchase price. Old value had been set by construction cost or long ago trf price.

Construction costs rise since 1940 have far exceeded any depreciation a well-constructed house would go through. This is why old houses assess vals remain steady or rise.

A n'hood becomes a Negro N'hood the moment one N moves in.

Constant harassment from r.e. ind'ls induce whites to sell who would like to stay.

Harris uses "contacts", but not pressure. [LE: But what happens if lots of r.e. agents exercise such a privilege? Couldn't this be pressure (constitute pressure).]

"Justified" his m.o. by vacuum cleaner sales example.

But ~~if~~ and when this happens in a near-transit area — and whites decide to sell, then r.e.'s should have right to move in or else he'll lose business.

LE:
But — wouldn't just the fact that an N r.e. man inquired tip off homeowner than N client is represented an N's are moving in.

Also doesn't buy Mrs. Solon's thesis.

Uses term "breaking the block" rather than busting the block.

Not common for any r.e. man, W or N, to go in to predom. white N to acquire property. And remember no broker can acquire any prop for sale until W owner makes prop avail for sale.

White-broker, but non-realtor, usually breaks the block.

NREB owns copyrighted word "realtor."

By state law, non-realtors must identify themselves as real estate brokers positively - on everything they identify themselves in for business.

In order to be a realtor, and belong to NAREB, must be recommended by local REB. Must be accepted by local board.

Realtor is trade name for private society.

Appraisers, too - two biggest appraisers groups under NAREB. These people appraise where fed funds are used to purchase land. rights-of-way, etc.
(MIA) under control of NAREB.
member of appraisers not realtors
(SRA) - Society of Res. Appraisers.
Most MIA's are SRA's.

---

bit of white seller's self-justification "providing a good home for a negro family."

Solution to n'hood transit problem rests with W's. Negroes must have housing. Whites must be the ones to remain.

Visit to Barton Heights —
Impressions

Richmond built on 7 hills, like Rome, they tell you.
Long narrow valley separates downtown hill from adjacent hill to north.
In valley, RR tracks + typical commercial - ind'l shops which are next to tracks.
Negro residential area on N-side of downtown hill.
Over the J E B Stuart Bridge to Barton Heights.
Impressions —
Now neat. Well kept. Absence of trash. Flowers. Lawns mowed.
Houses old — two story. But well maintained for their age. Again refutes idea that when Ns take over, properties must deteriorate

REID, WM. F., M.D.

In suburbs —
If proposed development of N housing is near N school, zoning change approval to build liabl to be OK'd. But if near white development & white school, noop!

Wm. H. Parker — Forest Glen Road
negro developers whom the above happens

Anyone (N), with suff credit, can get mortgage money, ~~[illegible]~~ where, but can get it more easily if buying in N nbhood, or not block of breaking.

Correction — Just Richmond and Henrico together — no part of Chesterfield.

If poll tax repeal, N vote will be even more important.

Like just about everyone else, thinks that annexation (or, esp., Hen-Rich merger) will take place before N's assume majority. Also, there's possibility N portion of pop'n may stabilize, as whites move back into city to hi-rises

Some N's r.e. agents do break blocks, but out of necessity.

Housing and jobs main problems for Richmond N's at the moment, and jobs will go first.

Brooks (NAACP) — [Johnny Brooks]

City planners intended for N's to live in East (Church Hill) but N's broke out in Northside and West End.

Examples—

All N PHA projects in East.

And then, Eastview, the largest dev for N's, by whites, on East side. But, Negroes broke out.

Brooks, cont'd:

Also relocated jail down on East side, once they "relocated" all Negroes on East Side.

Since 2yrs, Richmond Crusade for Voters organized, began protesting zoning changes in N n'hoods. Since then, city council "kept honest" on zoning changes.

Reid very insistent that ~~[illegible]~~ ordinances on sanitation, fire, etc, enforced equally. Wasn't even very ready to buy the idea when put to him, that there was differential by economic class — e.g., less enforcement in Oregon Hill than in other n'hoods.

End of Reid + Brooks

M. A. MOTLEY

Inspectors

Will give large home owner (owner of many) more time to get in compliance than small (few) owner.

Min. stds. not being pushed in Jackson Ward & other areas which "gotta go."

Barton Hts. houses avg 35-40 yrs. Hardly a piece of property in area taken over by N's which hasn't been improved.

Farmhouses (W) had been conv. into 2-fam hses. Reconverted to 1-fam by N's.

Financial man on mayor's committee told him — unwritten law — won't lend mtg money to first 3 houses in breaking block.

Richmond REB (white realtors) try to set pattern when N's live in Richmond

Any member of RREB cannot sell or rent any of the first 3 houses in a given block. Realtor who owned house in fringe block couldn't rent or sell to N's w/o losing membership.
No doubt that white fin. inst'ns would loan 90% to white on a piece of property, same property N would get only 75-85%.

Used to be white fin inst'ns would lend to N for old house, but not to build new. Seems to have been collusion between W. fin. inst + REB boys to keep up mkt for old houses whites moving out.

Won't find much fed'l money going into construction of apts and new houses for whites.

One of reasons for turning down ~~project~~ redev project (4th to 8th) was that didn't want fed money to come in because couldn't keep N's out.

Has always thought that turnpike was located in order to put up a natural barrier between whites and negroes.
The big bulge in turnpike added extra mileage
Picks up very little extra traffic
Could have built turnpike straight — taking about 1/3 as many homes, and would have been run thru land which wasn't developed.
((River forms natural barrier on S-side))

Gilpin Ct was first pub housing project built. Maybe an exception to pub housing all located on east side.

3-4 yrs. ago std structure health fire sam inspection enforcement. Housing not deteriorating so fast any more.

Almost all vocal toilets (outdoor privies w/flush) clum from Rich, except Fulton & Churchill.

min. stds being increased, vis-a-vis plumbing. At first req only flush toilet. Then wash basin. Within a couple of yrs, min std will req also bathtub + hot water heater. [Be clearer on this before using.]

At the instance of a fed rep + fed funds wouldn't come in before redevelopment area (17th St) was brought up to fed. stds. Richmond doesn't mind having fed funds spent in N area.

Rich city council passed hsng law that within 3 yrs all occupied hsng had to be brought up 4-piece plumb. stds.

Has worked greater hdship on home owner — rental owner able to be more fin. able to upgrade plumbing than homeowner. Was a hdship, but is for the best. Should have been done earlier as it was in U. News right after WW II.

whites, esp. Jews (etc.) own Negro rental property. By far & large, N'hood corner grocery stores owned by Jews. (Few Greeks - Syrians - Chinese in Richmond.) Acquire rental property around their areas. They used to live in their store areas, but of last decade have all moved out. Doesn't know a single 1 who lives above store anymore. Some are interested in + is property, others don't want to spend ~~more~~ a penny more than they have to. About 50% of Mattley's bus. is Jewish.

Real estate agents bring on a lot of the panic because they want the business. Agents get people stirred up.

Tried to get N's out of Westwood area. Claimed needed area for a park. Was fought. N's stayed.

In some sense, Richmond area has been overbuilt for whites. Don't see anymore among big tracts (speculative) for whites. Just building enough to meet the demand.

By not bldg. many Negro new houses, this keeps up the old demand for old ex-white houses by Negroes.

Much N apts constr of late. Rented as fast a can be completed. Means people who had been living in substd hsng anxious to move in.

At first, plain cinder blocks for N's. Found then N's wanted better. Better fin. apts rent just as easily.

SAT. A.M. 10 A.M.

Mundle, Winfred

Financing info —

The First Mortgage Corp. places a lot of mortgage money for N Caro Mut, and a number of other fin instns.
((15, 2 Willow Lawn Drive.))
First Mortgage is a white corp., lends to whites, Negroes, and anybody who warrants credit

Consolidate Bank interested mainly, tho not exclusively, in short term loans. Interested Mostly in rapid turnover.

Life ins. Co's do make some long-term housing loans. Probably getting as much as they can handle. Which means as much as they have to invest in mtg money (pers 30-40%) is rapidly taken up.

Has been told that white realty co. has gotten N into block in order to break the block.

Has some inkling of Negroes being used on a part time basis by white realty companies. [Fear implanted by fact that canvasser is an N]

On planning commission —
Plans for proper land usage.
Master plan for growth & dev of city; zoning and rezoning.
Is an advisory commission to City Council.

Feels work of planning commission is legit. Shows no racial differentiation.
9-man commission, 5 citizen member. Only 1 Negro cit. member.

N. P.H.A. projects confined to east end of city. Some feel that it's to keep N's in East. Mundle doesn't

know that it was for rel. seg. reasons. Would like to think that it was more a drive to replace some sub-std housing. Hoping that it wasn't for race reasons.

Urban renewal abandoned in Rich because of misinformed indivls. Didn't understand that urban renewal.

Mundle is inclined to believe that N here on fed-financed land clearance (urban renewal) hi-rise would probably get same treatment Ruth A got a Landmark.

Thinks whites worry most about happens to upkeep, property values, etc., which bugs white most.

Says that N hsng projects replaced mostly, delap. rental N hsng.

Race rels - Very little demonstration. Some. Have been able to negotiate. Miller & Rhoads was boycotted when Thalheimer was, too.

Confirms that Richmond capitulated gladly to pressure.

M & R + the picketing was extent, mostly of large scale picketing in Richmond. Richmond Citizens Advisory Committee was the boycott-picketing - negotiation N organization. Econ + social pressure - negotiations opened things up.

30-34 students arrested (one arrest)

Picketing went on from (Feb/March of 1961 to early fall of 1961).

Mayor appt'd 12-man bi-racial com (6R, 6W) shortly after boycott + picketing started.

Some of small stores went first. Then when the 2 Big Ones opened up most of others fell right into line.

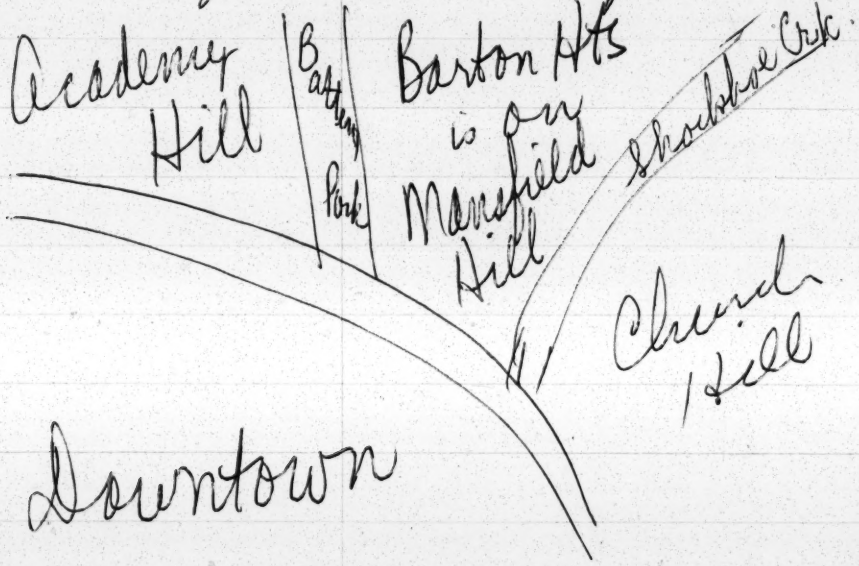
END OF MUNDLE

Ed Peeples - from yesterday's steak session:

MCV built with fed funds
Schools operated with state funds
Clinic operated by city of Rich.

Yet - segregated. NAACP suing.

From Relief (Countour) Maps at DPW



LUCY GILLIAM, MISS —
Richmond Area Community Council
2501 Mon. Ave. EL 3-1201
Get copy of: [Ck. back Thurs July 1]
Recreation in Metropolitan Richmond —
An analysis of area differences

Quote: "Richmond doesn't believe in citizen participation. It might upset the status quo."
ALSO:
Richmond is 25 yrs, maybe more, behind in social services.

Check Out — Rich Hill Boys Club in Church Hill. In 100 yr old wooden Masonic Temple. Indicates weak city gov't.

FAY & SAWYER of RRHA || all records afterward ☆☆

Richmond Redevelopment + Housing Authority

Historic Richmond Foundation — this is the outfit which is restoring old area in Church Hill — Area goes back even to Colonial times. Was once the place to live in Richmond. Even prior to Civil War.

RRHA is an adjunct of the Richmond City gov't. City Council appoints the Housing + Redev. Committee (see handout) which administers the RRHA functions. Thus far, RRHA hasn't been much more than a PHA local — but redevelopment part now comes in with Fay's 19-district city wide study. Though, it seems, City Council must O.K. everything they do, they get no direct city funds. Financed by federal grants, federal subsidies, income (rental) from P.H.A. housing. The State — seems state laws are only things which ~~can be~~ come into do their picture — have to operate within them, that is.

It would require a Va. state const. change in order to tax rental properties according to the income they generate rather than according to their property value. Fay says he'd like to do this, but as long as Const isn't change, it's an idle thought or wish or something like that.

Fay's 19-area report jobbie will not be avail until about Sept 1. His publication plans parallel mine.

There will be an info-maps-charts-recommends "handout" for each of the 19 areas. Will make recommends as to land use, rehab, clearance, etc.

Fulton bottom area - will probably recommend total clearance. It's that bad. Should be industrial area anyway, and not residential. Down by RR tracks, river.

Poorest area of Fulton bottom has some whites. One of the few integrated ?stable? n'hoods in Richmond.

Better area of Fulton is mostly all N. Some of N's have begun improving their properties. There is some sort of a n'hood improvement asso there among N's. These are among better off (higher Y) N's.

Kept saying that housing recommends would be for locating new housing — public (and private, if poss.) — around the schools in the Fulton area. I wondered why — emphasis on around the schools?

Sawyer's opinion was that if pub housing built to accomodate persons displaced by renewal of Fulton bottom the p.h. would be integrated by the same people who live integrated in Fulton bottom.

Richmond housing authority is officially in compliance with the Civil Rights Act. Housing Commission has signed non-Discriminatory pledge. Says it isn't discriminating, and is not required to take positive action to integrate. According to Sawyer, there is one central rental office thru which all applicants seeking p.h. apply. They are investigated to see whether they qualify, per their income. Some visits to see condition of current housing, because priority for public housing can depend on condition of where they are living now.

FREEDOM of CHOICE plan now for assignment of public housing people. Thus far, no N has asked for Hillside and no white has asked for any other than Hillside. If they did they would be treated as all other applicants. Both thing housing projects would (could) be integrated w/o incidents, because RRHA & its

Commission and City Council would take steps to see that they were integrated peaceably, as was done in Norfolk, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and a few other cities — Nashville, e.g.; Louisville — Required to integrate by Court. Has brought about little integration of Louisville p.h.

People who apply to central office must be residents of Richmond. There are limits on income they can earn, which depends on size of family, too: Income & size of family determine rent they pay.

Each project is paying off bonds. Fed gov't guaranteed these bonds. Try to get tenants balanced so that they will pay enough rent to cover upkeep + debt service and not required ~~[illegible]~~ more Fed. annual subsidy (contribution) than is allowable to make up diff between cost and rental. Right now, Richmond taking 85%

of possible Fed subsidy to make up that difference.

Do not see integration required as a post-Civil Rights Act barrier to new public housing. I suspected that any new pub housing planned may be so obviously intended for one race or the other (via location) that it would be obvious to all that little integration, if any, would take place.

Fay acknowledge that there is in Richmond resistance to idea of public housing, but on basis of principles — philosophical basis, was the way he put it. Doesn't think it has much to do with race questions.

Fay would not bite on question about pub housing located in borderline W-N area. Kept (tho only briefly) to the point that any new public hsng would be ~~developed~~ to rehouse persons displaced

from redeveloped renewed areas, and the worse of these tended to be all of one race. So, ;, so would there rehousing pub housing devels. Recall - his plan is only a 6-yr job. Worse slums can be cleared then good.

Pointed out that, other than at the very body integrated Richmond n'hoods tend to be in areas which don't need renewal - i.e., the transitional n'hoods such as in northside.

Neither Foy nor Sawyer saw any particular resistance to new pub hsng resulting from racial issues, nor any problem integrating it when it was built. Of course, it's that old matter of LOCATION being the key to race, housing will serve.

Neither one felt qualified to commit himself as to whether Richmond hsng was becoming more or less segged

17th street are redevelopment program. See handout for detail.

There are about ?1500? families on "acceptables" list for housing at any time, waiting for available opening in housing. Actually, length of list varies a great deal — e.g., when redevelopment such as with Turnpike comes along and displaces many, demand for pub hsng increases. The point, tho, is that there is always a waiting list, and indicates the need for more hsng — low income hsng, and N housing.

Agreed that ~~[illegible]~~ health and san. + fire ordinances enforced less rigidly in some areas — volunteered this, sort of indirectly but somewhat directly. But, like Watley, thinks this is sound — no point to enforce them to attempt to bring up to std hsng which should be torndown, really.

Sawyer – acknowledge that many N's in Barton Hts maintained their homes better than (earlier) long white owners did.

Sawyer – Northminster Baptist Church. Houses built across street from the church recently. ?$25,000? class. Sold to whites, even though neighborhood is transitional. This is the church which moved from 1 nearer to downtown earlier, sold its ~~church~~ building to a Negro congregation.

Fay said that 1960 census data (housing) unreliable. His study will depend on its own visual surveys a great deal.

Sawyer – 643-3551

(1) Avail to non-Richmonders?

(2) Waiting list, Hillside vs. Six Others, as indicator of demand for housing?

(2729)

State Dept Education — Ext. 2924

Mr. Blount — back in ½ hr.

Mr. Quirk — 2935 || Miss Massey Ext 2941

Dr. Campbell — Ext. 2916

Accredited by Southern Assn of Coll & Sec. Schools

Chesterfield — 1 of 10 secondary schools

2 preparing to file, but didn't.

2 to 4 will apply in the fall.

Richmond — 5 of 5 Rich. Hi Schools.

Henrico — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of 7.

2 new ones. Will apply this fall.

Send Stuff to Ed Peeples

c/o Dept of Sociology

UK Lexington

Arthur Rucker, Jr. – Realtor

[All notes written after our 2½ hr conversation.]

The biggest thing to come out of this interview was that it is supposedly profitable for the white home owner to sell to Negroes. See below

The Northside Association – used to buy up houses for sale by whites. Had about 50-60 houses worth perhaps $1,000,000 at one time or other. Association has been disbanded, almost, because problem got bigger than they could handle. It has liquidated its realty holdings, some of the houses have gone to Negroes.

Rucker claims that there is profit in it for whites to sell to Negroes. Says that in my hypoth. all $15 000 block, the first house would be sold to

N's at about $17000. The next would go at $16,750 and the rest at $16500. None would go below that. So, whites would be making $1500 to $2000 on their house. ∴, $ inducement to sell.

Motives of whites to sell to break a block are multiple:

(1) Chance for profit.
(2) Fear of Negroes - physical harm.
(3) Fear of loss of prestige, social.
(4) Fear of loss of property values if they waited longer.

Said that it is very rare that real estate people speculate in transitional houses. Why? They are afraid to speculate. [?. Maybe they believe their own stuff about real estate values dropping!?] Anyhow he says ownership almost always transferred to Negro ~~owner~~ purchaser from white seller. No intermediate ownership by "operators," even tho he recognizes big profit possibilities.

Claims that it ~~was~~ is Negro r.e. men to get blocks broken. Negro realty man will write letters to white home owners, then phone. They make house calls.

Acknowledge that white REALTOR who broke a block would probably be thrown out of Richmond REB. Later he said that Richmond REB had recently changed its policy on this point. I believe he said that it was now OK'd to operate "anywhere" in a "transitional area". Didn't come clear in response to inquiry on how "transitional areas" were defined.

Profit again:

Problem is that FHA appraisals are too high. This allows white owner to sell at profit, since people are willing to pay FHA appraised prices and Negroes are willing to pay more than. Would like FHA appraisals to be below, ~~rather than~~ above, true values.

Housing codes is enforced differentially but with little ref. to race, if any. Enforcement is erratic, spotty — but not racially - D'ary, apparently.

Zoning — Zoning is poor, but again, no mention of racial D in it.

Mortgage money - plentiful.

Doesn't know of any white realtors who employ N's. He didn't bite on this question. Sort of accept his negative answer. He was more interested in proclaiming his desire to integrate employment, n'hoods, etc.

Didn't know why more N new houses weren't being built. Recognized, he said, a tremendous mkt for someone to take advantage of therein.

Much criticism of conservatism, lack of faith in econ future, unwillingness to invest — or Richmond's "white heads"

Mc Mahon — Wed. Morning

Hang seg. mechanisms in Rare SUBTLE.

Five social levels in Richmond. Was warned not to mix the five levels on his Charities' board. He did so anyway, but not much.

Confirmed that W's lend to N's, and N's to W's.

His housekeeper moved two blocks north of Eissfeldts' — same street. Had trouble getting money. Was probably because too many wage earners in family came into the making up of their suff, family Y, as well as there being N's.

It's Yankee money that's putting up the new bldgs in Richmond. The wealthier Richmondites don't have risk interests in inv. in future of their city. Are only interested in holding onto the dollars they already have.

NEWSPAPER'S RICHMOND HSGN FILE

2-17-65

Central Richmond Improvement Council

Wants to improve hsng condit in area between Riv - Chamb - Fells St - 4th St.

8-12-64

Richmond had been having something of an apt boom, but homebldg making a comeback. Avg val of new homes about $11.8, up about $1,000.

Homebldg mkt "surprisingly good" (NQ) in view of mucho apts built, and thought likely to get better.

"Mortgage money is ~~likely~~ reported to be plentiful - something that has encouraged apt bldg but could help home constr as well."

"In this regard, one builder report that more people appears to be turning to conventional mortgage loans rather than gov't-backed FHA or VA loans."

"One bldr said ... that builders are fast running out of land in W'rn Henrico and will turn more easily toward Chesterfield.

More expensive homes seem to be moving faster than cheaper ones. ($33,000 class)

8-12-64 cont'd:

There are rel. few subdiv's under constr - mostly ind'vl homes, speculative

8-8-64:

"In Richmond, contracts with the government for fdl ~~[illegible]~~ assistance to p.h. projects - six N and one W - specify which race will occupy each project. Frederic A Fay, director of the R. R. and H. A., said no deseg'n was planned.

8-7-64: On same topic as above -

"Fay explained that the R. authority receives fdl aid for pub. projects under contracts that antedate the W. H. exec. order banning seg in h. proj's, and the civil rights law.

Fay said the h. auth's contracts with the P.H.A. specify that the proj's will be seg'ed. It is poss that the c.r. law, if its const'lity is upheld, could affect the Rich. policy, Fay said.

[All in response to Urban Lg challange to 140 cities]

4-2-64

RRHA gets 1st proposal for private redevel of 37.7 acres of 17th St Redev project.

9-27-63

Local realtor (Chewning) (Wm. C.) suggested reform of city housing law that would eliminate letting houses (condemned) stand vacant and deteriorate before they are torn down → safety hazard.

"The North Broad Street Case, which helped defeat urban renewal in that area.

"The city... can notify a dwelling owner that his house does not meet min. sanitation stds, and the owner can either bring the dwelling up to min or abandon it." (at same meeting:)

Randolph (Bruce) said that he believed his bureau is properly enforcing the min housing code. (also)

"He (B.R.) felt that enforcement could be better if state law permitted a joint code enforcement - redev'ment approach in some n'hood. If state law allowed this, fed'l funds would be avail, he said.

This would allow the health dept to enforce its san.'n codes in parts

of an area suitable for cont'd resid'l use, at the same time, other ~~areas~~ sections of the same area unsuitable for continued resid use because of continued deterioration or other reasons could be put under a redev't program. At the present time one or the other approach has to be used because state law does not permit this type of joint operation.

2-20-63

Describes urban renewal that was defeated. "The program would be a federal-city undertaking. Two-thirds of the cost of the program would be pd by the fed'l govt, one-third by the city. Under the plan, a blighted area stretching from Fourth to Eighth sts and from Marshall st to the R-P Turnpike would be cleared and redeveloped for resid, comm'l, and public parking use."

Supposedly, not all bldgs would be demolished. "Those that have not deteriorated beyond econ'l repair apparently would be retained unless their preservation would conflict with redev plans."

1-18-63 —

Article reveals that fed. exec. order barring discrim in fed hsng projects does not include conventional loans made by lenders with federally-insured deposits ☆ In same article:

"An apt boom and increased activity in bldg for non-whites are two aspects of the changing pattern of hsng in Richmond, A. Howe Todd, director of city planning, said last night."

8-19-62

Councilm Robt. J. Heberle — 100's of min. housing violations exist "under the very nose of City Hall."

Fay — 825 basic violations exist in the area to be redeveloped downtown under urban renewal. Includes — lack of toilet & plumbing facilities.

"Under Fay's proposals, still labled 'top secret' because, he says, they are still in prelim'y shape, all but one bldg in the renewal area would be demolished — if Council approves. Only the Beacon Press prtg plant in the 400 block of 7th St would remain."

8-19-62 —
Heberle wanted to know "Just what do these city paid sanitarians do, and where do they do it."

Randolph on defensive about his dept. Says they've made 15 city surveys, are doing work in getting enforcement in 8 worst areas

9-5-62 — (Follup to above story)
— Edwards, Richmond City Mgr:
"Edwards said the area ~~bounded~~ between Fourshee, 5th, Broad, and the Rail road .... had been excluded from the hsng sanitation program in 1959 with Council approval. This area ... was excluded because it needed more attention than could be provided thru min. hsng reqt's, Edwards said, ☆

3/25/62 — Richmond's C of C said yesterday that slightly more than 14% of the hsng units in metro Richmond are deteriorating or delapidated. The chamber said 2,997 or 63% of the delap. units are in Richmond, and 73% of the areas deteriorating units are in city.

3/25/62 cont'd —

In metro area — 123,758 hsng units, 56% in R, 16% in C, 28% in H.
12,757 deteriorating homes — 9,782 in R; 1,475 in C, 1500 in H.
4,756 dilapidated. 2,997 are in R, 1,026 in C, 733 in H.

50% of hsng units in metro R were built before 1940, 18% during the 1940's, and 32% from 1950 to March 1960. (Looks like Hsng Census)

4/9/61 — RRHA — number of substd. dwells in Rich — Δ 1950 to 1960, 21,730 (50) to 12,835 (in 60.).

"Despite the decline, the authority saw danger signs in the fact that 49 percent of all non-white rental units are substandard. Only 12.2 percent of the city's white rental units are substandard." (Based on hsng census).

"Part of the decline in substd hsng may be the result of new Census Bur hsng classifn. It now has a classifn

4/9/61 — cont'd:
for detaining houses — those that need more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance"
"But much of the credit must go... to... slum clearance programs req'd to make way for the R-P Turnpike, the Belvedere St. extension, the civic center, and to the effectiveness of the city health dept's rehab program."

1950-1960 — 2,280 units demolished
4,949 new units built
2,139 are p.h. projects.

4/25/61:
Chewning — 4% of Richmond's houses are below the economic level of rehabilitation. (Ch. then prez RREB).
Fay — same meeting — 18% of the city's housing are substandard.

10/6/61 — 18% (11,826/69,105) of occupied housing units in Rich substd, per Census Bureau report 1960. Nonwhites occupied 8,805, whites 3,021. Owner occupied = 2,160, and renter-occupied 9,666. See * next (back) pg.

10/6/61 — Reaction to Hsng Census Report
"Substd hsng, the dept (US Dept of Comm) said, is that which ~~the~~ is delapidated or lacks flush toilet, bathtub and/or shower for the exclusive use of occupants and hot running water."

* Of the white-occupied substd units, 567 were owner-occupied and 2,454 were rented. For non-whites, the comparative figures are 1,593 and 7,112.

By race, the figures showed (this is total units, not substd)

22,422 white owner-occupied units
20,074 white renter- " "
9,400 non-wh owner- " "
14,699 renter non-white " "

3/29/60 — Councilman Heberle violently opposing new p.h. project in Richmond. Reason - bringing in more N residents, voters. But other councilman said - "Less than 5% of the people in sub hsng come from outside Richmond."

11/15/60 —
Reuben Clay — 3,000 N families have been removed from substd housing and had gone into other slums.

5/20/60 —
Bruce Randolph told VCHR meeting that there are nearly 10,000 outside toilets in the city. "Only an urban renewal program, or something better will remedy the situation," Randolph said. [Paper quoting him: "The existing rehab'n program won't do the job. Richmond has failed to initiate a positive program."]

4/17/59 — Heberle again — Heberle was S-Side Richmond councilman,
Asking where ousted families go — His conclusion is that they go back into blighted and slum areas, and thus create new slums that will need clearing. This was with reference to persons evicted from p.h. for non-pyt of rents.
☆ Contended it would be unfair to owners, N or W, to put low-rent pub housing next to them.

See back ☆☆

3/27/59 —
Richmond looking into number of non-Rich residents who come into fed-city built pub hsng projects.
Fred. A. Fay said he thought the number would be small.
[Hmmh!]

4/15/59 —
Petitions circulating in S-side Richmond vs locating more pub hsng there. Petitions are being circulated by persons suggesting that a Negro project might be located in a white area. Fay said facts were proposed new pub. to be loc. in N area —

4/17/59 —
** Herberle — "It is revolting to even think of placing a brand-new tax-free dwelling for a relief roll tenant alongside (one word) a struggling tax-paying citizen, regardless of his color!"

4/18/58 —
Fay — Fed'l subsidy averaged $30.84 per pub-hsng dwelling unit per month.

4/18/58 cont'd —

Capt A S Tucker - Richmond Police Bureau
Crime rate (adult) in Gilpin Court
only 1/20th the rate in the slums
Gilpin Court replaced. Not that
blight among juvenile residents —
is about same as was many former
slum juveniles there.

Fire & police protection costs
~~removed~~ significantly lowered.

T-D reporters visited 30 p.h. units
at random in 4 projects. Found
not one instance of uncleanliness
or disrepair. "Fay said the pride
of occupants in their own private
apts — rather than the threat of
eviction — accounts for evidence
of tidy housekeeping."

Fay — "Vandalism is not a serious
problem at all."

Fay — Tenants are instructed in
what's expected of them. They are insp.
at least once a year. "We make it easy for
them to paint their rooms and to trim
their lawns & shrubbery. They usually
learn in a hurry the 1st time they're charged for damage".

2/7/56 —
RRHA and City Planning Comm'n planning new homes via p.h. projects to house 894 families displaced by R-P turnpike. Site selected would displace 50 families, for whom new homes would be found. RRHA tried to find vacant land for site, but "vacant land w/in the city is extremely scarce."

1/4/56 —
The Carver Redevelopment Project — Slum Clearance. Covered area bounded by Leigh, Munford, Bowe, and the SAL Railroad. 413 structures, 326 of them sub-std, will be torn down. Private developers will build about 500 multi-family units.

8/19/56 —
Approx 1730 monthly fams will be displaced by the Hull road, the extension of Belvidere St, and the expansion of Gilpin Court. Pub hsng is being provided for more than 1100 fams. City Council had est. 550 fams could afford to buy. But only one had been known to take up special loans offered for years.

Driving tour — Wednesday aft.

Area S of Fair Grounds, East of Rich-Henrico Turnpike. Farm homes. Seemingly early post-WWII, white, no for sale signs.

Triangle N of Hotchkiss field, Between Meadow Bridge + R-H Turnpike — White — no signs of negroes. Few for sale signs. Older housing, much of it pre-WWII, Not many for sale, but housing N's could easily afford. N'hood much like old Barton Hts.

Area N of Brookland Park Ave, ~~East~~ of Henrico-Rich Tpke, S of Ladies Mile is negro def to North Ave, mostly N to Woodrow, with lots lots of For Sales, negroes living definitely corner Jeter + Branch.

[Q: Status of Northside Jr High? About ⅓ N last yr, about ½ now. Accurate staff.]

Area just outside city limits, NE of North Ave as it runs NW-SE, and South of La Burnam, is transit as far East as Pilots Lane.

Rich-Hen Tpk seems to be a border now.

Carpenters live just N of Maidens Lane on Hanes.

The Eissfeldts —

Negro + white realtors work together. White realtor handles house for white seller, generally. Negro real estate man handles house for ~~the~~ Negro buyer. This is fee-splitting business. Nothing unusual or really unethical about this. It makes thing easier for everyone.

Negroes have wised up. No longer paying much above FHA appraisals. Both FHA appraisal are high, reflecting negro demand. CS: Rucker Pr.

Northminster Baptist moved from Barton to Westwood & Montrose, Mon side. Temple Baptist has moved out from Overbk-Chamb-Lamb Δ (where Eissfeldt congregation bought. Overbrook Presbyterian moved out to Lakeside. Overbrook became All Souls Presby. Barton Wto Methodist remained in solidly Negro N with all white congregation. St. Philips Episcopal now N — was a white Episcopal.

St. Pauls Catholic Church has fairly new church on Chamberlayne. Has all-white (?) parochial school (elem) still in Barton Hts. Is trying to move school out to near church on Chamberlayne.

Northside Civic Asso.* — tried to buy back house N's bought at good profit to N's. Probably not active anymore. There are has gone heavily N - North of.
Bellvue - Ginter Park Civic Asso. West of Northside Civic Asso Area. Block "observers". To report "anything unusual" in the n'hood. Main function not race - want to maintain property stds + appearance - But race enters into it.

* Noble to approx Hazelhurst, Brookland Park Blvd to Ladies Mile.

Ginter Park + Barton Hts + Bellvue - Northside.

Western border of N-side transitional area is fuzzy noble - Moss side. Chamberlayne in this area is row of Apts. White. Noble & Hawthorne will go very slowly, if at all, because homes are expensive; Estate time: Negroes (a few) on Edgewood. Eisfeldts live on Edgewood.

Still believe that real estate people have a lot to do with it. Of course L2: It's a lucrative business.

Living in an integrated neighborhood is even more personal than attending an integrated school. When you live in some block with N's in an equal house or better house - it's hard to continue to believe you're better than a Negro.

Racial hostility grows as the n'hood comes closer & closer to integration.

Richmond Negro is as conservative a Negro as the whites of Richmond are conservative whites. They don't want to create a stir. E.g., no CORE or SNCC in Richmond. Very little Black Muslim. No Klan, Nazi's, WCC — evident. Might get a ~~few~~ small proportion of lower income groups into such organs, but "respectable" who would have to provide the leadership, wouldn't go for this sort of non-genteel organ. in Richmond. Therefore no organs arise.

House across Montrose from Northminster Baptist more in the $5–$8 M class than 25) No matter what Sawyer said.

Observations from drive —
Montrose, above Ladies Mile, white. Expensive. Fairly newer. But, below L. Mile — older, many for sale + already negro. Moss Side, S. of L.M., esp. Moreso
Auto Mobile, S. of L.M.

Driving tour Thursday a.m. —
Mental notes suff. Map changed**
Fulton Hill, Montrose holding steady.
St. John's Church area explored.
**Two areas between Church Hill ~~[illegible]~~
and cemeteries are no longer T — they're N.

Driving tour Thursday p.m.

Showed (confirmed) what had previously
been told me. Only real major transitional
area is Northside. Some movement
on S-Side toward SE along 15th
St., along Bainbridge and along
Lawson. Very little movement
Northward and westward from
West End. Slight movement
Eastward from north W. End. North & West
movement from big W. End area
blocked by commercial, Byrd Park,
White apts + Boulevard, Boulevard
itself.

James C. Park — City Planning Commission — [notes made day after - NQ]

Planning report has very little about housing. Admittedly.

Main housing trend in Richmond — apartment building. Four major hi-rises in city. 3 in downtown one across James River. Reasons — influences felt earlier in major eastern — northern cities beginning to take hold in Richmond. Land shortage. Committee problems. Glitter lost off suburban living. Sizeable number of older couples whose kids are raised. These kids themselves forming families, needing housing. Builders bldg apts to take advantage of expected market.

Why urban renewal was "done in" — White property-owning, property wanting, and realty interests stirred up Negro community. Power structure and other influential ones with decision

making + decision influencing power did not want negro vote but rocked so soon before mun. elections. Chevning — fought UR tho at times pres of RREB which ?favored? UR. While UR being debated, bldg going on S of Broad, which lessened immediate need for land which UR would have provided, but not long range land need. Land free for ind'l-comm'l development is Richmond's main econ resource lack. Results in large measure from wrong-and under-use of land.

Political + social attitudes in Richmond — much behind northern cities. Cautious. Conservative. States quo. A very country-minded urban area. People think like rurali[illegible]. Not yet faced up to urban problems.

Annexation drive is for the most part (1) a response to Richmond's land shortage (2) desire to bring in more white voters.

Even if N's should become majority, white business + financial interests would probably remain in control, since Negro leadership wants to become like they are — apes them, rather than aiming at leadership of N masses. Confirms idea that Richmond N's are as conservative a group of N's as Richmond whites are cons. whites.

City in Va annexes by suing county for land. Three-judge court, presiding judge of which is from county whose land is to be annexed. Court decides how much land to award city, if any, and under what terms. City must justify its annexation by showing Court what it will provide in way of services, improvements, etc, to annexed area.

Park had little to say about zoning, except that zoning did not seemed to be as easily changable

as he would have liked it to be in order to put ltd land to better use. "Higher use" & "best use" were terms he employed.

City has been spotty - differential in housing code enforcement. But no racial overtones. Also on capital improvements. But again, no racial bias. More indifference than bias of anykind, which is typical Richmond attitude, it seems to me. Anyhow - on this point, Park did not bite at ~~your~~ my bait.

Racial issues do influence city planning, but more racial considerations enter into decisions by City Council than into planning staff recommendations. City Council worries about how decision will sway N vote. Wouldn't do anything which would cause bloc N vote to exert too much influence, esp. vs incumbents, but even just bloc vote - swing vote, period.

Interstate 64 located so as to provide Henrico with a natural barrier from N's expanding NE from Church Hill. But, N's already lying N + E of the right-of-way. Location of proposed urban tank way - Byrd Park vs negro residential displacement vs negro isolation - check into this.

Will go down Idlewild - so, N's already north of this area. But, would isolate most N's in "Roberts' area".

No real lack of qty of hsng. Quality, yes. High vacancy rate. Result: Hartshorn homes didn't sell.

CRP (Community Renewal Program - Fay + this consultants) not likely to result in much action.

JACK BATES – JOHN W, JR – REALTOR

Not mucho. Mucho self justify.
"Some of my best friends are" bologney

Policy of REB – never a written rule, but for 25 yrs or more an unwritten rule (gentlemans agree't) that no member RREB would break a block. Recently, RREB board of directors passed a resolution putting the onus on the seller. Says Realtors will not pay any attention (disregard) racial considerations whether or not any property is sold to N's will depend on owners' willingness to sell it to them.

Says membership in RREB is of sentimental & personal, rather than ~~professional~~ financial, value to him.

Nottsa blah!

Newspaper Library

Side St facing East – 110 N. 4th

go thru to third floor, thru newsroom

See Lucy Gilliam for Rec Study

James C. Park – one of 5 men looking into Richmond housing census data to develop master plan on assault on slums + blight. Study under direction of RRHA.

APPOINTMENTS —

FRIDAY
9 AM - Loving - 918 N. First
11 AM - Harris - 623 N. Third
5 PM - Reid - 112 E. Clay

SATURDAY
9 AM Mattey - 2404 North Ave
10 AM - Mundle - 10 W. Leigh St.

MONDAY
10:30 AM - Fay - 901 Chamberlayne Pkwy.
to 1:00 - SAWYER - "
3:00 - Planning Commission

TUESDAY
11:30 - 2:00 - Rucker Jr - VCHR

COOPER-TRENT - 1705 Chamberlayne

WEDNESDAY
10:30 A - McMahon - 811 Floyd

LIBRARY - Newspaper

(Dinner) 5:00 pm plus - Eisfeldt 3305 Edgewood

THURSDAY
Get recreation booklet - Gillian
TOUR OF FRINGE AREAS - DOCTOR
8:30 a.m. - 217 governor's

FRIDAY
4:00 - Bates* - 2 S. FIFTH
*cf to Rucker on REB & B policy
LUNCHEON

RANDOLPH —

Richmond housing — DPW believes that 18,000 substd hsng units in Richmond

RRHA — goes back to 1939

Dec. 11, 1950 — first Rich. city hsng ordinance. July, 1952, funds budgeted for program.

CRP — 1962 — Richm took adv. of fed grants avail for this.

19 area plans will recommend not only land use recomms, but also social problem recomms.

COMMUNITY RENEWAL PROGRAM

Claims Rich one of 1st cities to have housing code enforcement programs.

Takes year and a half plus to get major capital improvts carried out. Has to be recomm, planned, approved, budgeted for - then scheduled for carrying out.

Proposal will be for full reder. of Fulton from Wmsburg Ave to River, + part reder + clearance between Wmsbrg + Gov't Road.

State laws prohibit reder programs.

Difficulty in changing state laws because local real estate interests afraid of fed programs.

Homeowners req'd to make repairs. Tenant is req'd to maintain house in a sanitary condition.

Realtors who handle house for absentee owners are req'd to make repairs.

Originally code of 1950 only slightly modified in 1963.

Because wouldn't incl. hot water for bathing, Rich lost UHRen certification for a year. Later added hotwater for bathing, and has now regained UR certif.

Two families own many rental units. One 1200, one 3 or 4 thousand. Both are white families.

People in Richmond now willing to spend more on housing than they were before. Now they are willing - paying rents that 10 yrs ago they wouldn't think of paying. About 10 yrs ago, $25-40 was what willing. Now it's $60.

Overcrowding violations of codes minor problem
Perhaps 1%, usually large families.

N-side attitude - N's moving in better than W's who moved out.
But this is attitude of those who were hooked in, into staying N'hood.
Esp. older people who can't afford to move.

W n'hood. Realtor gets control of 2-3 houses. Pack them with colored, at higher rent. Then buys

up other houses at lower price. Then resells back to white at higher price. Hearsay - has heard of this from reliable source.

N. hoods built around common social & cultural interests. Homogeneous.

Richmond is pretty-well ghettoized.

City makes no distinctions as to racial composition of n'hood. Randolph doesn't worry about politics.

One time at Gilpin Ct.
Displaced by Urb 64.

2 Rooms, 5 children —
electricity not ~~[illegible]~~ on

608 N. FIFTH — Upstairs
w: Gertrude Noble.
h: Willie Noble.

Trying to get into a
p.h.
Needs 4 bedrooms. Sawyer
says nothing avail.

Sawyer — diff to talk to
Wouldn't give help
& Sawyer wouldn't give it.
Both work.

JAN.-FEB., 1950
Vol. 5 Nos. 1 & 2

New South

All material presented in New South *may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.*

New Orleans

Race-Baiting Comes a Cropper

THE voters of New Orleans recently emphatically rejected an appeal to "white supremacy" with an overwhelming "NO."

At the outset it should be made clear that, while the national press has played up the race angle in this election, locally it was far down on the list of widely discussed issues. However, as this is for the information of persons working in the field of human relations, the use of the race issue in the campaign is of particular interest and will be described in detail.

In this city of a little more than 600,000 a total of 203,000 persons registered in the past eleven months during a new registration. This was a gain of a few thousand over the previous registration which had been on the books for eight years. The Negro registration was about one eighth of the total, or 25,000, which was double the previous Negro registration. A total of 185,167 ballots were cast in the mayoralty election, which was the only issue being voted on. This 91% turnout was larger by more than 30,000 than the number of votes cast in any previous mayoralty election. The incumbent, Mayor Morrison, received 130,582 votes and carried every ward. His major opponent, Charles Zatarain, received slightly less than 60,000 votes. Alvin A. Cobb, an independent candidate whose primary was "white supremacy," received 4,751 votes.

This account of the recent mayoralty election in New Orleans was jointly prepared by Mrs. Helen F. Cohn, executive secretary, New Orleans Committee on Race Relations; Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, general chairman, Catholic Committee of the South, and Brant Coopersmith, executive secretary, New Orleans Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Election Change

The city's commission council was formerly elected at large but in this election for the first time in recent years seven councilmen were elected by districts. This change was imposed on the city by the State Legislature, led by Governor Long, in an attempt to win control of enough councilmen to be able to stymie the Morrison administration.

Here, too, the Morrison victory was complete, for in only two districts did the Morrison candidate receive only a plurality, necessitating a runoff. One of the opposition candidates has withdrawn and the victory of the remaining council runoff for the Morrison candidate seems assured.

The size of the total vote (which local experts believe to be larger proportionately than that cast in any mayoralty election anywhere in the country) can be explained in part by obvious factors. The weather was the finest it had ever been on election day; the voters were now familiar with voting machines; and there was no disturbance at any of the polling

places. The Morrison people also believe that the large vote is partially explained by the personal popularity of the Mayor.

These factors, however, do not constitute a complete explanation, for there was no real issue involved. The Morrison campaign slogan was "Complete the Job" with a plea for good local government as opposed to the Long administration and its recent passing of "punitive" legislation affecting the city. Zatarain's main appeal was that he would restore harmony between the city and state administrations. Morrison pointed to the accomplishments of his past four years in office: a large recreational program for Negroes and whites, a union terminal, improvement of the city's streets in Negro as well as white residential areas. On the other hand it was widely known that Morrison had made some mistakes in office and the local newspapers had exposed a thriving "numbers" racket, a run-down school system, and so on. Other persons pointed to the administration's use of non-union labor on city building projects.

Race Issue

But all of this is fairly routine in any mayoralty election. The only really controversial issue which might have had considerable political consequences of an unpredictable nature was the race issue. It was used by Alvin A. Cobb, an independent candidate. It was hoped that he could win enough anti-Morrison votes to win control of the city council for the opposition and perhaps force a mayoralty runoff.

Cobb has run for minor offices previously, lives in a housing project, is penniless and without a job. Yet, it is estimated that $25,000 was spent on his campaign.

Cobb's major appeal was by radio and his early charges were directed against Morrison, who he claimed had misused city funds and had made deals with gamblers. The month before election, Cobb advertised that he was going to explode a "political bombshell." This turned out to be an attack on the Mayor for presenting the keys to the city to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, UN Mediator in Palestine, who was brought to the city to speak by the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations. Cobb referred to Dr. Bunche as "this Negro doctor" and said, "The presentation of the keys to our city to that Negro was the honor conferred upon him, giving him all hospitality, social and other benefits that our city has to offer. This is the first time a Southern Mayor has done such a disgraceful act since the days of Northern Carpetbagger control."

Both Morrison and Zatarain, with other members of their tickets, had spoken at rallies held by growing Negro political organizations. Morrison had the endorsement of and spoke before the largest group, but it is significant that one Negro political group was supporting Zatarain. Cobb used these factors as the basis for subsequent attacks on Morrison, accusing him of "doing business with Negroes." A few times he also criticized Zatarain on this score.

His attack on Morrison, whom he referred to as "Carpetbagger" Morrison, or "Eleanor Roosevelt Truman" Morrison, grew steadily more intense on the Negro question. In his final broadcasts he made such statements as the following: "The time has come — you will not have another chance — you must decide — if you want social equality with Negroes — if you want Negroes in our restaurants, picture shows, etc., you will vote for Morrison. But — if you want to preserve our Southern traditions — if you believe in white supremacy, vote for Alvin Cobb for Mayor — Alvin Cobb who has exposed Morrison — Alvin Cobb who had the courage to announce himself as your white supremacy candidate." He also called himself the Dixiecrat candidate but he was publicly repudiated by the state head of the Louisiana Dixiecrats as not representing their point of view.

Radio and Newspapers

As some of what Cobb was saying was considered libelous by one of the radio stations it refused to sell him radio time later in the campaign. This view was shared by some of the local newspapers and they gave almost no play to his appeal to bigotry but would briefly report that Cobb had again injected the race question into the campaign and would then quote one or two of his other statements briefly. All three papers manifested a mature and responsible attitude

towards what was thought might be an explosive situation. The *Item,* an evening paper, carried an editorial three days before the election sharply criticizing Cobb's tactics.

It is thought that Cobb had a fairly large radio audience — although no polls were taken during the campaign — for many persons listened to him out of curiosity. One night, when a radio station went off the air suddenly because of technical failure in the middle of a Cobb talk, the station and newspaper's switchboards were flooded with calls.

Sound Trucks

During the last few days of the campaign Cobb had a couple of sound trucks concentrating in certain wards repeating his accusations. The use of the word "nigger" was reported, which gives a further indication of the type of appeal he was making. Another method used was the extensive distribution of 250,000 handbills. These had the word "Proof" printed in 180 point type at the top and carried pictures taken in the Mayor's office of the Mayor and Dr. Bunche.

Before the advent of the sound trucks and the pamphlets it is likely that the majority of the voters knew little about Cobb's campaign, but that thereafter most of the voters were aware of the race-baiting Cobb was doing.

A few days before the election his handbills were distributed around the public and parochial schools by persons who told some of the school children that if their parents voted for Morrison they would be going to school with Negroes within a short time.

Several persons connected with social and civic agencies, and perhaps other persons as well, received phone calls from unidentified persons asking them to vote for Cobb and then going into long harangues about Communists, Negroes, and Jews.

A rally which Cobb held at the foot of Canal Street was so poorly attended that he made his speech from the radio studio, claiming "Morrison's police" had broken up his meeting.

Up to the last few days, neither candidate had made any reference to Cobb (and it is thought that this was by agreement between the two major candidates), but at his final rally Morrison said the following of the opposition, "... as election day approaches, they are so fearful of the overwhelming defeat and so frantic ... that they have dipped down to the very bottom of the bag and have come up with a race issue. Of course, their shirt-front candidate ... is piously soliciting votes from all groups. At the same time they put into the race a police character as a hatchet man and a mud slinger.... So far as this issue is concerned ... my policy ... has consistently been the same. ... We do believe that it is just plain common sense and good business administration to administer to and take care of the needs, health, recreation, and well being of all the people of our community, regardless of creed, race, or station in life."

In his final radio talk Morrison said, "I denounce and condemn these hate mongers for ... seeking to create strife and discord." He thanked "the thousands who have shown their resentment of these shocking tactics. It is boomeranging and backfiring because the vast majority of our citizens know ... they cannot believe or trust those who have sold them down the river in the past and who now resort to last minute mud slinging and smear tactics."

Religious Leaders

On Sunday before election this statement was issued to the press by religious leaders: "We are convinced that the citizens of New Orleans are disturbed and distressed by recent attempts to poison their minds and to divide their loyalty to the community. . .

"We are concerned not only with the harmful effects that such un-American and unmoral doctrines can have on one-third of our community, but even more, we are concerned with the moral erosion that master racism causes in the souls of those infected with it.

" 'States rights' and 'Southern tradition' are honorable terms.

"Their disuse, through moral distortion, brings disgrace and dishonor to the community.

(*Continued on page* 8)

R. L. Russell—
Builder of Brotherhood

By Mrs. M. E. Tilly

ON JANUARY 24th, the death of Dr. R. L. Russell, who for ten years was the executive director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, brought both a serious loss and a great challenge to the people of Georgia.

While most of his life was spent in a great way as a minister in the Methodist Church, this church, which knew him and appreciated his services, knew and felt he rendered even a greater service in his work as builder of racial understanding in our State. This appreciation was expressed by substantial gifts from the Board of Missions and the Woman's Society of Christian Service to the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

Whenever there were injustices, inequalities, and discriminations, Dr. Russell was never silent. Many problems and incidents were brought to him before they were known to the press, and as he had contacts in every town in the State, he usually got action through a telephone call, but if he failed he went to the town himself and oftentimes rushed someone to Washington to see the Attorney-General.

He was a man of such integrity and force that the Church, state and county boards of education, county commissioners, and courts listened to him.

On New Year's Day, a message was sent to the members of the Georgia Committee, letting them know that Dr. Russell would be 81 years old on January 13th and suggesting that we honor him by raising a thousand dollars for the work. The response was wonderful. Checks and messages came by every mail, some special delivery and some by wire. With the checks came letters of love and appreciation of a great man whose heart was big enough to encompass all mankind. He was ill and never read the letters, but he did receive the money and planned his letters of thanks.

His last days were spent in an effort to get an anti-mask bill through the legislature, and his last message to the office on the day he died was, "Keep me informed about the status of our bill. Get out letters and telegrams to church people in the home towns of the wavering legislators." He was gone when the telegrams were sent, but nonetheless they were messages from him.

Someone asked him one day, "Just what is your philosophy about this question of race?" He replied by giving his "Race Creed." Some of us took it down and had it printed. His life and his "Race Creed" are a legacy and challenge to all Georgians.

MY RACE CREED

R. L. Russell

1. I believe in the right of all human beings to be free.

2. I will treat all peoples as my brothers.

3. I will keep myself free from prejudiced views of any and all human beings of whatsoever race, creed or color.

4. I will promote human good will and understanding.

5. I will lend aid and comfort to agencies working in this field.

6. I will talk good will upon all appropriate occasions.

7. I will not allow any person regardless of race or color to outdo me in kindness, courtesy, and the fundamental elements of brotherhood.

8. I believe in the integrity of the individual; that he comes first.

9. I believe that all men are potentially the sons of God and therefore all are brothers to all.

10. I will not support any man for office in my state who proposes to bar any person because of creed or color from all the privileges and rights accorded the citizens of my state.

Time to Rid Carriers Of Race Separation

An Editorial from the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*

DELEGATE Armistead L. Boothe, the scholarly (University of Virginia and Oxford) representative of Alexandria, is getting set to make Southern history. He proposes to ask the 1950 General Assembly . . . (1) to repeal the State laws requiring separation of the races on railways, streetcars, steamships and motor vehicles; and (2) to create a Virginia civil rights commission to study economic, educational and other problems in their interracial aspects to the end that "we might come a little closer to living up to what the Constitution promises."

We don't know what the General Assembly will do with Mr. Boothe's "civil rights" bills. We do know that they are extremely important bills. Considered in the perspective of history, they are more important, in our opinion, than any other measures likely to be introduced during the 1950 session. We also think they are sound measures and deserving of enactment.

Impregnable Core

Racial separatism in the South — speaking of the present and the foreseeable future — has an impregnable core which the South's majority opinion holds to be essential to the region's peace and which it will defend against invasion. But wrapped around this untouchable core are several layers of segregation which, as old customs lose their meaning and old prejudices evaporate, can be peeled off and discarded to the profit of both races.

By and large, we think, the people of Virginia are ready to peel off the passenger-segregation layer that covers our common carriers. In cities or towns where public opinion is not yet ready for this reform, councils will, under the Boothe bills, retain the right to continue separation of the races by local ordinance. All that Mr. Boothe proposes is that the State rescind segregation rules applicable to carriers governed by State law, and that it free the localities from any State requirement to separate the races on local common carriers.

Even though, in its prohibitory aspect, the Boothe segregation-repeal program would apply only to State-operated or State-regulated carriers, its effect on locally owned or locally regulated carriers would be far-reaching. Local councils and boards of supervisors would have to assume sole responsibility for continuing separation of the races on buses. They could no longer evade this responsibility by pointing to the State segregation requirement as a directive. It is a safe prediction that the same considerations that prompted the State to dispense with separation would, one by one, prompt the cities, counties and towns to follow suit.

The transportation reform proposed by Mr. Boothe is one that has been visible on the Virginia horizon for a long time — quite vividly since the United States Supreme Court's June, 1946, decision in the Irene Morgan case. In that 6-to-1 opinion the Court invalidated a Virginia Court of Appeals decision upholding the application of the State law (requiring separation of bus passengers) to passengers on buses moving into Virginia from another State. The "reseating" of passengers, pursuant to the Virginia law the Court held, is disturbing to them and therefore a "burden on commerce."

Tensions

The *Virginian-Pilot*, discussing this decision on June 5, 1946, discerned in it far-reaching implications. But we saw no reason for southern "over-excitement about it." We noted then — and would emphasize the fact even more today — that "segregation of the races on the public carriers is beginning to generate tensions — some

of them as serious as the tensions it was designed to avert." On net balance, we suggested, continuance of race separation on common carriers, would be more disruptive than preservative of the South's interracial peace. That is even more definitely our opinion to day. We are strengthened in it by the judgment now formulated by the Delegate from Alexandria — a stalwart member of the Organization and one of its best minds.

The conflict between Supreme Court decreed non-segregation of interstate bus travelers and State decreed segregation of intrastate bus travelers is grinding out in Virginia police court cases in increasing number. Negro passengers resent it as a pointless affront. The case against enforced separation of the races on the common carriers was expressed with dignity and force by Mrs. W. T. Mason, of Norfolk, at last Wednesday's conference between our legislators and citizens on matters that need the General Assembly's attention. There was a time when race-separation on Virginia's public carriers served the cause of public peace and order. We agree with Mr. Boothe that it no longer serves this purpose and that a more soundly based public peace will follow its abolition — especially if the abolition is managed in the orderly manner contemplated by the Boothe program.

Whitney Foundation Offers Fellowships

THE establishment by the John Hay Whitney Foundation of Opportunity Fellowships and the appropriation of $100,000 for the first year's operation of these Fellowships, were announced recently.

Competition for Opportunity Fellowships is open to any American who has given evidence of special ability and who for reasons outside his personal merits (for example, racial or cultural background or region of residence) has not had full opportunity to develop his talents. Specifically eligible for consideration are American Negroes, American Indians, and persons of Spanish speaking ancestry.

Fellowships will be open not only for scholastic study but for any kind of training or experience (journalism, industry, labor leadership, the arts) which may be most useful in developing varied talents and forms of leadership. The Fellowships are awarded by competition and will be given once a year on the basis of written application and after careful comparison of the merits of the applicants by the Committee of Award. The grants are expected to range from $1,000 to $3,000 and will be determined by the nature of the proposed project and the financial needs of the applicant. Awards are for a full year of serious work, not for special, incidental, or temporary projects.

In commenting on the reasons that led him to set up the Fellowships, Mr. Whitney said: "In spite of the fact that this country offers more widespread opportunities than any other nation, many Americans of great potential ability are kept from their full development. This means a loss not only to the individuals concerned but to the country as a whole. We hope these Fellowships will contribute to the broadening of opportunities for all Americans."

Administration of Opportunity Fellowships will be in the hands of a distinguished Committee of Award, consisting of Edwin R. Embree, Consultant to the Foundation and former President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University; Barklie Henry, a Director of the United States Trust Company and Trustee of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research; Mrs. Douglas Horton, former President of Wellesley College and former director of the Women's Reserve USNR; and Oliver LaFarge, anthropologist, author, and President of Association on American Indian Affairs.

Detailed information can be obtained from the John Hay Whitney Foundation, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

NEW SOUTH *Notes*

1949

SINCE JUNE, 1949, when *New South* discussed the need for Negro representation in state and local government, evidence of progress in that field has multiplied. Following are a few typical examples of Negro integration into the workings of their government.

Petersburg, Va. In January, 1950, James A. Jackson, a Negro funeral home director, announced as Democratic candidate for city council. He is the second member of his race to offer for councilman under the present city manager form of government; two years ago a Negro attorney polled 980 votes to win fifth place in a seven-man race. Almost simultaneously with Jackson's announcement, two Negroes were named to the Petersburg Central Democratic Committee in precinct elections.

Jacksonville, Fla. October *New South* reported that, for the first time in the history of Florida, women are eligible to serve on juries. One of the first to be called for jury service was Mrs. Florence J. Dixon, director of the Negro YWCA in Jacksonville.

Wilmington, N. C. The Rev. R. Irving Boone was appointed to the City Commission on Parks and Recreation in September, 1949. He was the third Negro to be appointed to the 25-member commission.

Winston-Salem, N. C. — A. T. Harrington, a Negro insurance agent, was appointed by Mayor Jurfees to the City Zoning Board of Adjustment in August, 1949. His appointment was in accord with the mayor's stated policy of increased recognition of Winston-Salem's colored citizens.

Little Rock, Ark. In December, 1949, Governor McMath named J. Robert Booker, president of the National Bar Association, to the Governor's Commission for Recodification of the Statutes of Arkansas.

Augusta, Ga. As candidate for city council from the Third Ward, Frank N. Summerfield, a Negro, ran second with a total of 574 votes, as compared with 740 votes for the successful candidate.

Columbia, S. C. W. T. Gantt, a Negro educator, began his duties on December 1, 1949, as a staff-member of the South Carolina Department of Education.

Richmond, Va. Mrs. Margaret B. Cooke, in November, 1949, was appointed public health nursing supervisor in the local health department. She is believed to be the first Negro in the South named to this position.

Columbia, S. C. Four Negroes were elected to the city's Democratic Executive Committee from those wards where the population is predominantly Negro. The elections were marked by courtesy and consideration between members of the two races; in one instance, a white committeeman yielded his position so that a Negro might be elected.

At least seven Southern cities have Negro representation on their local public housing authorities. They are Daytona Beach, Fla., Durham, N. C., Louisville, Ky., Nashville, Tenn., Newport News, Va., and Roanoke, Va.

LATEST SOUTHERN CITY to authorize the employment of Negro policemen is Jacksonville, Fla. The City Commission recently passed a resolution approving the hiring of six colored officers. This action brought forth a message of congratulation from the mayor.

THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING of the Alabama Division of SRC was held in the State Capitol at Montgomery on February 14. Members heard Dr. York Willbern of the University of Alabama on public housing, Mrs. L. S. Evins of Birmingham on the Fellowship of the Concerned, Emory Jackson of the *Birmingham World* on extralegal violence, and Charles Dobbins of the *Montgomery Examiner* on the Alabama political scene.

MEMBERS OF THE Executive Board of the Kentucky Division met in Louisville on February 17 to discuss the program of the Division for 1950. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, field secretary of SRC, was guest speaker; she discussed the Council's work with Southern church women. Chief project for the year in Kentucky will be the promotion of self-surveys in communities throughout the State, under the direction of Chairman J. M. Tydings.

New Orleans

(*Continued from page* 3)

"We implore our fellow citizens, therefore, to ignore all attempts to arouse false fears and prejudices..."

This was signed by the Chairman of the Catholic Committee of the South, the President of the local Rabbinical Association, two Episcopalian ministers, and the president of the New Orleans Ministerial Union. There was also mention made of the subject from various pulpits on that pre-election Sunday.

Until the week before election, groups who resented Cobb's campaign were divided in their opinion regarding a public answer to his demagoguery. The prevailing view was that he should be ignored. During the last week, however, as Cobb's activities became more and more vicious, it was decided they could no longer go unchallenged. Religious leaders, concerned with the possible moral damage to the public and particularly to the school children exposed to the campaign, felt compelled to condemn Cobb's false doctrines. At the same time the Morrison headquarters became extremely fearful of Cobb's political effectiveness, and it was at this time that the decision was made for Morrison to reply publicly and specifically.

While credit must be given to both for helping to dispel some of the harmful effects of the race appeal, the fact still remains that this Southern city rejected this type of appeal completely. Cobb's vote was scattered throughout the entire city indicating he had no concentrated strength in any economic, social, or ethnic group, but rather that those who voted for him were members of the "lunatic fringe," to be found anywhere. His vote was about 2½% of the total vote.

Although New Orleans is a typical Southern city in many respects, and has known no real race friction during this century, it lags behind other Southern cities in certain practices and policies concerning the Negro group. Many observers believe that the injection of the race issue was a major factor in bringing out the extraordinarily large vote. The *States*, in an editorial titled "The People Spoke — and How," made this observation: "The candidate who injected this issue into a city which had been clean of it in elections had his answer at the hands of an aroused and outraged people. Without this issue many independent voters might have failed to go to the polls thinking Morrison was in. As it was they went to see that he got in."

It appears, therefore, that the election was a forceful demonstration that the appeal to racism here was completely unsuccessful. It also demonstrates that increased Negro registration gives the Negro community an acknowledged place in the political alignments, with a reasonable hope that its demands and needs will be listened to with respect and consideration. It demonstrates that a low appeal to racism is no longer listened to seriously by a growing number of white Southerners, in at least some Southern communities, and we are proud that New Orleans is one such community.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

NEW SOUTH

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JAN.-FEB., 1950

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

S. C. School Board "First" Started Out As Blacksmith

Jet. 2/10/54

DARLINTON, S. C.—The recent appointment of G. Perry Gandy to the Board of Trustees of Darlington School District No. 2 brings to light several interesting sidelights in the life and career of one of Darlington's leading civic and business figures.

Believed to be the first member of his race to be elected to such an office in South Carolina, Mr. Gandy succeeds T. Dudley Pauling, who declined re-election after serving 20 years. The appointment is for six years.

The recent appointee has been a successful businessman for the past 40 years, having started out by operating a blacksmith shop in the horse and buggy days.

WHEN THE automobile replaced the horse as the principal mode of transportation in and around Darlington, Mr. Gandy changed with the times. He established the G. P. Gandy Auto Supply Company, which today boasts of doing its own financing and employing seven full-time workers.

A virtual Jack-of-all-trades, Mr. Gandy has also been a radio, refrigerator and electric range dealer and repairman since 1931. For a period of 18 years, he operated the Gandy Funeral Home, but gave up the operation due to more pressing responsibilities.

He is the only colored member of a Darlington motor association which is a recognized jobber for automotive accessories. He regularly attends the Southwest Automotive Shows in this section and the National Auto Shows in Chicago, Ill.

* * *

A NATIVE OF Darlington county, he is the son of the late Mr. and Mrs. John Gandy. He attended South Carolina State College in Orangeburg and is a graduate of the Detroit Institute of Technology, Detroit, Mich.

The new school board trustee is a member of Darlington's Friendship Baptist Church where he serves on the deacon board. He was treasurer of the church for 14 years.

He is a Mason, chairman of the board of directors of the Darlington Civic League and organizer and first president of Darlington's Community Center, which recently moved into its newly constructed $20,000 edifice.

* * *

IT WAS REPORTED that the Darlington County School Board first approved Mr. Gandy's appointment a few years ago, following the death of one of the trustees, but he was replaced by a white trustee instead. The local education board made the recent appointment of Mr. Gandy on Jan. 25.

Mr. and Mrs. Gandy are the parents of six children, three boys and three girls. They reside at 551 S. Main street.

2/13/51

NEGRO PARTICIPATION IN SOUTHERN COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS

(According to Robert Taylor, Executive Director of the Atlanta Community Planning Council, practices are extremely varied and could not be ascertained without getting information locally in each case. However, he said he was quite certain that the Community Councils were more advanced generally than Community Chests.)

ATLANTA:

1. Community Planning Council: Has had Negro Board members since its founding in 1916 — now has 4 or 5. Negroes are, and always have been, members also of its various committees and its Delegate Assembly, which sets the policy for the Agency. Has always followed in its own organization a policy of non-discrimination and non-segregation.

2. Community Chest: Segregated throughout. No Negro Board or committee members; separate Negro Division for Chest Campaign. However, it does have 1 Negro on its 15-member Budget Committee — but members of this committee are chosen by the Community Planning Council.

Source: Robert Taylor, Exec. Dir., Community Planning Council.

RICHMOND:

1. Community Chest: Has had Negroes on its Board for several years.

(Source: Robert Taylor)

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.: (Source: Correspondence re Self-Survey)

1. Council of Social Agencies: All Standing Committees are bi-racial. No information about Board and Delegate Body.

2. Community Chest: Separate Negro Division eliminated in 1946; Chest campaign now integrated. No information about Board, committees, Delegate Body.

GREENVILLE, S.C.: (Source: Information gathered during Self-Survey)

1. Community Council: Negroes are members of several committees and divisions. No information about Board and Delegate Body, but I am almost sure that there are no Negro members (the Negro committee members are a fairly new development).

2. Community Chest: Separate Negro Division in Chest Campaign. No information on Board, committees, or Delegate Body.

SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1951

Rev. Ja

Pilot + Guide 7/7/51

Appointment Of Minister Is Surprise

Slander Campaign Against First Race Board Member Hinted

ROANOKE, Va. — Dr. A. L. James, pastor of First Baptist Church, Roanoke, was appointed by the City Council Monday, in a surprise move to succeed Dr. Harry T. Penn, as a member of the City School Board. He is the second member of his race to hold membership on the local school board.

Dr. Penn praised the board at Tuesday night's meeting for its "progressive thinking." It was the last meeting of the board attended by him as a member. The dentist-leader added:

"The two races can work together harmoniously if we enter into the job in the right frame of mind." He said he hoped his presence on the board had helped to give the members "an insight into the wishes and needs of other people."

• • •

"THE ONLY REGRET I have at leaving the board," Dr. Penn continued, "is for the vile, scurrilous campaign that has been used in an attempt to defame my character."

At the outset, Dr. Penn assured the board "I have never carried any animosities, hatreds or prejudices in my life, and I don't intend to start at this late date."

The dentist said he believed that 99 per cent of the colored residents of Roanoke wanted him re-appointed to the board.

11-24-51

NEGRO OFFICE - SEEKING, 1951

LOCALITY	DATE	CANDIDATE, OFFICE
New.Orleans, La	Oct, 1951	5 candidates qualified for the Jan 15 Democratic primary race for House of Representatives (La). 1st Negroes qualifying since days of reconstruction; all seeking House seats from Orleans parish. Robert Delahoussaye, Carroll Bolden, Joseph Jones, Dr T R Williams and Mrs. Elnoris Rollins.
New Orleans, La	Oct, 1951	Kermit Parker, New Orleans, one of 10 candidates (Democratic) for La governor
Memphis, Tenn	Nov, 1951	Dr. J E Walker, president of Universal Life Insurance, candidate for Memphis board of education. Defeated by 3 to 1 vote. See Nov 1951 NEW SOUTH
		7 voting precints where majority of registered voters were Negro were staffed by Negro election officials; election officials are all Negro in 5 of the 7 precincts
Louisville, Ky	Nov, 1951	W W Beckett candidate for Board of Aldermen for city of Louisville. Won ; 1st Negro Democrat elected to office in a city election; 2nd Negro elected in Louisville to public office; ran in 1945 unsuccessfully
Richmond, Va	Nov, 1951	11 of 32 seats on the City Central Democratic Committee filled by Negroes in biennial ward meetings

Negro Candidates in Southern Elections

With the growth of the Negro ballot in the South, Negro office-seeking has shown a moderate but steady increase in the past few years. During 1951 some thirty Negroes have sought public office in their communities. Leading the Southern states by far in this respect is North Carolina, where fifteen Negro candidates offered for city councils. They participated in primaries or final elections in Burlington, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, Madison, Monroe, Raleigh, Rocky Mount, Southern Pines, and Winston-Salem.

Although only five Negroes in the region were successful in their bids for office, others failed by narrow margins. In Jacksonville, Florida, for example, one of two Negro candidates for city council placed second in a field of four.

The successful candidates — in each case for city council or board of aldermen — were:

Dr. W. P. Devane, physician, Fayetteville, N. C.

Dr. William M. Hampton, physician, Greensboro, N. C.

Rev. William R. Crawford, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Robert E. Lillard, attorney, Nashville, Tenn.

Z. A. Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tenn.

Particularly notable was the election of Dr. Hampton. He is the first Negro in recent years to serve as councilman in Greensboro. In a field of thirteen candidates for seven vacancies, he won fifth place. This showing was partly due to the substantial number of white voters who supported him. Of 5,219 votes cast in his favor, only 2,393 came from the predominantly Negro precincts. It has been estimated that Dr. Hampton might well have won solely on the basis of white returns.

Also significant was the heavy support received by Dr. Devane, of Fayetteville. Having completed one two-year term, he was re-elected with the largest number of votes received by any of the ten candidates in the race.

Mr. Looby's election, followed shortly by that of Mr. Lillard, marked the first time in almost forty years that Nashville has had Negro representation on its city council. The change was made possible largely by the passage of an ordinance providing for election by districts rather than wards.

Winston-Salem has had a Negro alderman since 1947, when the Rev. Kenneth Williams set the precedent for North Carolina and other Southern states. At the end of two terms on the board of aldermen, Mr. Williams this year declined to seek a third and was succeeded by Mr. Crawford.

SRC ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

The Southern Regional Council's 1951 membership meeting has been set by the Executive Committee for Wednesday, December 12, in Atlanta. Members will be notified at an early date of the time and place of meeting.

JOURNAL AND GUIDE 3/22/52

m Of Holding To Cuba

Doctor Named To School Board In Newport News

NEWPORT NEWS—Dr. C. Waldo Scott, who was elected member of the school board here Monday, told the Journal and Guide Tuesday that "as the second Negro appointee to the school board in Newport News, I pledge myself to carry out the duties and responsibilities to the limit of my ability."

The new school member, who assumes his duties July 1, was elected in a surprise 3-2 vote by City Council. He is the first member of his race to be elected to the city schol board since N. B. Clark served a three-year term from July 1, 1898 to June 30, 1901.

Commenting on the City Council's action, Dr. Scott said "I think it is a very significant step." He added: "It has been the desire of the Negroes of Newport News to have a Negro member on the school board for many years."

* * *

DR. SCOTT concluded his comments with the statement "I am very grateful to all who have faith in my ability to make such an appointment possible." He succeeds Allan R. Hoffman whose term expires June 30.

The Newport News surgeon becomes the second colored ed to the city school board since in Virginia in recent years.

(Continued from Page 1)

When Dr Harry Penn, Roanoke dentist, was named to the school board of that city over two years ago, he was reported to be the first colored person elected to any school board in the South since Reconstruction.

Dr. L. James, pastor of First Baptist Church, Roanoke, was appointed to succeed Dr. Penn July 2 last year. At that time he was thought to be the only colored member of a school board in any southern city.

* * *

COUNCILMAN Thomas J. Crandol, who nominated Dr. Scott, was supported by Councilmen Roy Patterson and I Leake Wornom.

Mayor R. Cowles Taylor and Councilman A. M. Monfalcone voted to reappoint Mr. Hoffman to another four-year term.

Although born in Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Scott came to Newport News when he was two years old. He received his elementary and high school training in the city's schools, and received his B. S. and M. S. degrees from Howard University in Washington, D C. He took his medical training at the University of Michigan. He served his internship at the Cleveland City Hospital and also received his training in surgery there. He was resident in surgery at the same hospital 1942-44.

* * *

HE WAS RESIDENT in chest surgery and instructor in surgery at Howard University school of medicine 1944-48.

Dr. Scott began his private practice in surgery in Newport News in August, 1948. He is senior surgical staff member of Whittaker Memorial Hospital in Newport News, and on the courtesy staff of Dixie Hospital in Hampton.

The new school board member is the son of the late Dr. C. Waldo Scott and Mrs. Eva P. Gatling.

* * *

DR. SCOTT, who lives at 841 32nd street, is married to the former Miss Mae Hamlin of Raleigh, N C. The couple has three sons: Charles Jr., 6, Robert Cortez, 5, and Jon Llewyn, 2.

Mrs. Kathleen Gaffney, representing the City-wide Civic and Social Club, urged Council in "justice and fairness' to appoint a colored person to the school board. The previous week. Mrs. Gaffney and a delegation of colored citizens appeared before City Council and asked that a colored person be named to the board. But the controversy that followed gave no hint that the request would be granted.

Nashville Attorne Named To School

All Worth

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — (SNS) — A Nashville Negro practicing attorney was among four new members of the Board of Education who were inducted into office last Tuesday night by Nashville's Mayor Ben West. He is Coyness L. Ennix, for 19 years a practicing lawyer in Nashville.

Attorney Ennix completed his undergraduate work at Roger Williams University, finishing with an AB degree in 1927. In 1927 he completed his graduate training in law at Howard University Law School and received the degree of L. L. B.

Attorney Ennix is a former professor of law at Kent College of Law and a former instructor of Mortuary Law at Gupton Jones School of Embalming.

Other members coming to the Board for the first time, include William Henry Underhill, Maiden Dishner and Elmer Lee Pettit.

Ennix is one of Nashville's best known lawyers, a member of Nashville's Municipal Auditorium Commission and is highly regarded as a civic leader. He is the first Negro ever to receive an appointment to the Board of Education.

The New Board member and his wife have three children, Frank 16, who attends Pearl High School; Coyness, Jr. 9, a student at Pearl Elementary School and Russell, 7, a student at Pearl Elementary School.

NEWS SHEET
WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
October, 1952

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

LOCAL SUMMER REVIEW

Schools

For three years a monthly conference has been held of all the forty-three principals of the Norfolk public schools. This spring, as a further development in good working methods unhampered by racial prejudice, a two-weeks' workshop was held for the first time, attended by principals; supervisors and administrators for the purpose of evaluating teaching methods. Miss Calista Sheppard, principal of Liberty Park School, served as chairman.

On July first, Dr. C. Waldo Scott became a member of the Newport News School Board, the first Negro to be appointed since 1898. With this appointment Newport News joins Roanoke which has had a Negro on its School Board for two years.

On the other hand, in Norfolk, which this year has 15,837 white and 10,225 Negro school children, three resignations from the School Board occurred in June and July, two of which were filled by appointments of new white members on the days that they were announced; both were from the East side of the city where the large proportion of the Negro population lives.

Of this, a Virginian-Pilot editorial for July 18 said,..."the Council should avoid any suggestion, when a vacancy occurs which might normally be filled by the choice of a Negro, that the vacancy is not publicly announced until the replacement has been arranged. If there is any purpose to prevent a reasonable presentation of the case for a Negro member, it will not be served in the long run by this method. On the contrary, it would be more likely to build up resentment. There is a need here for municipal statesmanship."

Inter-faith Group

The Junior Chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews sponsored an all-day seminar for thirty young people at Virginia Beach in August. The group, which met to discuss the problems of human relations and to promote better understanding between the Catholic, Protestant and Jewis faiths, decided to have Negro representation at next year's seminar, as is already done at similar conferences in Richmond.

LIBRARIES

The Newport News Public Library has announced that the facilities of its main reading rooms are now available to <u>all adult inhabitants</u> of the city.

Since 1947 all the library facilities of Norfolk have been open to Negroes. Negro patrons regularly use the main building as well as the local branches.

Recent Books of Interest to Members

<u>No Green Pastures</u> by Roi Ottley
A Negro newspaperman surveys the postwar world.

<u>Charles Waddell Chestnutt: Pioneer of the Color Line</u> by Helen Maria Chestnutt
The biography of a Negro leader at the turn of the century.

<u>South of Freedom</u> by Carl T. Rowan
An ex-Southern Negro takes a return trip through the "new South".

<u>The Invisible Man</u> by Ralph Ellison
A magnificent first novel, setting forth the Negro's dilemma, but, more important, showing the greater human dilemma that is its cause

<u>Diary of a Young Girl</u> by Anne Frank
Introduction by Eleanor Roosevelt. The diary of an adolescent girl, full of warmth and courage; in itself tender, charming and good. It is tragic only because the reader foreknows that Anne Frank was killed by the Nazis.

MEETINGS

Membership Meetings of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation are held on the third Tuesday of each month. Please read your announcement carefully for place of meetings during the rebuilding of the YWCA. Temporary quarters of theYWCA are on the Mezzanine floor of the Southland Hotel - Granby and Freemason Streets.

The October meeting which takes place during United Nations Week will be held at the Southland Hotel at 3:15 o'clock. The speaker will be Mrs. Olive Goldman, attorney at law, member of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, representative on the Human Rights Commission and member of the Governor of Illinois' Committee for the U. N.

<u>CIVIL RIGHTS</u> -The issue of Civil Rights has become one of the most decisive in the Presidential Campaign. The solution of this issue so important to our democracy at home and to our prestige abroad--demands close attention on the part of voters in the coming election to party promises and performance.

VOTE EXERCISE YOUR FRANCHISE VOTE

The News Sheet brings to members and seledted non-members news of events and trends in race relations. Suggestions, criticisms and contributions are welcome. Address all mail:

Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation
7440 Pinecroft Lane
Norfolk 5, Virginia

The Woman's Council for Interracial Cooperat

Sec. 34.66 P.L.&R.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Augusta Elects Negro to Board Of Education

AUGUSTA, Nov. 4—(AP)—A Negro was elected to the board of education here today, the first time since Reconstruction days that a person of his race is believed to have held public office in Richmond County.

The new board member is W. C. Ervin, business manager of Paine College, a nationally known Negro institution in Augusta. He defeated former City Councilman R. J. Wilkinson Sr., 921 to 352.

The city's third ward, in which the two contested a vacant education board seat, has 1,624 registered Negro voters against 942 white voters.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Mon., Nov. 10, 1952

GOP Negro On Augusta School Body

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Political Editor

AUGUSTA, Ga., Nov. 9 — Augusta's Third Ward has elected to the City Board of Education the first Negro elected to public office in Georgia since Reconstruction Days.

The race issue was not mentioned in this city during the campaign between a white man and a black man.

The campaign was conducted, leaders of both races say, on a high level.

And a prominent school man, W. C. Ervin, with 24 years experience as business manager of a unique Negro college here, defeated R. J. Wilkinson Sr., former member of the Augusta City Council, 921 to 353.

ELECTED IN AUGUSTA
W. C. Ervin

NEGROES PREDOMINANT

The predominant Negro population in the Third Ward brought about the election. There are 1,600 Negroes and 900 whites registered to vote in this ward. Erwin said he received 32 white votes and that Wilkinson received 27 Negro votes. However, Erwin campaigned for white as well as Negro votes, and Wilkinson asked for Negro as well as white support.

Erwin, an official at Paine College which is operated co-operatively by the white and Negro Methodist churches of the South to give Negro youths Christian and educational training, declared he is not going to be a representative merely of the Negro race on the City Board of Education.

"I shall represent the community, and do my best to improve the educational opportunities of children of all races here," the new school board member commented. "An unusual amount of improvement has been made in the schools of Augusta. I have nothing but praise for the present administration. Real democracy was at work here Nov. 4. I love the South. I am glad I am a citizen of Richmond County; I am happy I am an American."

RANKING REPUBLICAN

This was Erwin's first political race.

However, he is the ranking Republican in the Tenth Congressional District of Georgia. He is chairman of the district Republican organization. He supported General Eisenhower for the presidential nomination and election.

Asked if he would try to contact the Republican president-elect who is vacationing at Augusta now, Erwin replied: "No. President-elect Eisenhower is here for a vacation and on a personal trip. Were he here on business affecting Re-

nomination and election.

Asked if he would try to contact the Republican president-elect who is vacationing at Augusta now, Erwin replied: "No. President-elect Eisenhower is here for a vacation and on a personal trip. Were he here on business affecting Republican affairs in this district, I would feel free to try to see him."

Even white Augustans who were shocked at the prospect of a Negro on the 12-member school board said they had respect for Erwin's educational ability. They said they do not regard him as a radical, and they predict the school board meetings will run smoothly with him as a member.

GRAND JURY MEMBER

The 53-year-old Negro right now is serving as a member of the Richmond County grand jury.

He is a leader in civic, religious and educational as well as political affairs in Augusta.

Erwin served as the first Negro scoutmaster in Georgia. He was the first Negro member of the board of directors on the Richmond County Tuberculosis Association. He served on the Augusta USO during World War II and thereafter, and has served on numerous annual campaigns of the Red Cross and Community Chest.

Other posts include director of the Augusta campaign for the United Negro College Fund, director of the Ninth Street YMCA, trustee of the Trinity C. M. E. Church, member of the American Association of College Business Officers, member of the Psi Omega Chapter of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, vice-president of the Augusta-Richmond County Voters League and president of the Augusta Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

S. CAROLINA-BORN

Erwin was born in South Carolina, attended public schools at Darlington, S. C., and graduated from Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. He served as business agent of Voorhees Junior College at Denmark, S. C., for five years before coming to Paine College.

At Paine College, he has been working with others at this institution which was founded "in the very heart of the Old South" in 1883 as the South's "unique experiment in interracial relations . . . where white people and black people—all of the South—knowing and sharing each other's problems—were to work together for cordial relations and the production of a prepared leadership for Southern colored people."

As The Constitution was interviewing the newly-elected member of the Augusta Board of Education, a free-lance photographer arrived with an assignment from "The Statesman," weekly publication of Governor Talmadge. Although knowing that this publication has used pictures to arouse racial prejudice in the past, Erwin willingly posed for a picture for the governor's paper.

When the photographer left, the Negro educator remarked: "You know, the governor could use this story to help bring about wholesome race relationships."

of racial bias spread by a political of that city.

Both candidates sought white and colored votes and each received some. W. C. Erwin has the respect of the people generally and the story is a good one for the South.

The paragraph which stood out from the story was one concerning the fact that a photographer came to the new board member to make a picture for The Statesman, Governor Talmadge's personal political paper. Erwin willingly posed, saying, "You know, the governor could use this story to help bring about wholesome race relationships."

We lay that comment on the conscience of every thoughtful citizen in the state.

Erwin's Words Are Appeal to Conscience

We were particularly struck by a paragraph in the story from Augusta about the election of W. C. Erwin, Negro, to the school board of that city.

He is the first Negro to be elected in Georgia since Reconstruction Days and the happy fact about it was, and is, that the racial issue was not raised in the campaign, despite the fact that Augusta unfortunately has become the focal point

ATL Const

OCT.-NOV., 1952

Vol. 7 Nos. 10 & 11

New South

All material presented in NEW SOUTH *may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.*

A Georgia Story

How Prejudice Lost at the Polls

IN RECENT years, thoughtful Southerners have been dismayed by instance after instance of the successful use of race prejudice as a political weapon. In such states as Georgia, Texas, Florida, North and South Carolina, race-baiting has proved an almost infallible vote-getting technique. Candidates for public office who have shown themselves even mildly favorable to improved race relations have fallen before the onslaught of intolerance with alarming regularity.

Against this dark background, the recent general election campaign in Georgia stands out in bright contrast. Here were all the familiar elements — barrages of leaflets, harangues, newspaper advertisements, radio and television broadcasts calculated to stir up once again the fears and hatreds that have afflicted the South for so long. But this time the old black magic didn't work. On November 4th, a majority of the people went calmly to the polls and cast a resounding vote against the measure which prejudice was supposed to pass.

In the tumult of the national election, the rest of the country took little note of this upset in Georgia. Aside from the presidential election itself, however, few returns were as meaningful. It could presage a turning-point in the public life of Georgia and other Southern states as well.

What happened in Georgia — and why?

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Politically, the campaign had its beginning in the 1951 session of the Georgia Legislature, which narrowly passed a resolution calling for an amendment to the state constitution. The amendment, backed by Governor Talmadge and his administration, provided that Georgia's unique county unit system be written into the constitution and, in effect, that the general election be closed to all state-wide candidates except those approved by the controlling political faction. It was this measure—dubbed the County Unit Amendment—that the people were asked to ratify on November 4th. Its advocates chose to put it to the people, not in terms of the political issues involved, but in terms of race. Their main theme — sounded with

many variations — was simply this: Pass the unit amendment or you will have "mixed schools" and a vast Negro "bloc vote" in control of state elections.

'NO STONE UNTHROWN'

From the outset it was apparent that this was no ordinary campaign for a constitutional amendment. Customarily, amendments are allowed to stand or fall on their own merits, and little or no money and political pressure are expended on them. But the same group had proposed a similar amendment in 1950, only to see it soundly defeated. This time, as one newspaper man observed, they were "leaving no stone unthrown." It is estimated that proponents of the amendment spent a quarter of a million dollars, more than is usually spent on a gubernatorial race. All the resources of the state Democratic party, as well as the influence of many of the highest state offices, were also thrown behind the amendment.

The substance of the pro-amendment propaganda was familiar enough to most Georgians. It was of the "white supremacy" variety that has long characterized Georgia politics at its worst. But the form was another matter. Here were the techniques of modern press-agentry at their most elaborate. Full-page ads, expertly prepared by an advertising agency, were run in scores of Georgia newspapers. Spokesmen for the amendment appeared on dozens of television programs and state-wide radio hook-ups, staged with professional skill. The climax was reached on election eve when amendment supporters waged a two-hour "talkathon" on an Atlanta television station.

In addition to the use of these public media, the pro-amendment group printed and circulated an estimated two million pieces of literature. The basic piece was a slick-paper leaflet illustrated with pictures purporting to show Negroes and whites dancing together in Atlanta's municipal auditorium. "Don't let this happen in Georgia," warned the leaflet. "Keep state and national leaders who are not afraid of the bloc vote. Stop this menace at the county line. Work for and pass the County Unit Amendment." A number of individuals were singled out for vilification in the leaflet, and opposition to the amendment generally was attributed to "a small handful of racial equality agitators in Atlanta."

BROADSIDE DISTRIBUTION

This publication, which bore a reproduction of the Governor's signature, was distributed broadside throughout the state. State highway department employees passed out copies to motorists on the highways. Local politicians gave them to school children with the injunction: "Take this home to your mother and daddy and tell them you don't want to go to mixed schools." The same message, with oratorical flourishes, was delivered to civic clubs and community rallies by some of the state's leading political figures.

It would be misleading to imply that this powerful political offensive was defeated by revulsion against race-baiting. In the final analysis, the defeat was a political one and can only be explained in those terms. Among the opponents of the amendment were such established organizations as the League of Women Voters, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and labor

groups. Some eighty members of the Legislature and about the same number of newspapers — many of them in small rural counties — were actively against the proposal. And, most telling of all, indignant citizens in every part of the state joined in a strong volunteer movement to defeat what they called "the final step to dictatorship in Georgia."

These groups campaigned on the central issue of danger to free elections, and by election day their campaign had obviously proved effective with a majority of the voters. This article is not concerned with the purely political aspects of the contest. The point is, had the resort to intolerance gone unchallenged, the political issues might never have come to the fore. As it happened, for perhaps the first time in Southern history, prominent religious and civic leaders denounced the injection of race into a political campaign, and the voters refused to be blinded by the smoke-screen of prejudice.

STATE-WIDE RESOLUTION

An acute observer might have seen a portent in a news item which appeared several weeks before the amendment campaign got well under way. According to this report, thirty-odd Georgia organizations had endorsed a resolution sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Among the signers were leading civic, religious, veterans, and professional organizations, including the state Medical Association, the Georgia Education Association, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and a variety of denominational groups. The text of the resolution was as follows:

We call on political leaders and candidates for public office in the State of Georgia to see that our political campaigns are free from appeals to racial or religious prejudice.

We respectfully urge the newspaper editors and publishers of Georgia to decline any political advertisement which makes such an appeal to intolerance.

And further we ask the managers of radio and television stations of Georgia to do everything within their power to discourage any such violation of the basic principles of this state and this nation.

A SIGNAL UNHEEDED

The organizations which subscribed to this declaration did so without reference to the unit amendment; in fact, most of them took no position on the measure itself. But their resolution was a clear signal — unheeded by the amendment advocates — that Georgians were growing tired of demagoguery. It was a warning that prejudice can be a two-edged sword and whoever uses it for selfish advantage does so at his peril.

The citizens group and others opposing the amendment made no mistake in their estimate of public opinion — perhaps because they themselves represented a substantial segment of it. From the start, their spokesmen attacked the injection of the race issue as "a despicable attempt to hide the issues by setting one group of Georgians against another." They did not, as has so often been the case, resort to defensive attempts to prove their own allegiance to the debased standards of "white supremacy" or to outdemagogue their opponents. Instead, they insisted that the unit amendment was a threat to the liberty of all the people, whatever their race or creed.

And evidently the people believed them.

Negro Georgians, similarly, refused to oblige the amendment backers by engaging in an exchange of insults and epithets. One of the individuals singled out for special abuse was A. T. Walden, a Negro attorney, who was falsely labeled the "political boss" of Atlanta and wielder of the "bloc vote." In his published reply, Mr. Walden said:

'BECAUSE I AM A GEORGIAN'

"Negro citizens of Georgia have no wish to exert any undue influence. They wish merely the right to cast their individual ballots as they see fit and to live in mutual respect and cooperation with their fellow Georgians. They wish most especially not to be attacked merely to provide a smoke screen for the real issues. Along with a growing number of white Georgians, they had hoped that the time had come when politicians in Georgia would no longer appeal to racial intolerance. They had hoped that our campaigns might be conducted on the merits of the issues involved, rather than on hatred and prejudice." He added that he intended to vote against the unit amendment "not because I am a Negro, but because I am a Georgian who believes that Georgians should have the right to self-government and a free general election."

Many people who were indifferent to race-baiting, or who had come to accept it as inevitable, were shocked when the campaign took on anti-Semitic overtones. In mid-October, some sections of Atlanta were blanketed with copies of the familiar anti-Negro leaflet, this time accompanied by violently anti-Jewish literature. According to this venomous supplement, "Revolutions, wars, internationalism, economic chaos, inflations, starvation, unemployment and depressions are deliberately designed by the Jews to promote their communistic conspiracy."

Advocates of the unit amendment vigorously denied any knowledge of the anti-Jewish material which, according to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, was authored by a professional bigot operating a one-man organization called the "Christian Anti-Jewish Party." However, Editor Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution* drew a pointed moral in a column titled "Evil Flows from Evil":

"The Georgia political figures use the Negro to divert attention from their real purpose. Out of that evil flowed the Christian Anti-Jewish Party Card stapled to the pamphlet put out supporting [Amendment] 'Number One.' Out of that evil will flow more against still other minorities. We all remember the old Klan poison. Americans must stand up and be counted. We cannot afford to be afraid of doing what is right."

RELIGIOUS PROTEST

Religious leaders showed a willingness to "stand up and be counted," unmatched in Georgia's turbulent political history. The religious protest began modestly in September, when the Georgia Council of Church Women issued a denunciation of the resort to race prejudice by pro-amendment politicians. Several weeks later, publication of the anti-Negro leaflet drew a sharp rebuke from the Atlanta Christian Council. And in late October, as the cries of race

(*Continued on page* 8)

Conscience and Segregation At A Christian College

On October 24, 1951, the 24th Synod of the Protestant Episcopal Province of Sewanee recommended that Negro ministerial students be admitted to the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn. At a subsequent meeting, the trustees of the university declined to act on the recommendation at that time. Eight members of the faculty, including the dean of the School of Theology, announced that they would feel impelled to resign if the trustees persisted in their stand. This announcement has been the object of considerable controversy, culminating in the publication of the two letters reproduced below. NEW SOUTH *feels that they are particularly instructive.*

FACULTY MEMBERS' LETTER OF RESIGNATION

We the undersigned faculty members of the University of the South reaffirm the principles we enunciated in our statement of June 9. In that statement we took our stand with the Synod of the 4th Province. The Synod had recommended that Negro candidates for the ministry of the Episcopal Church be admitted to the school of theology of this university. To this the trustees of the university replied that the enrollment of Negroes should not now be encouraged, for they were of the opinion that furtherance of the church's work and the happiness and good will of both races would not now be served by the action requested by the Synod.

Our conviction was, and is, that the Synod was right about this and the trustees were wrong. This conviction we expressed in June. The strength of our conviction is indicated by the fact that we informed the trustees that if they could not see their way clear to change their stated policy, we were prepared to resign the following June.

The question was at that time a clear one: Shall this Christian School of Theology be opened to Christians, whatever their race? This question, so proper and so unavoidable, is still the real issue. But since last June the issue has been obscured and virtually eclipsed by considerations not relevant to the basic question. For some, the issue is no longer centered in the question of the Christian principles raised by the Synod but is centered rather in the manner in which we endorsed the Synod's recommendation.

It is our deep concern that this question of Christian principles be restored to its former simplicity so that it can become the subject of full and objective discussion, freed from the essential irrelevance of procedure and personalities. What gets discussed at present is not the issue itself in its clarity, but the real or imagined defects of our character and the debatable points in our procedure. So long as we are the center of controversy, and the issue is not, we seem to be in the position of hindering that free facing of the issue by which alone

it can be decided on its merits.

We are impelled to do everything in our power to rescue the issue from being dissipated and lost; but we find ourselves placed in a situation where our efforts to further the cause seem only to distract attention from it. The cause suffers while complicated by our persons. So great is our love for this cause, so great is our concern that Sewanee wrestle with this issue manfully and objectively, that we have come, after much agonizing search of conscience, to the conclusion that we must resign.

Given this complicating situation, we serve the cause best by resigning. With our resignation in your hands, Sewanee can face the question which confronts her.

At the same time, our concern for the students is such that, while it seems best we resign now, we do not believe it would be best for them if we were to leave now. For the students, there must be an uninterrupted academic year, in which continuity of instruction is guaranteed and uncertainty on this point is dispelled. This can be assured if the university authorities make it possible for us all to remain at our posts throughout the year.

We hereby submit our resignations to become effective at the end of this academic year. Concern for the issue itself and for our students requires the immediate announcement of this resignation.

(Signed) F. Craighill Brown
Claude E. Guthrie
R. Lansing Hicks
Howard A. Johnson
Robert M. McNair
J. Allen Reddick
Frederick Q. Shafer
Richard H. Wilmer, Jr.

STATEMENT BY VICE-CHANCELLOR EDWARD McCRADY

The University learns with deep regret of the announced intention of the dean of the seminary and several members of the faculty to resign at the end of the academic year. In regretfully accepting these resignations, we feel compelled to make several observations.

The action of the trustees of the University, in advising against the immediate admission of Negroes, was definitive neither in form nor in intention. A special committee of the trustees is currently examining the whole issue.

The petition of protest by those members of the University faculty who have now resigned, was sympathetically described by the Church journal as an "ultimatum." It seemed to the University at the time, and the event has proved, that the atmosphere created by an ultimatum published in the press is not conducive to wholesome academic procedure or to sane consideration of a serious and complex issue.

The University must insist that it stands thoroughly committed to the principle of complete academic freedom. Its trustees and its faculty represent, and freely express, a wide variety of views on the question under consideration. The University holds that an attempt to resolve the question by a resort to threats, or to bring organized pressure to bear, is an infringement of academic freedom. Even so, the University has not taken, and has not proposed to take, any punitive action against the petitioners collectively, or against any of them singly.

The University of the South is a

small school, in a small and isolated community It has historically taken a courageous and independent position in the realm of advanced education, but it is not equipped to solve, at a moment's notice, all the social and economic problems which beset it and the rest of the world.

The University appreciates the recognition on the part of the protestors that their action of last June "obscured and virtually eclipsed" the original issue. It also appreciates their effort to compensate for that by offering their resignations in advance.

The authorities of this university, long dedicated to Christian education, and ever cherishing tolerance, sincerely believe that with Christian patience and forbearance on both sides a solution of the differences of opinion on the present issue might have been reached upon which all men of good will could agree with full respect for themselves and their consciences, and for others. We shall continue, with God's help, to seek the path upon which this university must walk to serve the cause of Christian education.

An Antidote for Racial Poison

A fitting complement to the Georgia story reported elsewhere in this issue was the election November 4th of a Negro to the Board of Education in Augusta, Georgia. This marks the first time since Reconstruction days that a Negro has held public office in Georgia.

The successful candidate was W. C. Erwin, business manager of Paine College, who for many years has played a leading part in civic, religious, and educational activities.

Augusta's third ward, which the new school board member will represent, has predominantly Negro residents; of the registered voters in the ward, 1,624 are Negroes and 942 whites. However, Mr. Erwin received some votes from white persons and his white opponent gained a comparable number from Negroes.

In contrast to the state-wide campaign, there was no hint of the race issue in the Augusta contest. Both candidates sought the votes of people of both races. The high level on which the campaign was conducted was evident in Mr. Erwin's post-election statement. "I shall represent the community," he declared, "and do my best to improve the educational opportunities of children of all races."

Here is the perfect antidote for the racial poison which some unscrupulous politicians seek to spread. Mr. Erwin's professional competence and personal qualities have earned the respect of all who know him. For 24 years he has served an institution supported by Methodists of both races and dedicated to the advancement of Christian ideals in race relations. His example will do more than any number of words to show that dignity, ability, and the capacity for public service have nothing to do with race.

How Prejudice Lost

(*Continued from page* 4)

hatred reached a crescendo, some of Georgia's most prominent clergymen spoke out.

Among these were the president of the Georgia Baptist Convention, a Protestant Episcopal bishop, a Methodist bishop, president of the Presbyterian Columbia Theological Seminary, and a number of pastors. A Methodist minister of Columbus, Georgia, succinctly described the current demagoguery as "almost criminal." He added, "Every citizen who is interested in decency and justice condemns this effort to divide the people of this state in an hour when we need unity, understanding, and cooperation."

A leading Baptist clergyman declared: "We witness the tragic spectacle of partisan politics resorting to the emotional approach of prejudice and personal abuse, seeking to set race against race, religion against religion, neighbor against neighbor, to the disgust of our own people and unbounded joy of all who would destroy democracy. . . . I hope we may avoid every subtle scheme to involve our people in orgies of blind hate and prejudice. . . ."

TWO-EDGED SWORD

These statements of moral principle by ministers who had no partisan role in the campaign were basically unanswerable. Governor Talmadge could only retort that he was a "firm believer in separation of church and state" — a reply which aroused considerable resentment. The remarkable fact was that the users of race prejudice — not their opponents — were on the defensive. The two-edged sword of bigotry had turned out to be a treacherous weapon indeed.

No one can say with certainty what the lasting effects of this Georgia experience will be. But the lesson for the South is clear — bigotry does not pay political dividends when moral leadership is strong and unafraid. If this lesson is taken to heart, Georgia may well fulfill the prediction made by the chairman of the citizens group:

"We believe this heralds a bright new era in the politics of our state. Every person who aspires to political success in Georgia is on notice: The people will not tolerate attempts to obscure the real issues by race-baiting and demagoguery. They want dignified and decent campaigns in which the issues — and only the issues — shall prevail."

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, OCT.-NOV., 1952

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

The News.

CITY SOC
SUBURBAN S

LYNCHBURG, VA., WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 15, 1953.

First Negro Appointed To City School Board

Hutcherson Named By 7 To 0 Vote

City Council last night appointed the first Negro to serve on the School Board in Lynchburg.

He is Carl B. Hutcherson, Fifth Street funeral director and civic leader, who was named to fill out the unexpired term of the Rev. Harry A. Fifield from the Second Ward. Fifield resigned because he is moving from tthe city. The term expires June 30.

Councilman J. Heath Lewis nominated Hutcherson and the move was seconded by Gorham B. Walker Jr. The vote confirming the Negro was unanimous.

Native Of Lynchburg

A native Lynchburger, the new trustee has headed Hutcherson Funeral Home for 14 years. He attended Dunbar High School here and studied for his profession in New York City.

The move to appoint a Negro to the school board came into the open last fall when there was another vacancy in the Second Ward's representation but it failed to get council's support at that time.

Hutcherson is a member of the Civil Defense Council, a charter member of the Community Council board, member of Rivermont Baptist Church and a past president of the Virginia Negro Funeral Directors Association. He has been active in March of Dimes campaign for infantile paralysis funds and headed the special events section for the Dunbar band uniform fund drive.

He is a member of the Elks, Masons, Odd Fellows, Moses, Good Samaritans, Eastern Star and Omega Phi Psi fraternity.

He is married and has two sons, both of whom are public school students.

Carl B. Hutcherson

Negro Named To Lynchburg School Board

JMAN GUIDE 4-25-53

LYNCHBURG, Va.—The first Negro to serve on the City School Board of Lynchburg was appointed this week when a local mortician, Carl B. Hutcherson, was named to the post by the City Council. He will fill out the unexpired term of the Rev. Harry A. Fifield, who resigned as Second Ward member of the board.

The action of the Council in naming Mr. Hutcherson to the post was unanimous. A mortician in the city for 14 years, he is head of the Hutcherson Funeral Home.

HE IS A member of the Elks Masons, Odd Fellows, Moose, Good Samaritans, Eastern Star, a board member of the Bethune Nursery School; member of the NAACP and the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.

The new board member is the husband of the former Miss Lillian Gilbert, now a teacher in the Lynchburg schools, and the couple has two sons.

5-12-53

Attack on Clement Is Dirty Politics

Since it was from the beginning "dirty politics" of the worst sort, we can only rejoice with all fair-minded persons everywhere that the City executive committee backed down and failed to carry out the purpose announced by one of its members—to disqualify Dr. Rufus W. Clement, president of Atlanta University, candidate for the Board of Education, on a "leftist" complaint. Public decency owes a debt to those who stood fast for the principles of fair play and Americanism at its best.

A committee already largely discredited in the eyes of many by its procedures had called a meeting, almost on the eve of the Wednesday primary, to bring charges against Dr. Clement.

A few days ago it could not scrape up a quorum for a meeting to decide whether it would appeal from or obey a Fulton County Superior Court order concerning the election.

There is some question as to whether the order of the court now is being fully met with the election as they propose to hold it—on future rather than present ward lines. There is serious legal question as to whether election to membership on the new board will be valid. There is a further legal question as to whether this board will be conducting a legal election when it leaves the names of uncontested candidates off the ballot, as reportedly is planned.

Having left undone the things it ought to have done, the committee then proposed to do something which ought not to have been done.

* * *

A member of the board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.

Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity.

* * *

Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region. They waited almost until the eve of the election, apparently hoping that the accused would have no time to answer. Most of the committee members are not running for another term. Their latest action makes it all the more understandable why they were not willing to face the people.

Dr. Clement is a conservative man, but a progressive educator. He is no slight part of a radical or leftist. We cannot condemn too strongly this sort of tactic in a political campaign. In fact, we believe that if Dr. Clement were not a Negro he would not now be undergoing this ordeal. Twice within recent months he has been cleared by the FBI for important government posts.

The timing of this smear reveals it for what it is.

* * *

JUNE, 1953
Vol. 8 No. 6

New South

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

SRC President's Address
To the 9th Annual Meeting

A New Era in Human Relations

By Marion A. Wright

I SUPPOSE that at every annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council it would have been possible to review the Southern scene and find evidence of notable advancement in the field of race relations. I am glad we have not spent our time in that way. Few things are more agreeable than being patted on the back — even if we do it ourselves. But there is a soporific quality about such gymnastics; it induces a feeling of well-being which may cause one to rest upon his oars even if much of the course remains to be rowed. Time spent in self-congratulation may be better devoted to girding ourselves for tasks that lie ahead.

Now, with great inconsistency — and who any longer pays attention to that hobgoblin of small minds? — I point out that, with the year 1953, we may have come to the end of an era in human relations in the South. Progress has been cumulative, in a kind of geometrical progression. Beginning with jury service and the ballot — elementary rights of the citizen — the courts have honored their great traditions with epic decisions affecting education, transportation, parks, playgrounds, housing, restrictive covenants in deeds and, generally, all the areas in which discrimination rested upon a legal base. This action of the courts has been matched, in part, at least, by Congressional action and a whole series of courageous executive orders. The federal courts, the Congress and the executive arm have moved with solidarity and identity of purpose to implement specifically the broad guarantees of the Constitution.

This occasion presents a convenient opportunity for us to make public acknowledgment of our feeling of obligation to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In a very limited sense, I have no personal concern with the brilliant legal victories which the Association has won. In the narrowest sense, those were victories by, of, and for colored people. But in the broadest sense, they were victories for white, yellow, red and brown people wherever they may be.

I do not teach school, so I am not directly concerned with whether or not a Negro teacher shall receive the same pay for the same service as a white teacher. But I like to think that I live in a land where merit is rewarded with an impartial hand and where no doors are shut in the face of deserved advancement. And I like to think, too, that I live in a land where every man has the right to participate in government upon equal terms with every other man. Only in such an atmosphere may government draw its creative force from everyone of its citizens.

That Association has helped to secure

for this and succeeding generations the privilege of living in a land where such rights are protected by law. By so doing, it has placed every mortal eternally in its debt.

Now, of course, there is a vast importance in Constitutional provisions, statutory law, executive orders and decisions of our courts. There must be discipline in an ordered society, and statutes, decrees, orders do serve that function. American judges, unshackled by a dead past, have written glorious and absolutely necessary pages in the history of civil rights. The significant fact about these decisions, as one of the profoundest of our judges, Justice Cardozo, long ago pointed out, is that, like all wise decisions, they tend to mirror and reflect the spirit and philosophy of the age when written.

NOT BY LAW ALONE

But law is not the be-all and end-all of that struggle. Law must receive its final sanction in acceptance by public opinion. Prohibition is so fresh in our memory that we need not labor the point that laws and decrees which fail to achieve the solid backing of public opinion are, to some extent, futile.

To illustrate: whatever the decision of our Supreme Court in the pending segregation cases may be, for many years to come in most of the Southern States, the appointing power will be in white hands. This applies specifically to school trustees, county and state boards of education. The personnel of such boards will be determined, with very few exceptions, by white officials. They have an area of discretion which the courts will find it difficult to invade or to control. Such officials will be charged with the duty of carrying out consolidation of white and Negro schools if the decision should be against segregation. Such officials will be charged with the duty of equalizing facilities to the last degree if the decision should be in favor of segregation. In other words, whatever the result, such officials will be placed in position to attempt evasion and unfairness, to practice inequities of various kinds, or to give the decree that ungrudging compliance to which it is entitled and which would be warmly applauded by the civilized majority of mankind.

It is asking a great deal of the Negro to have complete confidence in the fairness of a board which fashions policy and controls expenditure but from which he is systematically excluded.

So the Southern Regional Council will urge, as a matter of simple justice, that Negroes be appointed to membership upon such bodies. Already, here and there throughout the South, Negroes have been appointed to such boards. The governor of North Carolina named a distinguished educator and former associate executive director of the Council, Dr. Harold Trigg, to the State Board of Education — action which, as a North Carolinian, I am proud to say, met with universal acclaim.

We propose to try to influence such appointments by the procedure followed so successfully in the case of Negro policemen: that is, by constantly reiterating the arguments and appealing to the public conscience. More important, we shall give all proper publicity to the appointments which have been made, upon the theory that everybody's doing it is more compelling than you ought to do it.

A FRESH APPROACH

Do not the times in this year 1953 call for a fresh approach to the entire matter of discrimination? Heretofore the battle has been fought upon the issue that the Negro has certain rights and, in good morals, he cannot be denied their exercise. That is the correct philosophical basis upon which all of us have heretofore proceeded. My criticism of this philosophy is that it is negative and that the argument should now be put upon a positive and, I think, a broader ground.

From this point on should we not take the tack that there is a distinct lack in our society arising from the failure of full Negro participation? We have abundant argument by analogy. I do not wish to seem facetious, but is there any segregationist who will deny that participation of Negroes in sports has greatly elevated American athletic standards? I seem to have heard of a fellow named Joe Louis, another named Jackie Robinson and still others with names like Jesse Owen, Roy Campanella, etc., etc. Who would deny that music has been enriched by Marian Anderson and a whole host of performers

of comparable talent? So with literature, art, education, science, or what have you.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that the same race which has poured its rich talents into the stream of American life would, if given the chance, do the same thing for government? And again, illustrations like Dr. Ralph Bunche will flood your mind as they do my own.

But, apart from analogy and illustration, is the argument not a sound one upon historical considerations? Members of the white race have enjoyed all of the privileges set forth in the Bill of Rights for long generations. They may have come to accept them as a matter of course, as a matter of due, and not as privileges for which men have died.

SENSE OF SACREDNESS

The Negro, on the other hand, has been engaged in struggle for centuries and to the present moment in order to secure precisely those rights for himself. Men highly prize the thing for which they have struggled and made sacrifice. There are about thirteen million Negroes in the South. They are ready and anxious to participate as full-fledged citizens in all of the affairs of state. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, granted the ballot and granted official authority, they would move into the discharge of their duties with a superior sense of the sacredness of their task?

The farmer puts fertilizer upon his soil. A large part of it leaches ultimately into the salt and resounding sea. The land must be constantly re-fertilized if it is not to become sterile and barren. Democracy likewise must be fertilized by ideas and ideals which come up from the mass of its citizens if it is not to become decadent. We in the South will ultilize a vast natural resource when we bring into all departments of our life the impulse of the fresh and eager and ardent spirits of our newly enfranchised citizens.

Let us, therefore, not abandon the high moral position that minorities have rights which, in good conscience, they should exercise upon the same terms as the majority. But let us also stress the argument that we are a wise and provident people if we do utilize to the fullest the endowments and capacities of every member of our society.

There is another argument which I think deserves to be stressed. That is, one cannot practice chicanery upon one segment of our people without having moral repercussions upon the actor. It has hardly escaped notice that those people who have fostered their Boswell amendments, their grandfather clauses and their doctrine that a political party may be converted into a social club — the people who used such tools against the Negro have come also to use them against their fellow whites. Witness the sordid events behind the struggle between the Taft and Eisenhower delegates at the Republican National Convention. Witness also the leaving of Mr. Truman's name off the ballot in certain Southern states. Those were intra-racial, not inter-racial, bits of sharp practice. Such devices come naturally to be employed against fellow whites by those who have successfully used them against the Negro.

Low and unethical standards of conduct will inevitably infect in all of their relationships those who originally set up such standards for the limited objective of depriving a minority of its rights.

In one sense it may be said that society advances by re-defining its terms. Words accumulate baggage as they move through the centuries. Through usage in new relationships they acquire new meaning, larger meaning. For example, the word "freedom" as used by Shakespeare carried but a fractional part of the broad mental content which it has for us in 1953.

RE-DEFINING CIVIL RIGHTS

We hope that we may contribute to a re-definition of civil rights. Of course, many such rights rest upon a solid legal base. They depend upon laws and courts for their enforcement — such rights as voting, jury service, equal pay for equal work, access to facilities in transportation, education and the like. But when the last statute has been enacted and the last decree written, what may we have? We may have a sullen, grudging compliance with the law, doing exactly what and no more than the law requires, doing it because of penalties which follow upon failure. Admittedly, even such reluctant and spiritless recognition of minority rights represents a distinct advance in human

relations.

But surely society is not properly ordered where this kind of an armed truce prevails, where men stand and glare at each other, do only what they are compelled to do — because a pistol is aimed at their heads. Such men have not come to maturity in the sense of being civilized and urbane.

Men add cubits to their moral stature when they do what is right because of an inner, not an external, compulsion, when they act as gentlemen through desire, not through fear.

STRESS ON CIVILITIES

In the new conception of civil rights, stress will be upon civilities, no less than upon rights. It is not so important that one should have the right to sit next to another as that he should offer his seat when courtesy or good breeding requires. It is more important to be gracious than legalistically correct. The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life. Ultimately, civil rights are not to be wrung from, but graciously conferred by, majorities.

So we must create in the South — we should like to see it prevail everywhere — the atmosphere and volume of good will which shall ultimately render recourse to the law unnecessary in order for all men to live in complete equality with each other. Then men shall act, not because of the harsh voice of authority saying, "Thou shalt not," but in response to inner promptings of the heart saying, "I should."

These are some of the things which we hope we may do in creating the South of the future.

The crucial and regrettably necessary legal actions of the NAACP have been won. Of course, there may still be skirmishes, delaying actions, rear guard engagements. But one is blind who cannot see that the conscience of the country has spoken through its courts. And conscience will beat no retreat.

If we may liken these great legal conflicts to making war — and I do so only to point an analogy — then we face the problem of making peace. American history abundantly proves that this may be a far more difficult task. To make war, only physical courage is required; to make peace, there must be courage of a moral sort. It requires a Lincoln to be able to say from the heart, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." Yet that is the goal which we must hold before ourselves.

Whether it knows it or not, the South stands today at the hour of decision. What course shall it pursue? Shall those dressed in a little brief authority drag us back into the eighteenth century? Shall we share moral isolation with the Union of South Africa? Is Premier Malan our spokesman, the philosopher of our public policy? Are the apartheid doctrine, India's caste system and Hitler's ghetto the best that our leaders have to offer?

I don't believe it. The weight of reason, the weight of religion are against such a course. In the South, reason and religion have long enough been throttled. These giants now begin to stir. And all of their power propels us into a new and better order, an order in which with pride we take our proper place at the side of the civilized majority of mankind, an order in which the worth and merit of the individual are the only touchstones of supremacy.

The task of leadership in 1953 is to unleash the forces of reason and religion in the South.

ANSWERS FOR GRADUALISTS

In the years that lie ahead it will be relatively easy to deal with the deliberate evasiveness of reluctant officials. It will be much more difficult to combat the sweet reasonableness of the gradualist. Difficult because he appears to agree with all that you say; he disagrees only as to timing. Ultimately, he says, but not now.

We must point out to the gradualist that it is immoral to ask a citizen to accept future delivery of a present right. He may be dead and gone before the right accrues. What the gradualist does is to ask a minority to accept, in lieu of the cash to which it is now entitled, a promissory note due at an indefinite date to be fixed at the pleasure of the gradualist.

We must point out to him that there is no such thing as rights of a *race*. We are concerned with rights of *individuals*. A part of our boast as a nation is that, unlike certain other nations, we have respect and regard for the dignity, the worth, the rights

of the individuals. How sincere are we?

The early Christians, confronted by the corruption of Rome, did not propose to the Romans that *a little at a time* they give up their vices. And the rich young ruler was not advised to make an orderly liquidation of his estate, selling this year his cattle, the next his lands, then his home, so as not to upset the market, and distribute the proceeds among the poor, taking care not to coddle them.

Conversion, for men or states, involves no gradual break with a past one sincerely wishes to renounce.

We must tell the gradualist that the only way of life worthy of our attachment is one which constantly changes, which is always in a state of flux. To revere an ancient and a fixed way of life is to indulge in ancestor worship, which is a kind of living death.

It has been over 700 years since Magna Carta was signed, 168 years since the Constitution of the United States was adopted and 81 years since the Fourteenth Amendment was added. These instruments proclaim or vouchsafe, full and equal rights under the law of the land, including, specifically, the right to have no burden placed upon one, no discrimination practiced against him, because of his race. No people have excelled us in our professed attachment to these theoretical rights. But their translation into actuality has been a process accomplished by struggle and the rarest sort of courage.

No one of us who is honest would for a moment deny that there has been this discrepancy between the ideal and the actual. Of course, the ideal will never be completely attained. In airplane motors or precision watches, there may be a tolerance of one ten-thousandth of an inch. But as this deviation from the ideal is increased, the machine loses efficiency and finally it destroys itself.

Psychologists tell us that all of us at times move in something of a dream world. But when the gap between the dream and the reality becomes too great, our reason is dethroned.

So, society may tolerate for a time the proclaiming of high ideals and the practice of sordid conduct. But, ultimately, in its own protection, society must insist that we begin to live up to the fine things which always we have shouted from the house tops.

We come now to such an hour of decision. All of our past, all of our better instincts and all of the moral force of America and the world at large unite to impel us to move willingly and even eagerly into a new era in human relations in the Southern states.

Anti-Suffrage Scheme Outlawed

On May 4, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled out what may be the last legal device by which Negroes have been denied effective use of the ballot. By an eight-to-one vote, the Court held that the Jaybird Democratic Association of Fort Bend County, Texas, was a political party whose express purpose was to prevent Negroes from voting in the primaries, "the only election in the county that counted."

The defendants had denied that their racial exclusions violated the Fifteenth Amendment. They contended that the Amendment applied only to elections or primaries held under state regulation and that their association was not regulated by the state, but was a self-governing voluntary club.

However, the president of the Jaybird Association admitted to the Court under questioning that the party was designed to keep Negroes from voting in the county primaries. All white voters in the county, upon paying the poll tax, automatically become members of the Jaybirds, who have endorsed every successful candidate for office in Fort Bend County since 1889.

The judgment of the court stated:

"We affirm the District Court's holding that the combined Jaybird-Democratic-general election machinery has deprived these petitioners of their right to vote on account of their race and color. The case is remanded to the District Court to enter such orders and decrees as necessary and proper. . . . In exercising this jurisdiction, the Court is left free to hold hearings to consider and determine what provisions are essential to afford Negro citizens of Fort Bend County full protection from future discriminatory Jaybird-Democratic-general election practices which deprive citizens of voting rights because of their color."

From the *Atlanta Constitution*

'AND THAT SOUTH, THANK GOD, IS . . .'

In 1866, in a speech delivered at Tammany Hall in New York City, Georgia's great Ben Hill began a speech thusly:

"There was a South of slavery and secession — that South is dead. There is a South of Union and Freedom — that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour."

This was the first "New South" speech.

And Ben Hill was right. The New South, beginning to live, breathe and grow in 1866, has progressed slowly — like all things growing in a soil made poor by war and ruin.

May was a signal month in the political progress of Negroes in the South. Ten Negro candidates were elected to local offices in North Carolina and Georgia.

Nowhere has the meaning of these elections been better expressed than in the accompanying editorial from the Atlanta Constitution.

But it has kept growing — every hour.

Some months ago in Augusta, Ga., where the race question has been unworthily agitated by individuals hoping to prosper from it, a Negro university man was elected to the school board. He was from a ward largely Negro in population.

Recently, five North Carolina cities and towns elected Negroes to their city councils. In Wilson (population 23,010), in Chapel Hill (population 9,177), in Gastonia (population 23,069) and in the city of Durham (population 71,311), Negroes were elected to office for the first time since Reconstruction Days. Chief significance of these facts was that racial feelings and prejudices traditionally are more concentrated in smaller cities and towns. Greensboro (population 74,389) Negro Councilman William Hampton, first elected in 1951, was re-elected.

Atlantans awoke Thursday morning to find they had elected the able, qualified president of Atlanta University, Dr. Rufus Clement, to the city's school board. He, too, is the first Negro to be elected on a city-wide basis since Reconstruction Days. The fact that two other Negroes were elected to the City Executive Committee on a ward basis went almost unnoted.

When Atlanta examined the vote tabulations, its wonder grew. Dr. Clement had carried 40 of the 58 precincts. (There are really 59, but the latter is the City Hall where the absentee ballots are counted.) He won a majority of the white wards. And of the 18 lost, he had failed to carry nine by margins of 22 and less. And of the nine others lost, none had gone against him by a substantial margin. There was simply no getting around the fact that while the valued and able Mayor William B. Hartsfield was winning a fifth term, on the basis of progress and efficiency, aldermen committed to the city's future were winning or leading for run-over contests, Dr. Clement had won the most impressive victory of all.

And, even more important, Atlanta seemed proud, if surprised, at having done the job. Thousands had voted for Dr. Clement because they thought he deserved it, and because they believed the more than 25,000 Negro children in the city's schools deserved representation. But none had expected him to win.

The old die-hard KKK element was angry and bitter. They were especially upset because the sky hadn't fallen, the government hadn't capitulated and the graves had not given up their dead. Things went right along and Atlanta seemed, in general, pleased with itself for having done a fair and honest thing within the orderly framework of democracy.

Atlanta, Georgia, and the South could look at themselves and say, after thinking it over, that without doubt there would be backslidings, emotional outbursts, maybe even some violence sparked by the violent, but that what Ben Hill said in 1866 still goes — there is a South of Union and Freedom — and that South, thank God, is living, is breathing, growing every hour.

Dr. George S. Mitchell Honored By Catholic Committee of the South

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was honored by the Catholic Committee of the South for "signal contribution to the welfare and progress of the South" on April 24 at a three-day meeting in Richmond, Va. The CCS award, which is given every two years, was presented by the Most Reverend John J. Russell, Bishop of Charleston, S. C. It followed a tribute by Paul D. Williams, a founder of the Catholic Committee of the South and for six years president of the Southern Regional Council.

TEXT OF SCROLL

Dr. Mitchell was given a scroll bearing the following citation:

The Catholic Committee of the South presents its 1953 award to Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell, native Virginian, economist, teacher, administrator, dedicated servant of his Southland, his nation, and his fellow man.

From the beginning of his rich career, he has manifested a deep and selfless devotion to the ideal of a society in which all men and women may find opportunity and justice, dignity and the warm hand of brotherhood.

As a brilliant student and Rhodes scholar, he laid up the store of knowledge which he has applied so fruitfully to the problems of our day.

As Assistant Director of the Farm Security Administration, he put into action programs expressing his deep concern for the needs and aspirations of plain people, and through his skill opened to them the ways to independence and security.

As Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, he has inspired all of us by the practical example of what the courageous leadership of one man can achieve in lifting the hopes and spirits of the Southern people.

Because of his wisdom and unselfish labor the South has moved closer to the bright future which we all cherish. In testimony of his many accomplishments, we extend to him health and benediction — ad multos annos.

TRIBUTE TO DR. MITCHELL BY PAUL D. WILLIAMS

It has been said that one man of courage is a majority. Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell comes by the virtue of courage gracefully, through a kindly inheritance. His mother was a brave, gracious, blithe spirit. His father, the late Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell, was built along heroic lines. He became, even during his lifetime, an institution in the city of Richmond, Virginia.

Formerly the President of the University of Delaware and President of the College of Charleston, the elder Dr. Mitchell chose to spend his last fruitful years as Professor of History at the University of Richmond. Dr. Mitchell's students still breathe his name in hushed reverence whenever they meet, because of his challenge, his original thinking, his ability to make them stir themselves to higher strivings than they thought possible. Freedom was in the blood of Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell and freedom was in his very breathing. He had no tolerance for what some people call a respectable mediocrity. He strove to have every man under his tutelage raise himself up to his highest possible level of achievement as a precious person — as, indeed, a man of God.

Dr. George Mitchell is a native of Richmond. He graduated from the University of Richmond with honors, being elected in his senior year to Phi Beta Kappa. From thence he went to Johns Hopkins University, where he received his Ph.D. in economics. Then he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, spending three years at Ox-

ford University in England. On his return to America, Dr. Mitchell taught at Columbia University until drafted into government service.

It was in his capacity as Assistant Director of the Farm Security Administration that Dr. Mitchell evidenced a keen concern for the plain people on the land and strove to remove from them the shackles of poverty and bring them to the independence that becomes a man who wants most of all to be free.

DEVOTION TO DUTY

Six years ago, Dr. Mitchell became executive director of the S. R. C. In this office, Dr. Mitchell's greatest asset has been his devotion to duty. General Robert E. Lee once said, "To me the most sublime word in the English dictionary is the word — duty."

The three things that shine forth in Dr. Mitchell's life, at least in my estimation, are his courage, his deep concern for the plain people of the South, and his devotion to duty.

Emerson has said, "Gold and silver are not gifts, they are only excuses for gifts. The only true gift is to give a portion of yourself." In all of his undertakings, Dr. Mitchell has humbly given a liberal portion of himself. That is why the Catholic Committee of the South, representing the Bishops, priests and laity of the Catholic Faith, signals out Dr. Mitchell for special recognition in this year of 1953. Since he has given so generously of himself for the advancement of the South, it is only fitting that we in the Catholic Committee of the South should in return give a portion of ourselves to him in the scroll that soon shall be presented by Bishop Russell of Charleston.

Let it be remembered that the Catholic Committee of the South award has been extended only after the most careful consideration. Among the past recipients have been such personages as the late Dr. George Washington Carver, Dr. Howard W. Odum, Mr. David E. Lilienthal, Mother Katherine Drexel, Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson.

Words are only words. They cannot possibly bespeak the deep, hidden meaning of the human spirit. What the scroll states is admittedly only feeble. What is left unsaid represents the imperishable meaning of friendship, admiration, and appreciation that all of us in the Catholic Committee of the South feel for a truly superlative gentleman, Dr. George Mitchell — an appreciation expressed perhaps most appropriately in the words of Keats, "Heard melodies are sweet, those unheard are sweeter."

In the homely but manly virtues of courage, deep regard for plain people, devotion to duty are to be found Dr. Mitchell's real stature, and in these virtues he arrives at his high estate of success.

For, after all, what is success? Wealth, fame — these are fleeting. They come and they go like the winds. But true success lies much deeper in the innermost spirit of man. Ruskin has the answer, and in his definition Dr. Mitchell is exemplified:

> "Mighty of mind, mighty of heart, magnanimous — to be this is to be great in life. To be this increasingly is to advance in life. For he only is advancing in life whose blood is growing warmer, whose mind quicker, and whose spirit is entering into living peace — that peace which surpasses all understanding."

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

NEW SOUTH

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, JUNE, 1953

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

8-14-53

NEGRO REPRESENTATION ON PUBLIC BODIES

ELECTED TO CITY COUNCIL OR BOARD OF ALDERMEN:

Chapel Hill, NC	May, 1953	Hubert S. Robinson
Hopkinsville, Ky (2) Durham, NC	May, 1953	R.N. Harris
Gastonia, NC	May, 1953	Nathaniel Barber
Greensboro, NC	May, 1953	William M. Hampton
Oak Ridge, Tenn	Sept 1953	Albert C Stewart
Sikeston, MO.	May, 1953	Fred Smith
Wilson, NC	May, 1953	G. K. Butterfield
Winston-Salem, NC	May, 1953	William R. Crawford
Nashville, Tenn	(15 elected) Fall, 1951	Lillard, Robert E + 2 Ashooby

ELECTED TO CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Alexandria, Va	July 1953	Richard H Poole
Atlanta, Ga.	May, 1953	A. T. Walden Miles G. Amos
Richmond Winston-Salem, NC	April, 1953	Mrs. Sarah Marsh

ELECTED TO SCHOOL BOARD:

Atlanta, Ga.	May, 1953	Rufus E. Clement
Augusta, Ga.	Nov., 1952	W. C. Ervin

Insert state legs here [San Antonio, Tex + Knoxville Tenn]

APPOINTED TO SCHOOL BOARD:

Darlington, SC	Jan., 1951	G. Perry Gandy
Lynchburg, Va.9	April, 1953	Carl B. Hutcherson
Nashville, Tenn.	Jan., 1952	Coyness L. Ennix
Newport News, Va.	Mar., 1952	C W. Scott
Roanoke, Va.	July, 1951	A. L. James
Richmond Va MARYLAND	June, 1951	DWIGHT O. W. Holmes appointed to Maryland State Board of Education
Raleigh, NC KENTUCKY and NORTH CAROLINA	Feb, 1949	Both Kentucky and North Carolina have had Negro representation on their State Boards of Education for several years. Harold Trigg, appointed to the NC School Board in 1949, was the first Negro to serve in NC; Kentucky has had Negro representation on its school board since 1944.

West Va

Negro representation, con't

CITY PLANNING COMMISSIONS:

Columbia, SC	1952	One Negro member serving
Knoxville, Tenn.	Apr., 1952	Dr. J. Hubert Clark appointed to fill unexpired term.
Ocala, Fla.	Summer, 1952	City Council set up a Greater Ocala Committee for planning public improvements; 6 of 42 members are Negro
Richmond, Va.	Jan., 1952	W. A. Hall

COMMUNITY CHEST AND COUNCIL BOARDS:

Not now { Atlanta, Ga.		Community Planning Council has had Negro board members since founding in 1916
Charlotte, NC		Hardy Liston is on board of Charlotte Community Council
Oklahoma City, Okla.	Jan., 1951	W. C. Price appointed to Board of Community Council of Oklahoma City
Richmond, Va.		Community Chest has had Negroes on its board for several years
New Orleans	1953	Dent - United Fund

MISCELLANEOUS:

Frankfort, Ky.	Sept., 1952	W. L. Shobe appointed to 7-man Kentucky State Parole Board
Miami, Fla.	Mar., 1952	Rev. John E. Culmer named member of Dade County Sodal Welfare Board by Gov. Warren
Nashville, Tenn.		One Negro member on 7-man auditorium commission
Houston, Tex.	1953	Dr. H. E. Lee appointed to city health board of Houston
Fort Worth, Tex.	1953	Dr. J. M. Burnett appointed to welfare board
Houston, Tex.	1953	Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier appointed member of 21-man board of examiners for teacher education

ATL JNL-CONST 12-27-53

EVERYTHING 'HEARTENING'

Election Symbolic, Dr. Clement Says

By RALEIGH BRYANS

The man who is the only Negro ever elected to the Atlanta Board of Education expects to be "just another board member" next year, despite his race.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement takes office Jan. 4. He once thought his being a Negro might work against him, make the road tough for him. Now he doesn't any more.

"My going on the board should be a normal, natural thing," he says. "I already know the other board members. Our relations have been most cordial. Everything is heartening." and he adds:

"There has been no unpleasant experience, not even a single malicious telephone call, since my election. There was none during my campaign for election."

Dr. Clement, regarded as a distinguished Negro educator, polled 22,258 votes in the May primary. A white opponent got 13,935. Since about 10,000 Negroes voted in the primary, many of his votes came from white citizens.

* * *

HIS ELECTION shattered precedent set in 1872, when the school board was first established. It was filled then with white citizens, a practice followed ever since until this year.

"This is symbolic," he says. "It is symbolic that the two races can live together in Atlanta, that the people of Atlanta were ready for the election of a Negro."

"It demonstrates that we have reached the point in the South when we can look at a person's qualifications and, without respect to his race or color, make a decision."

Dr. Clement has been president of Atlanta University 17 years. He has been a teacher since 1922. He is a southern Negro, and was educated for the most part in southern schools and colleges.

"I am, by my very nature, interested in good schools for all children," he says. "I am no different, I am sure, from the other members of the Atlanta Board of Education in this respect."

* * *

BUT BEING a Negro, he feels he will be particularly effective in bringing to the board the points of view of Negro citizens, who make up one-third of the city population.

Dr. Clement will be a member of the school board during a crucial year. A Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools may force a decision locally on whether public schools will be abolished.

The state government, which in part finances Atlanta's independent school system, already has taken steps toward abolishing the state school system if segregation is ruled out by the court.

"Whatever the Supreme Court says, and however it says it, I believe the number one thing we must try to do is to preserve and continue the very fine public school system we have," Dr. Clement says.

* * *

"THAT SYSTEM is the hope of a democracy," he says. "The progress of the people is centered in it. Any plan to kill it would set us back 100 years or more."

Dr. Clement says he has tried to prepare himself for effective service on the school board. He has attended board meetings as an observer. He has visited various schools, white and Negro.

He has ploughed through the board's rules and policies, a book of over 200 pages. His reading for the job also has included pamphlets on school issues, school finances, and such things as curricula.

"Actually," he says, "I will have only one-ninth voice on the board. I can't do anything that the majority of the board doesn't think is sound, or good.

"I merely plan to take whatever stand that good will and good judgment seem to dictate."

New Orleans.

ATL WORLD 9-2-53

Negro Named To Richmond Schools

RICHMOND, Va.—(ANP)— The City Council of Richmond elected Booker T. Bradshaw to membership on the City School Board last week. He is the fourth Negro on a school board in Virginia cities. The others are Dr. A. L. James, Roanoke; Dr. C. Walde Scott, Newsport News; and Carl Hutcherson, Lynchburg.

Mr. Bradshaw is president of the Virginia Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company and an active civic, business and educational leader. His company has been one of the fastest growing Negro insurance companies in the United States.

The new school board member had the backing of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, an influential morning paper edited by Virginius Dabney, and many white people and Negroes throughout the city.

committee of th

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Oct. 11, 1954

NEGROES ON PUBLIC BODIES

I. City council or board of aldermen

Chapel Hill, N. C. — Hubert S. Robinson. Elected May, 1953

Durham, N. C. — R. N. Harris. Elected May, 1953

Gastonia, N. C. — Nathaniel Barber. Elected May, 1953. Mr. Barber was appointed City Treasurer of Gastonia by the Mayor following his election to the City Council., Reelected 1955

Greensboro, N. C. — William M. Hampton. Elected May, 1953 for his second term on the council; served first term 1951-1953.

Hopkinsville, Ky. — Two Negroes currently serving on city council.

Nashville, Tenn. — Robert E. Lillard and Z. A. Looby. Reelected 1953. First elected in the fall of 1951.

Nowata, Okla. — John H. Morgan. Elected April, 1954.

Oak Ridge, Tenn. — Albert C. Stewart. Elected September, 1953

Sikeston, Mo. — Fred Smith. Elected May, 1953.

Watonga, Okla. — A. W. Russworm. Currently serving; reelected several times.

Wilson, N. C. — G. K. Butterfield. Elected May, 1953. Re-elected 1955

Winston-Salem, N. C. — William R. Crawford. Reelected May, 1953. First elected in 1951. Winston-Salem has had a Negro on its Board of Aldermen since 1947. Reelected 1955

Negroes on Boards

II. City School Boards

Atlanta, Ga. — Rufus E. Clement. Elected May, 1953

Augusta, Ga. — W. C. Ervin. Elected November, 1952

Charles City, Va. —Carlton L. Jones. Appointed May, 1954

Greensboro, N. C. — David D. Jones. Appointed April, 1954

Knoxville, Tenn. — L. A. Alexander. (Has been on several years, don't know date he began serving on board.)

Lynchburg, Va. — Carl B. Hutcherson. Appointed April, 1953

Nashville, Tenn. — Coyness L. Ennix. Appointed January, 1952

Newport News, Va. — Dr. C. Waldo Scott. Appointed March, 1952

Raleigh, N. C. — E. J. Carnage. Appointed March, 1949. Re-appointed 1955

Roanoke, Va. — Dr. L. C. Downing. Appointed July, 1954. Roanoke has had a Negro on the school board since 1948.

Salisbury, N. C. — Dr. W. J. Trent. Appointed July, 1951

Richmond, Va. — Booker T. Bradshaw. Appointed September, 1953.

Winston-Salem, N. C. —Rev. William R. Crawford. Serves as representative of the Board of Aldermen on school board. Negro alderman has served in this capacity on school board since 1947.

III. State school board

Kentucky — Kentucky has had a Negro on its school board since about 1944.

Maryland — Dwight O. Holmes appointed to Maryland State Board of Education June, 1951

North Carolina — Dr. Harold Trigg appointed to NC School Board in 1949, is stillserving

IV. State legislature

Kentucky — Rev. Felix S. Anderson. Elected November, 1953 to represent the 42nd District (Louisville). He is the third Negro to serve in t the Kentucky legislature since 1936.

V. City Democratic Executive Committee

Alexandria, Va. — Richard H. Poole. Elected July, 1953

Atlanta, Ga. — A. T. Walden and Miles G. Amos. Elected May, 1953

Mobile, Ala. — Alex Herman and Clarence Montgomery. Elected May, 1954

Winston-Salem, N. C. — Mrs. Sarah Marsh. Elected April, 1953

VI. City Planning Commission

Camden, Ark. — Ben F. Williams. Appointed August, 1954

Richomond, Va.; Knoxville, Tenn; and Columbia, S. C. also have Negro representation on their city planning commissions.

VII. Miscellaneous

Atlanta, Ga. — A. J. Lewis elected to serve on the City of Atlanta's employee group insurance board of trustees, March, 1954

Houston, Tex. — Charles A. ~~XXXX~~ Shaw, President of the Watchtower Life Insurance Company elected to the board of trustees of the United Fund of Houston and Harris County.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

TO

ANNA HOLDEN

Somebody in position to know fairly well told me that Little Rock has a Negro school board member. So or not so?

GSM

February 15, 1954

Mr. Cary Robertson
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Robertson:

Dr. Mitchell asked me to send you the enclosed information on Negro school board members in the South.

In addition to the towns listed in the memo, we have heard that Knoxville, Tenn., San Antonio, Tex. and Little Rock, Ark. have--or have had--Negro school board members. Also, that Memphis, Tenn. and Salisbury, N. C. possibly have Negro board members. We have no information on any of these towns.

Within the next few days I plan to check further on these doubtful towns and to see if I can find some more Negro board members--particularly in Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas. I will forward any information picked up on to you.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl

February 17, 1954

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

We are currently trying to compile a complete list of Negro members of community school boards throughout the South.

Our information on Texas' progress in this area is quite limited and we would appreciate any help you can give us--names of towns having elected or appointed Negro school board representatives and if possible, names of the board members, date service began, length of term, etc.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

February 18, 1954

Mr. C. A. Hicks
Supervisor, Negro Education
State Dept. of Education
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Hicks:

The Southern Regional Council is currently attempting to compile a complete list of Negro members of community school boards in the South.

Our information on Arkansas' progress in this areais quite limited, and we would appreciate any help you can give us -- names of towns having elected or appointed Negro school board members, the names of the board members and date service began, length of term, if possible.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

FAIRFAX 8347

THE INFORMER · THE DALLAS EXPRESS · MEMBER A.B.C.

★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

RECEIVED
FEB 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

February 19, 1954

Thanx 2.25.54

Mrs. Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Holden:

In answer to yours of February 17, the only Negro I know on a school board in Texas is Sutton on the San Antonio school board, and, of course, you have ~~that information,~~ since he has been on now for the last several years.

I enjoyed your article in the January "New South."

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

Theux
2-25-54

858 - WHITFORD PLACE
Memphis, Tenn
Feb. 19-1954

Dear Mrs Holden:

Re your inquiry Feb. 17 -

There is no Negro on the school board in Memphis or in Shelby County. A Negro ran as an independent in the last election & polled a goodly number of votes, quite a number coming from predominantly white wards & precincts. Candidates for the next election have not yet announced.

Sincerely, Margaret C. McCullers

25 February 1954

Miss Margaret Schonerstadt, Secy.
American Friends Service Comm., S.W.
2106 Nueces
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Margaret,

Following is a summary of the oral replies of several officials of the Texas Education Agency (state department of education) and the Texas Assn. of School Boards, regarding the request for information on Negro local school board members in Texas:

1. Reports from local school systems to the Texas Education Agency do not indicate the race of board members. However, it may be estimated that there are roughly a dozen or more Common (rural) School Districts in East Texas which have an all-Negro board of trustees. These are districts in which the Negro population is 90% or more of the total population.

   There are no Negro board members in any of the Independent (town or city) School Districts in Texas, nor on any of the County boards of education. Nor are there any local school boards in Texas having both Negro and white members (with the exception of the San Antonio Junior college board, which has one elected Negro member; this board is exclusively a municipal junior college board.)

   [Note: A common school district in Texas elects three trustees who, with the trustees of the other common school districts of the county, bear a somewhat subordinate relationship to the elected five-member county board of education and to the elected county superintendent. Of the two types of superintendents in Texas (county and independent), none are Negro.]

2. The names of the dozen or more school districts (and hence the three dozen or more Negro board members) estimated above are not readily available. Perhaps the simplest method would be to write each of the 254 county superintendents in Texas for the names and addresses of Negro board members in his county. Additional information about each, such as length of service, would have to be gotten by writing each of the Negro board members.

3. Regarding trends in the number of Negro board members in Texas, there is at least one factor which will tend, and perhaps has tended, to reduce the number in areas

where they are now found, namely, the school district reorganization movement, whereby (1) independent districts are annexing surrounding common districts and (2) common districts are merging to form county-wide independent districts. There are few, if any, towns, cities, or whole counties in Texas in which the Negro population is greater than the white.

On the other hand, there appears to be a growing number of Negro candidates for independent school district boards (which are elected at-large), especially in the larger cities of Texas.

4. The main area of progress in Texas in this ~~xxxx~~ connection seems to be the increasing use of Negroes on appointive school-community advisory committees of various kinds.

Sincerely yours,

Sam M. Gibbs

Sam M. Gibbs
Grad. student in ed. admin.

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Southwest Regional Office

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2106 Nueces Street

AUSTIN 5, TEXAS

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Olcutt Sanders, *Executive Secretary*
Adam Ristad, *Finance & Interpretation*

TELEPHONE 2-5522

Thanx 3-1-54

February 26, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

John Barrow, our acting executive secretary, asked me to answer your letter which was addressed to Olcutt Sanders. Olcutt Sanders has accepted the position of national public relations secretary for the American Friends Service Committee and is now in Philadelphia.

We referred the letter to Sam Gibbs, a graduate student at the University of Texas, who has made special studies of school boards in Texas. His inquiries resulted in the attached letter.

We hope this information will be of some help to you.

Sincerely,

Margaret Schonerstedt

Margaret Schonerstedt
Office Secretary

March 4, '54

Dear Cary,

We wrote out to Tex and Ark for some more dope on N's on school boards.

Arkansas (report from Chas. Hicks, State Spvsr of N. edctn)
In fourteen counties one or more local school boards has some (or all) Negro members. There are all Negro school districts with all Negro school boards ~~at~~ for

Arkansas County District of Arkansas County
Walker District of Columbia County
East Side District of Conway County
Howard County Training District of Howard County
Childress District of Howard County
Gray Rock District of Logan County
Miller County District of Miller County
Oak Grove District of Nevada County
William Center District of Ouachita County
County District of Phillips County
County District of Sevier County

Additionally
Grant County has one Negro board member name not known
Hempstead County has two
St. Francis County has two

And Jefferson County has four named Negro board members who would appear to be over an all-Negro district, but that is uncertain from the list supplied.

We did a rough map. It conforms generally to the areas of heavy Negro population, but there seem to be few or none in Northeastern Ark, which is Delta county with a heavish N. population.

I don't know what an all-Negro district is; suppose it a device. You might be able by a Ophone call to clarify. The Boards over all Negro districts seem to have about 5 members apiece.

Texas:

A sympathetic and informed grduate student at UT supplies us through a friend with these findings:

Believed to be a dozen or more common (rural) school districts in East Texas which have all-Negro Boards of Trustees. These are said to be districts in which the Negro populationis 90% or more of the local population.

No town or city school Boards (called Independent School Boards) have and Negro members, nor have any of the County Boards of Education.

The one exception of the San Antonio, Tex. Junion College board, which has one elected Negro member. 'Tis exclusively a municipal junior college.

The trend toward consolidated districts will lessen rather than increase the number of practically-all-Negro local school governing bodies.

But there is a growing number of Negro candidates offering for election (not yet successfully) to the Independent School District Boards (which are elected at large), especially in the larger cities and towns of Texas.

There is increasing use of Negro citizens on appointive school advisory committees of various kinds.

North Carolina

Add new place. In 1953 Dr. W. J. Trent, President of Livingston College, Salisbury, N.C., was ~~xxxxx~~ appointed to the Salisbury Board of Education.

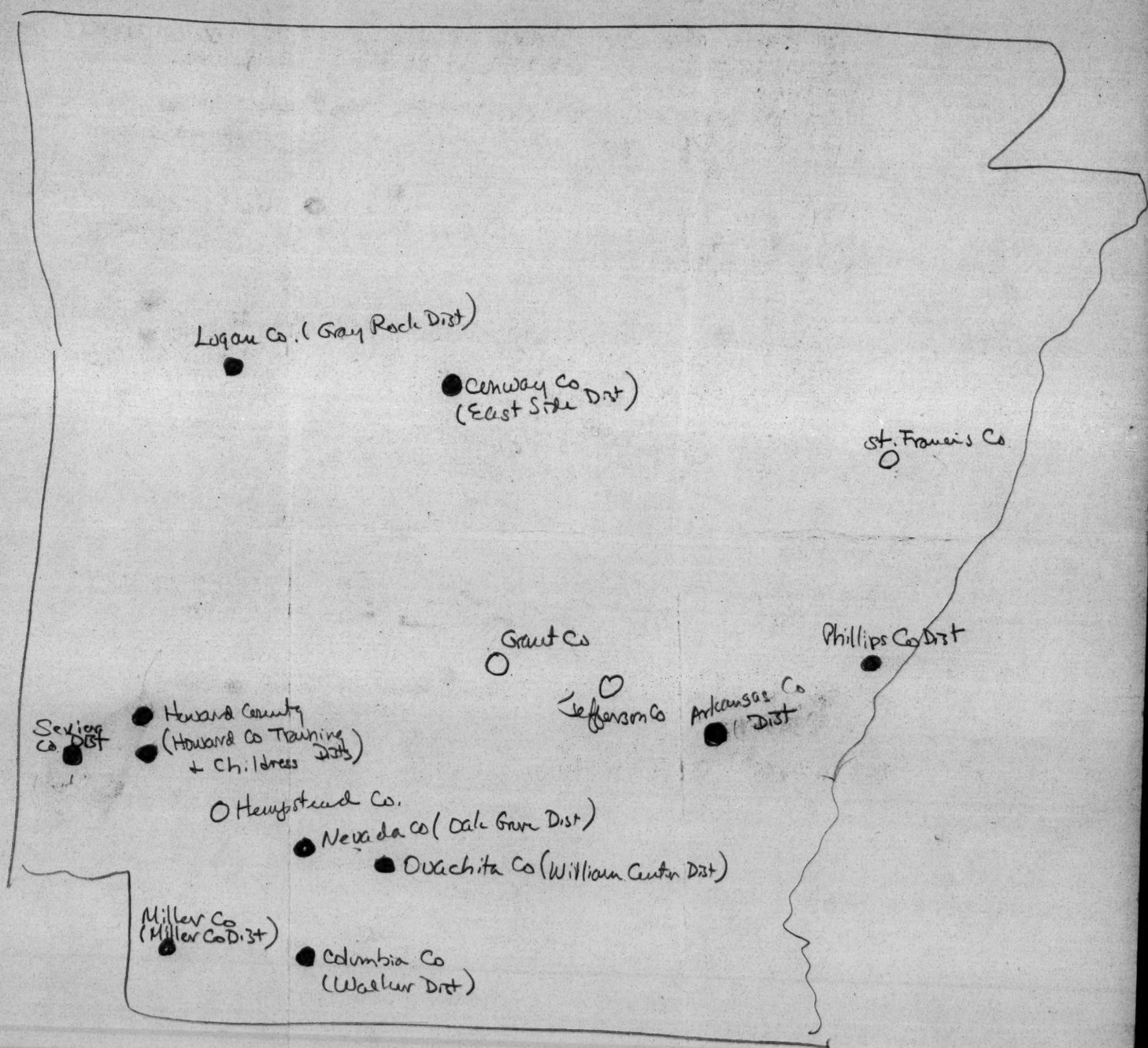
In 1953 Mr. F. J. Carnage, a Negro attorney in Raleigh, was appointed to the Raleigh Board of Education.

~~Lexington and Wilmington~~

Sincerely,

GSM

Arkansas School Boards with Negro Members



● All Negro Districts

○ Not designated as all Negro districts

State of Arkansas
DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION
EDUCATION BUILDING LITTLE ROCK

March 2, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In reply to your request of February 18 for information on Negro members of community school boards, a list of same is enclosed. If these data do not meet your need it will be a pleasure to render further service.

Very truly yours,

C. A. Hicks

C. A. Hicks
Supervisor of Negro Schools

CAH:w
Enclosure: 1

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Job Opportunities Project for Minorities

2600 Flora Street

DALLAS 4, TEXAS

TELEPHONE PR-4861

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AUSTIN, TEXAS
John G. Barrow, *Chairman*
W. A. Smith, *Treasurer*
Olcutt Sanders, *Executive Secretary*

March 5, 1954

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council,
Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Holden:

I know of only one Negro member of a community school board in Texas and he is in San Antonio. There is, however, as you are probably aware an increasing number of Negroes being appointed to other community boards in Texas, such as health, slum-clearance, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Byron Buckeridge

Byron Buckeridge
Director

BB/csn

BARRY BINGHAM *President*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher*

LISLE BAKER, JR., *Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

RECEIVED
MAR 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 10, 1954

Thought would be of interest to you. Sunday story will be out soon. Don't miss Sat. 9 5th. Thanks, etc.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I showed your material to our executive editor, Mr. James S. Pope. His judgment was that we would wait until the subject got more in the news before exploring it.

If you want us to pass on the material to another paper which is more in the mood to explore the subject at present, we would be glad to send it anywhere you say.

We have a good size story on segregation coming out this Sunday, one that was gotten up by the Associated Press. There might be some reaction to this story that will make it more likely that we can dig up the kind of piece you suggested. I know, however, that we are not in a position right now to do any extensive traveling.

Have you tried getting the Associated Press to explore this part of the subject? The AP story this week tries to cover everything, and it is pretty much a layman's look at the legal prospects.

Sincerely yours,

Cary

Sunday Editor
The Courier-Journal

Cary Robertson
sr

March 24, '54

Dear Cary,

Just after your letter came I 'phoned the Courier-Journal, station to station, and reached not thy honorable self, but a bird who said he was some'n'orother on the Sunday edition, and he kindly said he would ask you to send the things (clips, etc) on back to us, as we would do the story ourselves. Evidently kind friend forgotted. So please have mdlle bundle up, and send 'em along.

Appreciate all bothering.

Love to all,

G.

State Department of Public Instruciton

OLIVER HODGE, SUPERINTENDENT
TRUMAN BENNETT, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

April 7, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

In answer to your request concerning a list of Negro board members, etc. We have thirty school districts in the state with Negro school boards. However our list which I am enclosing is for 1953-54 and it will be some months before we have a new list. Dependent school board members serve 3 years, and independent board members serve 5 years. Independent school boards elect 5 members.

We hope this information will be of help to you in completing your list.

Sincerely yours,

Clifford Powell

Clifford Powell
State Agent for Negro Education

CP:ap
Inc: 5

April 8, '54

Dear Cary,

You go ahead and do and run anything on the Scool Board representation that comes handy to you in your area, and send us a clip. We'll go ahead and get up a general Southwide account, and try to run it in New South.

You'll be pleased to hear in your Sunday paper (April 11) that we got a goodish grant from the Fund for the Republic, to put paid personnel into each of 12 Southern States (emphatically including Kentucky), and will be unr lling that program during the summer months. Nice to have funds, but they certainly bring work and responsibility. I know I can caount on help from you and Priscilla, to who love.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

BARRY BINGHAM *President*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher* LISLE BAKER, JR., *Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

April 5, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 7 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Here is our entire file. I am afraid the story will have to be this: If somebody prepared a story for us we would kick it around and somebody might say run it. On the other hand, it might not make the grade. To get a story in the paper is something like running the gantlet.

It is undoubtedly a better story at the moment in Georgia than in Kentucky. On the other hand, there is certainly local interest in our local situation on Negro school board members. My guess is that we would probably get up a story about our Kentucky situation on school boards and run a part of any material available on the situation in other states. Bu t the emphasis would be local. We are very conscious of the fact that our readers are practically all in Kentucky and Southern Indiana.

Sincerely yours,

Cary Robertson

Sunday Editor
The Courier-Journal

Cary Robertson
sr
Enclosures

AR WORLD
4-9-54

Bennett Prexy Appointed To School Board

GREENSBORO, N. C.—Dr. David D. Jones, President of Bennett College, was appointed to the Greater Greensboro School Board by the City Council Monday of this week. His name was submitted for the office by Dr. William M. Hampton, Negro council member, who for several months had sought to effect racial integration on the seven-member board. Dr. Jones replaced the incumbent, Fielding L. Fry, who was ineligible for reappointment according to a ruling by City Attorney Herman C. Wilson.

This is the most recent of several recognitions that have come to Dr. Jones as a native citizen of Greensboro and as an educator. The David D. Jones Public School, named in honor of the educator by the school board last year, is in the final stages of completion and will be ready for use in the fall. It is located in the section of the City where he attended school as a boy.

A monument to Dr. Jones' active interest in education is Bennett College where he has given over a quarter century of constructive leadership. The widely known college for women has grown continuously as its administration has pioneered in building and using a fund of informatio non the problems and aptitudes of women, their employment status, their role in the home and community, and their social adjustment.

Jones Named To School Board

Greensboro Apr. 1954

Educator Is 1st Negro Member

Dr. David D. Jones, president of Bennett College, yesterday became the first Negro member of the Greater Greensboro School Board after his appointment was made by the City Council.

In other business yesterday, the council approved "in principle" a plan wherein citizens might be asked to vote issuance of $2,000,000 to $5,000,000 in bonds for expanding the city sewage disposal facilities.

Previous to City Manager James R. Townsend's proposal, it was thought that only $1,500,000 might be needed for the extension of sewage processing facilities. Townsend explained that the new estimate would provide equipment for a longer-term development.

Fry Not Eligible

Dr. Jones' appointment and the reappointment of Mrs. David Brown to the school board followed discussion in which City Attorney Herman C. Wilson ruled that the incumbent board member, Fielding L. Fry, also was a member of the Greensboro War Memorial Fund Commission and was not eligible to be renamed to the school body.

The Negro college president's name was submitted by Dr. William M. Hampton, who for several months had sought the appointment of a Negro to the seven-member board.

The bond issue was proposed during Townsend's offering of a prospective of the 1954-55 budget, which included a no-increase-in-the-city-tax-rate provision. The proposal showed the possibility of an overall bond issue of $3,300,000 to $6,300,000. One million dollars of the amount would be for the new dam on Lake Brandt and $300,000 would provide funds for remodeling the City Hall Annex into a four-storied building.

Other Needs Listed

Another $600,000 bond issue, allowed by vote of the council, would provide $350,000 for petition paving, $200,000 for acquiring right of ways in starting downtown thoroughfare improvements and $50,000 for fire repair and training center.

The $450,000 anticipated for the coming fiscal year in ABC funds was tentatively earmarked in this manner: $245,000 for buying, maintaining and altering city property; $70,000 for traffic signals; $30,000 for street surfacing; $30,000 for a fire training tower; $24,000 for a fire engine; $16,000 for recreation improvements; $10,000 for aerial mapping and $25,000 for a reserve in budget adjustments.

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Townsend said the major part of $16,000 would be needed for improvements to the Windsor Community Center building and grounds and the $25,000 to provide merit increases for about one-third of the employes of the city.

McNeely Temporary Judge

Councilmen accepted a letter of resignation from E. M. Stanley as judge of the Greensboro Juvenile Court and passed a resolution thanking him for his service. Robert H. McNeely, judge pro tem, was named to serve as judge until May 1.

A large delegation of Cornwallis Road neighbors was on hand to hear the council disapprove a proposed subdivision of a 152-foot lot on Cornwallis Road into two lots.

Councilmen also passed an amendment to the zoning ordinance requiring property owners to show their proposed subdivisions "will not be detrimental to the area." Councilmen E. L. Falconer and Boyd Morris voted against the matter after saying they felt the matter would not "stand up in court."

Surprise Move

In a surprise move, an attorney representing the Oaks Motel property on Summit Avenue withdrew a request for a public hearing on building a restaurant on the property for motel patrons.

The attorney explained after the meeting that his client "changed his mind" and counsel was studying city laws regarding the zone in which the motel is situated.

Councilman Mack Arnold praised the police department and ABC law enforcement officers for their co-operation in cleaning up undesirable conditions among local beer and wine outlets. And Mayor Robert Frazier commended Arnold in "rectifying a bad situation."

DR. DAVID D. JONES
Named To Board

after it had been rebuilt by | What distinguishes this | photo by Fred T. Meig

Here's Text Of Court Decision

Charlotte Observer 5-18-54

WASHINGTON, May 17 (AP)— The text of the Supreme Court's decision in the racial segregation cases, read by Chief Justice Warren:

These cases come to us from the States of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. They are premised on different facts and different local conditions, but a common legal question justifies their consideration together in this consolidated opinion. (1)

In each of the cases, minors of the Negro race, through their legal representatives, seek the aid of the courts in obtaining admission to the public schools of their community on a nonsegregated basis. In each instance, they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children under laws requiring or permitting segregation according to race.

This segregation was alleged to deprive the plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. In each of the cases other than the Delaware case, a three-judge Federal District Court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine announced by this court in Plessy V. Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537. Under that doctrine, equality of treatment is accorded when the races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though these facilities be separate. In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools.

The plaintiffs contend that segated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the court took jurisdiction. (2) Argument was heard in the 1952 term, and reargument was heard this term on certain questions propounded by the court. (3)

DISCUSSED ADOPTON

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the postwar amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislature had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inclusive nature of the amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. (4) In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost non-existance, and practically all of the race was illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public education has already advanced further in the north, but the effect of the amendment on northern states was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the north, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

FIRST CASES

In the first cases in this court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the court interpreted it as proscribing all state-imposed discriminations against the Negro race. (5) The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this court until 1896 in the case of Plessy V. Ferguson, supra, involving not education but transportation. (6) American courts have sinec labored with the doctrine for over half a century. In this court, there have been six cases involving the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education. (7) In Cumming V. County Board of Education, 175 U. S. 528, and Gong Lum V. Rice, 275 U.S. 78, the validity of the doctrine itself was not challenged. (8) In more recent cases, all on the graduate school level, inequality was found in that specific benefits enjoyed by white students were denied to Negro students of the same educational qualifications: Missouri ex rel. Gaines V. Canada, 305 U. S. 337; Sipuel V. Oklahoma, 332 U. S. 631; Sweatt V. Painter, 339 U.S. 629; McLaurin V. Oklahoma state regents, 339 U. S. 637. In nine of these cases was it necessary to re-examine the doctrine to grant relief to the Negro plaintiff. And in Sweatt V. Painter, supra, the court expressly reserved decision on the question whether Plessy V. Ferguson should be held in applicable to public education.

In the instant cases , that question is directly presented. Here, unlike Sweatt V. Painter, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been qualized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" factors. (9) Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when Plessy V. Ferguson was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

MOST IMPORTANT

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In Sweatt V. Painter, supra, in finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this court relied in large part on "those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school." In McLaurin V. Oklahoma State Regents, supra, the court, in requiring that a Negro admitted to a white graduate school be treated like all other students, again resorted to intangible considerations: ". . .his ability to study, engage in discussions and exchange views with other students, and, in general, to learn his profession." Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs:

"Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendencey to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system." (10)

FINDING SUPPORTED

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy V. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. (11) Any language in Plessy V. Ferguson contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. (12)

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question — the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the court for the reargument this term. (13) The Attorney General of the United States is again invited to participate. The attorneys general of the state requiring or permitting segregation in public education will also be permitted to appear as amici curiae upon request to do so by September 15, 1954, and submission of briefs by October 1, 1954. (14)

It is so ordered.

Press

PENINSULA NUGGETS

Did you know that:

General Thomas Nelson, whose father built York Hall at Yorktown in 1711, ordered American soldiers to fire upon his home when Lord Cornwallis occupied it during the period of the siege in 1781.

THE CROWD GATHERS—

By 10 yesterday there was quite an assemblage at the Hampton Roads Service League's Speech School in Marshall Courts. Explaining a list of activities on the bulletin board is (second from right) Mrs. Paul Bickford, president of the league. Listening are (left to right) Mrs. R. W. Naill, mother of a student, Mrs. J. E. Bartles, Mrs. Henry J. Bryan Jr., a volunteer, and Mrs. T. C. Cheek,an interested mother of a student.

"TH's" with Miss Selma Hogg, first la Chapter, or used in

300 Teachers Shown Films For Hampton

Hampton public school teachers currently are previewing a series of educational films to add to the school system's film library, Luther W. Machen, technical advisor for audio-visual materials, reported.

The month-long evaluation by [illegible]

Hampton's School Suit Will Stand In Spite Of Ruling On Segregation

A suit brought in behalf of 38 Negro school children and 26 of the parents against the Hampton School Board will not be dismissed despite the recent ruling by the U. S. Supreme Court outlawing segregation.

This is the opinion of William Davis Butts, attorney for the plaintiffs, who yesterday gave the opinion after questioning as to the status of the suit in light of the Supreme Court decision.

The action was filed a year ago yesterday by Butts in the United States District Court in Norfolk in the form of a civil suit.

Butts holds that the Supreme Court decision affects only the five cases actually involved, and, with the exception of deciding the constitutional issue, it has no effect on the Hampton suit "in so far as the integration phase of this suit is concerned."

Since the defendants did not intervene in the Supreme Court cases, Butts said, "I have no intention to dismiss the (Hampton) suit.

"The people, whether Negro or white, of each community or school district, except those actually involved in the Supreme Court cases or those who intervened, have a right to bring immediately suits for integration if they are so inclined."

Butts contends that the actions of the school boards will determine such a course of action, but said that such suits "may not be necessary in the Commonwealth of Virginia because I have always felt that the white people, particularly the young and educated ones, were sufficiently respectful of a Supreme Court decision to abide by it."

The attorney said the decision ending segregation was made by an

Five-Month

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The attorney said the decision ending segregation was made by an entirely white "judicial organ," and he believes the white people "were sufficiently tolerant to accept, without any hesitation, integration with other American citizens in a public school system."

Butts points out, however, that "some of the top political leaders" are making legal efforts "to prove that the contrary is true."

BEEN DORMANT

The action filed by Butts had been dormant for some time, with both sides agreeing to a continuance in the July term of the District Court.

In the suit, the plaintiffs declared that the action arises from the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and ask the court to make declaratory judgments on these questions:

Are the plaintiffs being denied the use of the only high school owned by the Hampton School Board? (Phenix Negro High School is leased from Hampton Institute.)

Are Negro children being denied equal educational facilities? Are white schools superior in equipment and services to Negro schools? Do the parents of children denied the use of white schools have a grievance because of the alledged difference of opportunities?

The plaintiffs then ask for a permanent injunction restraining the school board and their successors from permitting inequalities in the schools in any respect.

In the suit, Butts claims that discrimination against Negro children, solely because of their race, has been a long-standing fact in Hampton.

Specifically mentioned as subjects for the court's inquiry are questions of equality for white and Negro school buildings, building sites, heating, lighting, plumbing, sanitary facilities, classrooms, libraries, laboratories, studios, auditoriums, cafeterias, gymnasiums, kitchens, offices, playrooms, clinics, infirmaries, facilities for physical and cultural development and teaching personnel.

The Hampton School Board currently is awaiting a directive as to the action the State will take in the segregation issue. The next board meeting is scheduled for June 1.

EDITORIALS ----- THE DAILY PRESS
NEWPORT NEWS - HAMPTON - WARWICK, VA., WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 26, 1954

Hurtful Impatience On School Integration

A course that is bound to produce friction has been decided upon by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. It is so obvious that this will happen one wonders whether in shaping such a course, Negro leaders such as Executive Secretary WALTER WHITE and Special Counsel THURGOOD MARSHALL didn't intend to be provocative. Any show of being conciliatory in approaching solution of the problem of desegregation, they may have reasoned, would be a sign of subserviency and might encourage dilatoriness among Southern white people who are seeking to find means to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision.

Any gain to the NAACP in that direction will be far outweighed, in our opinion, by the loss they will sustain in the resentment such a course will stir up among state government and school officials and among parents of white school children. Negro leaders are not even willing to wait until the Supreme Court has had the opportunity to hear arguments in the five individual cases so it can decide just how its decision is to be carried out in the four states involved and the District of Columbia. They want their local leaders to call at once on local school boards in all 17 states affected and ask them to start integration next September, even before the Supreme Court has had a chance to hear arguments on the five cases.

The Virginia State NAACP president said last Thursday he felt Negro leaders would agree to any "reasonable" period for adjustment before complying with the court's ruling. On Monday, after the big meeting of Negro leaders in Atlanta, the Virginia president said the feeling of the leaders was that the period between now and September was a "reasonable" time.

Whether integration could be started in our own state in September is a question. Perhaps it could be done legally since the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional the section of the state constitution providing for racial segregation in the public schools. But with such an outrageous effort to force the issue, beat the gun so to speak, we are confident it won't be done. And it won't be done in any other Southern state.

The NAACP threatens legal action when necessary to thwart plans to circumvent the court ruling such as private school proposals in Georgia and South Carolina and assignment of pupils to segregated schools by local officials. But it can't take legal action in any of the four states, including Virginia, until the Supreme Court has handed down its decree covering the situation in that state.

Governor STANLEY has not denied that state government officials are trying to work out a plan which would permit separate public schools for the two races. He says some "workable plan" might emerge from the special commission he plans to set up to study the public school situation as it will be affected in this state by the Supreme Court decision. The NAACP is on record as being opposed to any plan that will mean racial segregation. Undoubtedly it will take legal steps to fight any such plan that any state puts into effect. That would mean further delay.

The only action we have heard of so far taken on the Peninsula on the segregation question was the appearance before the Newport News City Council this week of the lawyer representing the NAACP's local chapter. The Negro lawyer appeared only to ask that the Council, in filling two vacancies occurring shortly on the Newport News school board, consider the appointment of "persons interested in a smooth transition from the period of segregation to desegregation."

He did not ask that the Council name a second Negro to the School Board membership, we are informed. The Council will reappoint at its next meeting the two men whose terms are expiring. The School Board itself has received no request from the NAACP to begin intergation of white and Negro children in the public schools next September as will be requested of the local school boards in all of the 17 states practicing segregation. The Newport News School Board, we are reliably informed, has no intention doing so.

We are sorry that the NAACP has decided to try to drive a hard bargain. It won't get them a thing.

Public Projec

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City Council have received
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on the ground that it will dis

A Pen

Some people may find
current editorial battle betwee
Catholic Church organizatio

Negroes Ask Formation Of Study Group

5-26-54

Newport News Daily Press

A request that Newport News City Council appoint a committee of white and Negro citizens to "explore the implications" of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregaion in the schools was presented at a meeting of council yesterday by Attorney W. Hale Thompson, representing the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Thompson also requested the council, in the matter of two approaching vacancies on the School Board, to consider the appointment of "persons interested in a smooth transition from the period of segregation to desegregation."

The attorney said it was the thought of the executive committee of the NAACP to ask the council to "go thoroughly into the thought of appointing people whose attitude and ideas be sympathetic toward the laws of the land."

The terms of School Board Members Philip W. Murray, chairman, and Robert B. Smith expire June 30, and both are eligible for reappointment. Council yesterday postponed until its next session June 7 any action on appointments to the board. The postponement was requested by Councilman T. J. Crandol.

Councilman Harry Reyner said he intended to re-nominate Smith, and Mayor R. Cowles Taylor said he would re-nominate Murray.

Thompson told the council the Supreme Court decision poses "community-wide" problems. He urged appointment of a committee to study the effect on the community as a whole," not only in the schools but in the whole area of living."

He said it was the NAACP's desire that "no situation be created to upset the amicable relations that exist." The Supreme Court decision "certainly creates problems which ought to be gone into and thought out," he pointed out.

Council agreed to consider Thompson's request at a future date. City Attorney Harry Nachman said the operation of the school system was "entirely within the province of the school board." He observed that Governor Stanley has called a meeting to discuss problems and that "it would be well to wait and see what Virginia is going to do."

Negro Is Named To School Board Of Charles City

Richmond Times-Dispatch 5-26-54

By Times-Dispatch Staff Writer

CHARLES CITY, May 25 — A Negro has been named to the Charles City County School Board.

Clarence Jennings, superintendent of schools, announced today Carlton L. Jones, of Harrison District, has been named to succeed C. Hill Carter, whose term expires June 30. Carter had been a member of the school board since 1911.

Jennings reported that to his knowledge the appointment of Jones marked the first time a Negro has ever served on the school board here. Other members of the three-man board are R. A. Lampkin and H. C. Sledd.

Charles City's board of supervisors also has a Negro member, Edward Banks. The county's population is predominantly Negro.

GEORGIA NEWS

Atl. Const.

Nominate 2 Negroes at Gainesville

6-11-54

Two new positions on the Gainesville Board of Education will be created by an ordinance given first approval by the city commission Thursday and two Negro men have been nominated to new seats when the ordinance is given its final approval.

It will mark the first time that Negroes have been nominated for the school board in Gainesville. Named to the two proposed board seats are Dr. E. E. Butler, a physician, and D. S. Lowe Jr., manager of a motion picture theater here. Dr. Butler was nominated for a two-year term and Lowe for a one-year term.

The ordinance was introduced by Commissioner Charles Martin and seconded by Mayor R. M. Knickerbocker. Commissioner Perry Chapman went on record as opposing the naming of Negroes to fill the new positions.

Martin and Knickerbocker said the action was taken "in an effort to preserve the excellent relationship between the two races in Gainesville and comes after at least three requests from the Negro community during the past three years for representation on the City Board of Education."

Knickerbocker, who is a member of the school board, said the board members had unamiously agreed to accept either advisory representatives or appointed members from the Negro community.

Dr. Butler, a native of Macon, is a graduate of Morehouse College in Atlanta and received his medical training at Meharry Medical School in Nashville, Tenn. Lowe is a native of Gainesville and is a graduate of Tuskeegee Institute in Alabama. He is president of the Men's Progressive Club in Gainesville and a veteran of 18 months overseas service during World War II.

Women Leaders Make Plans For Integrated Schools

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— Women leaders from all sections of the country met recently at the headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women to make plans for implementing the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

Twenty-eight persons representing 13 national business, professional, church and educational organizations attended the one-day conference.

In addressing this group, Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, national president of NCNW, stated, "This is the beginning of a new day in human relations and American education. The women of this country must make a great contribution to the elimination of segregation, not only in the schools of the land but in other phases of life as well."

She impressed upon these community leaders the necessity of mapping out "practical and sound measures to speed the desegregation of public education."

EVERY AMERICAN

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president emeritus, stated in a telegram to the group that "the mandate from the Supreme Court brings a sacred challenge to every American. Let us be firm in our acceptance and determination in our efforts for full integration."

The body agreed upon a program to include immediate visits to local and state school authorities, to ascertain their plans, petitions for the establishment of state and local Human Relations Commissions as an adjunct to implementation, the inclusion of Negroes on state and local boards of education, the protection of school teachers and other school employees requests to editors and other writers to help mold a favorable and intelligent public opinion in the localities, courses and workshops on the local, state and regional level to disseminate the facts concerning the success of integration in separated areas all over the country.

NATIONWIDE EFFORT

They also urged that recent publications on the Negro and the public schools be widely read, and that cooperation be enlisted from all parent-teacher associations, church groups, youth civic welfare education, business and other organizations in a nationwide effort to enlist support of the aims and objectives of the decision.

Special emphasis was placed on creating an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and understanding and while recognizing that there was no easy road to the solution of many of the difficulties, that there is no problem in human relations which cannot be resolved by the joint efforts of law-abiding, sane reasonable, loyal Americans working together.

TEACHERS GROUP

Keynote speeches for the conference were made by Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, a member of the D. C. Board of Education; Dr. Ambrose Caliver, assistant to the commissioner of education; and Dr. J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia teachers association.

Dr. Butcher warned the conference that "Citizens must be

(Continued on Page 4 Column 1)

Women Leaders

(Continued From Page One)

alert to make sure that whatever zoning is planned that there is no gerrymandering. Watch the tendency to base plans upon overcrowding. The intent of the decision is complete integration and that must be the primary and motivating force."

Dr. Caliver said, "Education in the United States is a state and local function. For this reason the organizations must start with the local school officials in the local communities."

BOTH RACES

Dr. Picott remarked:

"The starting place in every community is in the school board itself. Such policy-making bodies must be interracial in character. In addition, we must ask our governors and local governments to establish human relations commissions with leadership of both races who can give direction and interpretation."

Other speakers included James C. Evans, civilian assistant to the secretary of defense; Mrs. Minnie L. McEaddy, vice president of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the AME Church; Mrs. Dorothy Banton, director of Kruse School at Wilmington, Del.; Mrs. U. Grant Dailey of Chicago, chairman of the human relations department of NCNW; Mrs. Charles Johnson of Nashville, vice president of the National Council of United Church Women.

National affiliates included:

Mrs. Anetta Wallace, Knoxville, president AKA; Miss Dorothy I. Height, New York, president Delta Sigma Theta; Mrs. Vivian Alleyno, Baltimore, president of Lambda Kappa Mu; Mrs. Marion H. Bluitt, Washington, president of Phi Delta Kappa.

Mrs. Nancy B. Woolridge, Hampton, president Beta Phi Beta; Mrs. Josephine Smith, Washington, education department, NCNW; Mrs. Lucille McElvano, Washington, representing Chi Eta Phi; Dr. Bessie Badham Small, Denton, Md., representing Woman's Auxiliary to the National Medical Association; Mrs. Mildred Carr Washington, representing the Women's Auxiliary to the National Dental Association.

Mrs. Johnnie Walburg, Washington, for Sigma Gamma Rho; Mrs. Jeanne S. Scott, Pittsburgh, president of Iota Phi Lambda; Mrs. Mason representing the Daughter Elks; Mrs. Jane Spaulding, Mrs. Bertha Lomack, Mrs. Jeanetta Welch Brown, Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, Mrs. Carolyn B. Stewart, Mrs. Ruth Caston Mueller, Miss Irene Osborne of the American Friends Service Committee; Miss Margaret Garrity of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Mrs. Naomah W. Maize, executive director, NCNW.

Spirit Of The Press

The School Board Vacancy—A Problem In Geography

J+G 9-3-54

(From Norfolk Virginian-Pilot)

A vacancy on the Norfolk School Board caused by Mrs. Fred T. Laughon Jr.'s impending change of residence to another city has renewed the sentiment, expressed in Norfolk for more than a decade, that the selection of a qualified Negro to serve on the School Board would be helpful to the board, the City Council, and the school system.

The terms of Chairman W. Farley Powers and James A. Carney are expiring but there has been no suggestion that these experienced members should not be reappointed. It is Mrs. Laughon's place on the board that is the center of attention.

The Virginian-Pilot has previously recognized that there are a number of Norfolk Negro citizens qualified for membership on the school board. But before the City Council could appoint a Negro to succeed Mrs. Laughon a number of difficulties would have to be overcome.

The City Charter sets up two school districts, one east of Granby street (District No. 1) and one west of Granby street (District No. 2), with three members from each district. Mrs. Laughon's membership is one of those from District No. 2 and her succesor would have to come from District No. 2. Without taking the position that all Negroes qualified for the school board live in one district, the Council must consider the well-recognized fact that most of the Negro leaders in this community live in District No. 1. If the Council decides to look for a Negro school board member to fill this vacancy, it would have to exclude many if not most of the Negro citizens it would like to consider.

Appointment of a Negro to a southern school board would have much precedent. It has

school board live in one district, the Council must consider the well-recognized fact that most of the Negro leaders in this community live in District No. 1. If the Council decides to look for a Negro school board member to fill this vacancy, it would have to exclude many if not most of the Negro citizens it would like to consider.

Appointment of a Negro to a southern school board would have much precedent. It has been done in Richmond, Roanoke, Lynchburg, and nearby Newport News. It has been done in some North Carolina cities and elsewhere. Nevertheless, a Negro appointment would be the first of its kind in Norfolk, and it ought to be made under the best possible circumstances. The best circumstances would be when the appointment comes from the district in which the majority of the Negro population lives and in which most of the leadership lives.

The City Charter provides a way of overcoming the difficulty. Section 107, after setting up the school districts, continues by saying "that the Council may by ordinance, on the recommendation of the school board of said city, change the number of school districts and prescribe the boundaries thereof." Such a remedy is formidable, for it requires time and study to consider, approve, and adopt a redistricting.

At present Negro children compose approximately 36 per cent of the total school enrollment in Norfolk. There are numerous Negro citizens whose educational attainments and community services entitle them to consideration for school board membership. If the City Council is not willing to redistrict the school districts, the Councilmen at least ought to make up their minds to give extended consideration to a Negro appointment from the district where the majority of the Negro children and Negro leaders reside. Such an appointment would be an act of justice and an example of municipal statesmanship.

September 3, 1954

'E DALLAS MORNING NEWS
EMBER 3, 1954

for States' Righters, for the conservative Eisenhower administration."

Perhaps all of the comment would fit under the heading of the Kansas City editorial—"Texas Is Still Texas."

Board of Education To Fill a Vacancy

Resignation of Harry Stone from the Dallas Board of Education is regrettable, but is made necessary by change of residence. Under provisions which govern the vacancy, the board itself selects his successor. The new man will shortly be concerned, along with his fellow members, with the intricate problem of what to do about desegregation of Dallas schools.

It might not be a bad idea to name at this time a Negro of high character and standing to take part in determining the policy which means so much to both races. The numerical ratio of Negro citizens to white citizens in the Dallas Independent School District is such as to entitle them to one member on the board.

The News believes that a colored man of sound judgment and conciliatory disposition can be very useful to the board, to his own people and to the city at large in this unprecedented emergency. Not only the interests of pupils, both black and white, but also the interests of the teaching staffs, both black and white, ought most seriously and carefully to be considered.

There is a peaceful, just and fair solution. But it will have a better chance of success if it has the official participation of wise and worthy representation of the Negro patrons of our school system. If such participation is not possible, we have a long and hard row to hoe—and what the harvest then will be, none of us can now see.

School Unit Asked To Appoint Negro

The Dallas Board of Education was petitioned Friday to appoint a Negro member to replace Harry Stone, Place 4, South Dallas, who resigned because of change of residence.

The petition, made "on behalf of approximately 93,000 citizens of Dallas of Negro blood and African descent," said that "the citizenship of Dallas is composed of various segments and racial groups, some of which groups have never been represented on the Dallas School Board."

It suggested as new member, "Mrs. Pearl C. Anderson, or Frank Jones, or some other competent Negro citizen."

The petition was accompanied by a letter of transmittal signed by the Rev. Caesar Clark, pastor of the Good Street Baptist Church. It went to all board members.

Twenty-three signatures were placed on the petition itself, including the Rev. A. L. Schley, pastor of the Bethany Baptist Church; J. Harold Jones, executive secretary of the Dallas Branch, NAACP, and other businessmen, pastors and organizations.

The petition was filed as a matter of record.

Board President Dr. Edwin L. Rippy said "I will acknowledge its receipt and its recommendations will be given due consideration at the appropriate time."

He added "We are going about appointing a successor (to Harry Stone) rather leisurely—we haven't discussed it—and we won't be in much of a hurry."

The school board has no legal time limit in which a vacancy must be filled, he said.

The Dallas Morning News in a Friday editorial suggested that the "numerical ratio of Negro citizens to white . . . entitles them to one member on the board," and "it might not be a bad idea to name at this time a Negro of high character . . ."

Platforms For Candidates Of School Board

Houst DMN 10-16-54

HOUSTON— K. C. Brown and Rev. Robert E. Hayes the two Negroes seeking positions on the Houston Independent School Board, have announced their platforms.

Mr. Brown, who is bidding for position No. 5 on the board, said he is interested in the general welfare of children; in the reduction of the dropout rate among students; and in developing a wider practice in human relations.

Rev. Robert E. Hayes, pastor of the Pleasantville Methodist Church, who filed his candidacy for position No. 7 Monday.

After filing, Rev. Hayes said, "As the city of Houston schools are faced with the inevitable concept of desegregation, we must strive to employ the best minds and attitudes of our city to work out solutions that will insure continuous co-operation, genuine fellowship and dynamic christian action."

The Rev. Hayes is a 1937 graduate of Jack Yates High School and has received degrees from Wiley College, Gammon Theological Seminary and Boston University.

Mr. Brown, a local building contractor, is a graduate of Samuel Huston College where he served as dean of men for three years and business manager for four. He was Bursar at Wiley for a year.

HIGH SCHOOLS

Report of School District Officers

County .....

School Year 19 53... to 19 ...54

The county superintendents are required to fill out two copies of these blanks and forward same to the State Superintendent not later than thirty days after the annual meetings of each year.

NOTE: Indicate in district column whether Independent, or Dependent. Please list District Number and Name of School.

District No. and Name of School	Officer	Name	Post Office	R. F. D.
Logan County	President	J. E. Taylor	Langston	
Langston	Vice-Pres.	Charles Wray	Langston	
	Clerk	Odell Gilyard	Langston	
	Member	R. W. Wilkes	Perkins	Rt. 4
	Member	Opal Norman	Langston	
McIntosh Co.	President	C. H. Hughes	Rentiesville	
Rentiesville	Vice-Pres.	Albert Jones	Rentiesville	
	Clerk	W. B. Simpson	Checotah	
	Member			
	Member			
Muskogee Co.	President	Duncan Curl	Taft	
Moton I-17N	Vice-Pres.	C. B. Bush	Taft	
	Clerk	Lula Taylor	Taft	
	Member	Clifford Fields	Taft	
	Member	Clyde E. Fields	Taft	
Muskogee Co.	President	Fred Gardner	Muskogee	Rt. 4, Bx 213
DuBois I-42N	Vice-Pres.	E. D. Brooks	Muskogee	Rt. 4, Bx 112
	Clerk	D. E. LeFlore	Muskogee	Rt. 4
	Member	L. H. Hill	Muskogee	Rt. 4
	Member			
Okfuskee Co.	President	S. G. Hall	Boley	
Boley I-13N	Vice-Pres.	Ed Alexander	Boley	
	Clerk	H. E. Lee	Boley	
	Member	Thelma Sanders	Boley	
	Member	J. L. McCormick	Boley	

Date.....

Signed.....
County Superintendent

HIGH SCHOOLS

Report of School District Officers

County .....

School Year 19 ...53 to 19 54

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NOTE: Indicate in district column whether Independent, or Dependent. Please list District Number and Name of School.

District No. and Name of School	Officer	Name	Post Office	R. F. D.
Okfuskee Co. Clearview I-37N	President	Lee Harris	Clearview	
	Vice-Pres.	Glentist T. Norton	Clearview	
	Clerk	Langston Bush	Clearview	
	Member	Arthur Harris	Clearview	
	Member	I. B. Bell	Clearview	
Wagoner Co. Red Bird I - 35N	President	Horace Hunt	Red Bird	
	Vice-Pres.	James A. Edwards	Red Bird	
	Clerk	Naomi Reynolds	Red Bird	
	Member	Ruby Sanders	Red Bird	
	Member	Johnnie Williams, Jr.	Red Bird	
Wagoner Co.	President	J. H. Matlock	Tullahassee	Bx. 114
	Vice-Pres.	Freddy Wheat	Tullahassee	
	Clerk	R. W. Wallace	Tullahassee	Bx. 1265
	Member	L. P. Pruitt	Tullahassee	
	Member	M. C. Mathews	Tullahassee	
	President			
	Vice-Pres.			
	Clerk			
	Member			
	Member			
	President			
	Vice-Pres.			
	Clerk			
	Member			
	Member			

Date.....

Signed.....

County Superintendent

Report of School District Officers

County .....

Elementary Schools

School Year 19 ..53. to 19 54...

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NOTE: Indicate in district column whether Independent, or Dependent. Please list District Number and Name of School.

District No. and Name of School	Officer	Name	Post Office	R. F. D.
Blaine Co.	President	Melvin Hines	Fay	
Haywood 52N	Vice-Pres.	R. A. Cooper	Fay	
	Clerk	M. M. Coleman	Fay	
	Member			
	Member			
Lincoln Co.	President	Joe Bryan	Wellston	Rt. 1
Sweet Home 58N	Vice-Pres.	Ramon Villereal	Warwick	
	Clerk	George West	Warwick	
	Member			
	Member			
Logan Co.	President	Warner House	Perkins	Rt. 3
Excelsior	Vice-Pres.	Maude Basham	Coyle	Rt. 2
	Clerk	Theodore Clark	Coyle	Rt. 2
	Member			
	Member			
McCurtain County	President	E. R. Wooten	Idabel	Rt. 1,Bx 133
	Vice-Pres.			
Wilson or Richland 18N	Clerk	C. S. Shoals	Idabel	Rt. 2, Bx 141
	Member	Floyd Hawkins	Idabel	Rt. 1, Bx 394
	Member			
McCurtain County	President	Ernest Walls	Garvin	Rt. 1
	Vice-Pres.			
Red River 80N	Clerk	Oliver Moon	Garvin	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			

Date.....

Signed.....
County Superintendent

Report of School District Officers

County .....

Elementary Schools

School Year 1953 to 1954

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NOTE: Indicate in district column whether Independent, or Dependent. Please list District Number and Name of School.

District No. and Name of School	Officer	Name	Post Office	R. F. D.
McCurtain County	President	Prentis Giddens	Harris	Rt. 1, Bx 15
	Vice-Pres.			
Riverside 47N	Clerk	Raymond Nelson	Harris	
	Member	Willis Autter	Harris	
	Member			
McIntosh County	President	W. J. McJunkins	Eufaula	Rt. 2
	Vice-Pres.	Robert Quabner	Eufaula	Rt. 2
Mt. Zion 58N	Clerk	Frank Carlis	Eufaula	Rt. 2
	Member			
	Member			
Muskogee County	President	W. T. Tate	Boynton	Rt. 2, Bx 70A
	Vice-Pres.			
Sugar Creek 11 N	Clerk	Mrs. Leora Thomas	Taft	Box 203
	Member	Richard Brown	Taft	Box 33
	Member			
Muskogee County	President	Percy Gordon	Muskogee	Rt. 1
	Vice-Pres.			
Pecan Creek or Sanders Chapel	Clerk	Mrs. Willie Webster	Muskogee	Rt. 3
	Member	Mrs. Carrie Walker	Muskogee	Rt. 3
18N	Member			
Muskogee County	President	Ida Dudley	Muskogee	Rt. 3
	Vice-Pres.			
Wybark 45N	Clerk	Roscoe Cowan	Muskogee	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			

Date..... Signed.....

County Superintendent

Elementary Schools

Report of School District Officers

County .....

School Year 19 53 to 19 54

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NOTE: Indicate in district column whether Independent, or Dependent. Please list District Number and Name of School.

District No. and Name of School	Officer	Name	Post Office	R. F. D.
Muskogee County New Hope 64N	President	Frank Oakly	Oktaha	Rt. 2
	Vice-Pres.			
	Clerk	Zack Robinson	Oktaha	
	Member	J. W. Sample	Oktaha	
	Member			
Okfuskee County Chilesville 7N	President	Menser Johnson	Boley	Rt. 1
	Vice-Pres.	R. H. Mustin	Boley	Rt. 1
	Clerk	Allen Hunt	Boley	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			
Okfuskee County IXL 12N	President	J. M. Holloway	Okemah	Rt. 4
	Vice-Pres.	Ernest Weldon	Okemah	Rt. 4
	Clerk	Eugene Wallace	Castle	Star Rt.
	Member			
	Member			
Okfuskee County Rush 18N	President	Cooledge Morgan	Boley	Rt. 1
	Vice-Pres.	Fred Young	Boley	Rt. 1
	Clerk	Enoch Haynes	Boley	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			
Okfuskee County Sand Creek 42 N	President	E. V. Walker	Boley	Rt. 1
	Vice-Pres.	Inman Standford	Boley	Rt. 1
	Clerk	Farris Stevenson	Boley	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			

Date.....

Signed.....
County Superintendent

Elementary Schools

Report of School District Officers

County .....

School Year 19 .53.. to 19 54

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NOTE: Indicate in district column whether Independent, or Dependent. Please list District Number and Name of School.

District No. and Name of School	Officer	Name	Post Office	R. F. D.
Okfuskee County	President	James Montgomery	Boley	Rt. 1
Clayton Chapel 43N	Vice-Pres.	Genola Williams	Boley	Rt. 1
	Clerk	Harding Hunt	Boley	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			
Pittsburg County	President	Frank Foster	Hartshorne	Rt. 1
Coles Chapel 8N	Vice-Pres.	John R. Maxwell	Adamso	
	Clerk	Ruby Lee Smitherman	Hartshorne	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			
Seminole County	President	Wiley Jones	Weaoka	Rt. 2
Nobletown 19N	Vice-Pres.	Lee Sandridge	Wewoka	Rt. 2
	Clerk	John Thomas	Wewoka	Rt. 2
	Member			
	Member			
Wagoner County	President	M. B. Barker	Porter	Rt. 1
Fountain 10N	Vice-Pres.	Ruth Paynes	Porter	Rt. 1
	Clerk	Annie McCornell	Porter	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			
Wagoner County	President	Roy Hytche	Porter	Rt. 1
Arkansas Valley 55N	Vice-Pres.	James Marchall	Porter	Rt. 1
	Clerk	Hamp Buggs	Porter	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			

over

Date.....

Signed.....
County Superintendent

District No. and Name of School	Officer	Name	Post Office	R. F. D.
Wagoner County	President	Eddie Jackson	Porter	Rt. 1
	Vice-Pres.	Catherine Howard	Porter	Rt. 1
Rock Hill 57N	Clerk	Fred Renfro	Porter	Rt. 1
	Member			
	Member			
	President			
	Vice-Pres.			
	Clerk			
	Member			
	Member			
	President			
	Vice-Pres.			
	Clerk			
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	Member			
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	Vice-Pres.			
	Clerk			
	Member			
	Member			
	President			
	Vice-Pres.			
	Clerk			
	Member			
	Member			

Date..... Signed.....
County Superintendent

Local School Board Seats First Negro

Bennett College Head Given Oath

Members of the Greensboro School Board of Education met last night to install the first Negro member on the board, appoint a director of special education and approve three new principalships.

Dr. David D. Jones, president of Bennett College, was sworn in by Supt. Ben L. Smith to begin his term as this city's first Negro to serve on the board.

"The opportunity greatly humbles me," said Dr. Jones after board members congratulated him on his new position.

Peck Approved

In later action the board approved the appointment of John R. Peck as director of special education; a position which will set up a program of education for the "exceptional" child whether that child be mentally retarded or in the genius category.

Peck, who has previously taught at special schools for the handicapped, is now completing work on his doctorate at the University of North Carolina. He holds his masters degree from there and did his undergraduate work at Springfield College.

With the retirement of Miss Flieda Johnson, principal of Ceasar Cone School, the position will be filled by Mrs. Margaret Wall, present principal of Caldwell School.

New Principals

Clyde Tesh, now at Lindley Elementary School, will become principal of the new Calvin Wiley Elementary School.

Board members agreed to a recommendation made by Supt. Smith that the elementary schools should join a professional education association: The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Mrs. Sara Mendenhall Brown was reappointed to serve a board term and was re-elected as vice chairman after D. E. Hudgins was renamed to serve as chairman.

Most of the other business conducted during the two-hour session was of a minor nature with the exception of the approval of the board for retirements, resignations and new appointments to teaching positions next year.

Term Opening Set

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Term Opening Set

They approved a measure to begin the 1954-55 term on Aug. 31, rejected several bids for school property and took preliminary steps toward paving a road that fronts the new David D. Jones School.

Members named May 18, the next board meeting, to receive bids for Lincoln Junior High additions. They also tentatively approved the sale of small parcels of land near Caldwell and Peck Schools.

A PTA group at Aycock School was given permission to build a scout hut on school grounds and new bids for backboards at the Senior High gymnasium were called for the May meeting.

A. P. Routh and Bob Jamieson, principal and athletic director respectively at Senior High, were named joint managers of the new gymnasium and a gift from the Civitan Club of $1,100 for a new track to be built at the stadium was announced.

The following teachers are to be retired at the end of this school year: Miss Flieda Johnson, principal of Ceasar Cone School; Miss Carrie Bigham and Miss Lucille Sheridan, teachers at Central School; Miss Russell McKinney and Miss Eva Martin, teachers at Proximity School, and H. A. Hunter Sr., of the maintenance department.

Resignations

Resignations accepted by the board were: Miss Glenna Fulk and Mrs. Marian A. Smith, Aycock School; Mrs. Anne Rudd Galyon, Mrs. Dorothy N. Taylor and Mrs. Helen W. Leach, Central School; Miss Ann Bunn of Edgeville School, and Miss Eleanor Campbell of Sternberger School.

Also Mrs. Frances H. Bartling, Mrs. Clara M. Ferrell, Miss Barbara Crupper and Mrs. Clara Scarborough, Gillespie Park School; Mrs. Jacqueline Jackson and Miss Kathryn Shields, Irving Park School; Miss Doris Smith, Peck School; Frank Hairston, Jonesboro School; Mrs. Mildred B. Robinson and Mrs. Ethel Echols, Washington Street School.

Among the new teachers in the city school system next year will be: Miss Merle Cates, Miss Rose Parrish, Miss Patsy Hiott, Mrs. Hazel Routh Madden, Miss Mary Lee Lovin, Mrs. Ruth Ernest Williams, Miss Peggy Ann Joyner, Miss Martha Anne Widenhouse, Mrs. Martha H. Williams, Miss Bette Hendrix, Miss Anne V. Sutton, Miss Betty West, Ernest D. Eppley, Miss Ann Barber, Miss Betsy Ross Brown, Mrs. Frances Green Wilder.

Also Mrs. Emma Leah Perrett, Mrs. Virginia G. Toenes, Jack Luttrell, Mrs. Eleanor Hughes, Miss Jane Howell and Mrs. Peggy Alspaugh.

Schools where they teach will be announced at a later date.

During the decade 1943-1953 Negroes were elected to boards of education in San Antonio, Tex.; Knoxville, Tenn. and Augusta, Ga.

... to county board of supervisors in Nansemond County, Va.

SOURCE: "The Southern Ne ro Vote, 1943-53," Henry Lee Moon. Paper presented July 10, 1953 at 10th Annual Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University

Little Rock
Salisbury, NC
~~Memphis, Tenn~~

R. H. KING, Associate Director
R. B. ELEAZER, Educational Director

JOHN J. EAGAN, Chairman
WILL W. ALEXANDER, Director

Mrs. LUKE JOHNSON, Director Woman's Work
Miss RUTH REED, Field Worker

ALABAMA

DR. R. R. MOTON
DR. CHAS. H. PRATT
HON. JOHN D. RATHER
MRS. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

ARKANSAS

DR. O. E. GODDARD
MR. JOHN L. HUNTER
DR. J. H. REYNOLDS

FLORIDA

MRS. MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE

GEORGIA

MR. B. G. ALEXANDER
MRS. ARCHIBALD DAVIS
DR. PLATO DURHAM
MRS. PARKER W. FISHER
MRS. ZENO I. FITZPATRICK
BISHOP J. S. FLIPPER
MRS. J. D. HAMMOND
MR. WALTER B. HILL
MRS. JOHN HOPE
DR. JOHN HOPE
MR. MARION M. JACKSON
MR. THOMAS JOHNSON
DR. M. ASHBY JONES
COL. A. R. LAWTON
MR. H. E. PERRY
HON. E. MARVIN UNDERWOOD
DR. C. B. WILMER

KENTUCKY

BISHOP GEORGE C. CLEMENT
MR. P. C. DIX
DR. JOHN H. LITTLE
DR. HENRY H. SWEETS

LOUISIANA

MR. LEO. M. FAVROT
BISHOP R. E. JONES
MR. H. F. MADISON
MR. EDGAR STERN

MARYLAND

MRS. H. M. WHARTON

MISSISSIPPI

BISHOP THEO. D. BRATTON
MR. B. W. GODFREY
DR. W. S. LEATHERS

MISSOURI

MRS. EFFIE L. CUNNINGHAM
MRS. W. C. WINSBOROUGH

NORTH CAROLINA

MRS. T. W. BICKETT
MRS. CHARLOTTE H. BROWN
MR. EARLE GODBEY
MRS. H. L. MCCRORY
MR. N. C. NEWBOLD
DR. WM. L. POTEAT
MR. J. WILSON SMITH
MR. C. C. SPAULDING

Commission
ON
Interracial Cooperation

409 PALMER BUILDING

TELEPHONE WALNUT 0352

ATLANTA, GA.

OKLAHOMA

MR. JOHN R. BOARDMAN
MR. F. M. DEERHAKE

SOUTH CAROLINA

BISHOP K. G. FINLEY
MR. T. B. LANHAM
DR. JOSIAH MORSE
MR. G. CROFT WILLIAMS
MRS. R. S. WILKINSON

TENNESSEE

DR. ISAAC FISHER
DR. EDWIN MIMS
DR. J. W. PERRY
MR. ARCH TRAWICK
DR. W. D. WEATHERFORD
MRS. W. D. WEATHERFORD

TEXAS

MR. L. A. COULTER
DR. J. E. HARDY
MR.. R. L. SMITH

VIRGINIA

MRS. JANIE PORTER BARRETT
DR. R. E. BLACKWELL
BISHOP JAMES CANNON, JR
MR. JACKSON DAVIS
DR. J. H. DILLARD
MR. HOMER L. FERGUSON
DR. JOHN M. GANDY
DR. JAMES E. GREGG
MR. M. W. LEE
DR. S. C. MITCHELL
MRS. B. B. MUNFORD
DR. J. G. VENABLE

N News

Wm R Wacker Jr
6.35
28th St Insurance Broker
relgs – friend of JSM

Darlington, SC

Episcopal clergyman

Caroline Gillespie – Hartsville
James T. Coker – Hartsville

DIRECTORY OF AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Mr. Alexander F. Miller, Director
Southern Office, ADL
11 Pryor St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. CY. 1618

Mr. Art Levin, Director
Atlanta Regional Office, ADL
11 Pryor St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. CY. 1618

Mr. Bernard Isaac, Director
New Orleans Regional Office, ADL
5342 St. Charles Ave.
New Orleans, La.
Tel. UP. 3693

Mr. Gilbert Balkin, Director
Florida Regional Office, ADL
330 Seybold Bldg.
Miami, Fla.

Mr. Theodore Freedman, Director
N. C.-Virginia Regional Office, ADL
403 E. Franklin St., Rm. 307
Richmond, Va.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Mr. Harry Alston
Southern Field Division
National Urban League
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. LA. 7262

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. WA. 2355

Mr. Levin W. Armwood
Executive Secretary
Jacksonville Urban League
610 W. Duval St.
Jacksonville 2, Fla.

Mr. W. H. Bass, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Urban League of Greater Little Rock
914 Gaines St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Charles T. Steele
Executive Secretary
Louisville Urban League
418 S. Fifth St.
Louisville 2, Ky.

Mr. J. A. McDaniel
Executive Secretary
Memphis Urban League
546 Beale Ave.
Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Walter C. Pinkston, Exec. Sec'y.
Greater Miami Urban League
340 NW 13th St.
Miami 36, Fla.

Mr. J. Westbrook McPherson, Exec. Sec'y.
New Orleans Urban League
712 N. Claiborne Ave.
New Orleans 13, La.

Mrs. Cernoria Johnson, Exec. Sec'y.
Oklahoma City Urban League
300 N. Stiles St.
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Mr. Wiley A. Hall, Exec. Sec'y.
Richmond Urban League
900 St. James St.
Richmond 20, Va.

Mr. Perry A. Taylor, Exec. Sec'y.
Tampa Urban League
1615 Lamar Ave.
Tampa 2, Fla.

RELIGIOUSLY MOTIVATED ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. B. Tartt Bell, Exec. Sec'y.
Southeast Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee
336 Church St.
Greensboro, N. C.
Tel. 3-4516

Mr. Olcutt Sanders, Exec. Sec'y.
Southwest Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee
2106 Nueces
Austin 5, Texas
Tel. 2-5522

Mr. Byron Buckeridge
American Friends Service Committee
Job Opportunities Project
2611 McKinney Ave.
Dallas, Texas

Mr. Seymour Samet, Director
Southeast Area
American Jewish Committee
213 NE 2nd Ave.
Miami, Fla.

Miss Mary Jane Willett, Correlator
Southern Region
YWCA National Board
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. AL. 2381

Miss Rosalie Oakes
YWCA National Student Council
Southern Regional Office
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. AL. 2372

Mr. Howard Kester, Exec. Sec'y.
Fellowship of Southern Churchmen
Route 1
Black Mountain, N. C.

Mr. Ernest J. Arnold, Director
Southeastern Office
National Council of the Churches
of Christ in the U. S. A.
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. CY. 8141

Rev. Edward A. Driscoll, Exec. Sec'y.
Georgia Council of Churches
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. LA 0971

Mr. C. Emerson Smith, Director
Department of Christian Social Relations
of the Virginia Council of Churches
109 W. Grace St., Rm. 202
Richmond, Va.

Miss Doris P. Dennison
General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
Department of Christian Education of Adults
810 Broadway (or P. O. Box 871)
Nashville 2, Tenn.

Mr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association Division
Congregational Christian Churches
Fisk University Office
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Mr. Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary
Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
712 Henry Grady Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Rev. A. C. Miller, Exec. Sec'y.
The Christian Life Commission of the
Southern Baptist Convention
161 - 8th Ave., N. Rm. 414
Nashville 3, Tenn.

Rev. Louis Flaherty, General Chairman
Catholic Committee of the South

Richmond, Va.

~~Rev. M. J. Ellis~~
~~Secretary of Christian Social Relations~~
~~Protestant Episcopal Church~~
~~Diocese of Atlanta~~
~~St. George Episcopal Church~~
~~Griffin, Ga.~~

Rev. Louis F. Shank
Secretary of Christian Social Relations
Protestant Episcopal Church
Diocese of Atlanta
Christ Church
Macon, Ga.

Rev. John. C. Turner
Chairman of Christian Social Relations
Protestant Episcopal Church
Province of Sewanee
Church of the Advent
Birmingham, Ala.

Mrs. J. Fount Tillman, V-Pres.
Woman's Division of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
Route 1
Lewisburg, Tenn.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Secretary
Southeast Regional Office
N. A. A. C. P.
624 Masonic Temple Bldg.
1630 Fourth Ave., N.
Birmingham, Ala.
Tel. 3-2887

Mrs. H. C. Rivkind
St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations
3245 - 20th Ave., S.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Mr. A. L. Thompson
Race Relations Adviser
Federal Housing Administration
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. WA. 8811, Ext. 21

Mr. Hubert Jackson
Race Relations Adviser
Public Housing Administration
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.
Tel. WA. 4121, Ext. 280

Mr. A. Maceo Smith
Race Relations Adviser
Federal Housing Administration
2011 N. Washington St.
Dallas 4, Texas

MISCELLANEOUS

Mrs. W. J. Moulder
Fellowship House of Knoxville
3100 Orlando St. (or P. O. Box 725)
Knoxville, Tenn.

Mrs. A. W. Plump
National Council of Negro Women
Region IV
209 - 10th Court, N.
Birmingham 4, Ala.

Rev. Wm
Crawford

Bd. of Aldermen
to
Sch. Boards

2 - Mayor
approved by
Aldermen

Rev. Kenneth R. Williams

Op. 10

Raleigh —

Foster Payne
Shaw Univ. 719 S. Blount St.

Friday aa
(3:00)

Triff — St. Augustine's 3-6401

Mrs. Lillian Parker Wallace
Meredith

Rev. Ennis Whaley (Self survey trip)
1021 Oberlin Rd

Rev. Howard Cunningham (Self-survey trip)

F. J. Carnage, Attorney
Attorney Bd Member.
Raleigh 115 1/2 E. Hargett phone - 7332
Res. 9524

V. 80

Dr. & Mrs. L. L. Carpenter
3203 Ruffin St
Raleigh. NC

Mr. & Mrs. Arthur R. Eckels
3213 Birnam Wood Rd.

Miss Eva L. Frazer
121 E. South St.

Horace Hamilton
State Coll

* Mr. W. L. Greene
115 1/2 E. Hargett St

Mr & Mrs Gurney Hood
911 W. Johnson St.

Raleigh
138 W. Martin
Auburn Johnson
100 W. Martin

John Larkins NC Welfare Dept

Dr. N C Newbold
129 W. Park Drive
(Signed AH statement
St. Dep. Ed.

Rev W. L. Parker
Hillsboro & Dawson Sts

Caroline
228 W. Hargett

Durham

James T. Taylor, NC College

W A Brown, NC College

J. S. Stewart
Mutual Bldg + Loan, Paris St
Chairman. Durham Council on Negro Affs

John Wheeler

Dr. C. Walde Scott
841 32nd St.
Newport News, Va.

Mrs. Kathleen Gaffney (worked on asst)
City-Wide Civic + Sex Club. ~~Newport News~~ not.

Hotels - Norfolk
✓ Atlantic - 111 Granby
Commodore Maury - Granby + Freemason
New Va - 108 E. Plume (near bus sta.)

G.P. Gansey
Gansey Auto Supply Co.
Darlington. SC.

551 S. Main St.

Dr. W.J. Trent (Bd Member)

Livingston College
Salisbury. NC

Rev. Cletus J. Helfrich (RC)
Sacred Heart church
128 N. Fulton St

Dr Stanley H. Smith
Dept. Soc. Livingston Coll

A.P. Campbell (soc dept)
Livingston College (Self-survey trio)

Richard Rendalman (Self-survey trio)
[in Navy with McCombs at Bennett]

or Pendalman

719 E. Olney Rd. 5-3686 Norfolk

Roanoke, Va.
Newport News,
Lynchburg,
Richmond

Apt'd by City Council ←
Community atmosphere

Goldsboro -

Trigg 8602

Raleigh ✓
Winston-Salem ✓ ~~Rev. Wade~~ ~~Campbell~~
Salisbury (Dr. Trent) ✓

OR
Kenneth R. Wms.
~~would know~~

Legislature confirms
— unanimous
in Trigg's case —
2/3 required 170.

W.Va. - Ky.

Maryland -
D.O.

11 state bds educ
met at Daytona -
Dr. Trigg there

COMMITTEES ADVISING LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS IN STATE OF _____

_____ 1956

COMMUNITY	Name of Superintendent	Method by which Committee was Established	Number of Committee Members			Additional Information or Comments
			Total	Negro	White	

September 16, 1959

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
Department of Public Affairs
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Maslow:

We are mailing you, separately, ten copies of our special report, "A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60" as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

September 16, 1959
Refer to: LRS/Librn.

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The staff of our Legislative Reference Service has asked me to request the following publication to be used in replying to inquiries from Members of Congress:

One copy of "Background Report on School Desegregation 1959-1960", and any additional material you may have available on this subject.

This publication is in addition to any which you may have already sent the Library. For your convenience, I am enclosing a self-addressed mailing label which will bring the material to the Library without further postage. We are hoping that the publication may be received either as a gift or on an exchange basis. In the event that it is not available, or available only by purchase, please notify the Service Librarian, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

We shall be most grateful for any assistance you can give us with our request.

Sincerely yours,

Nathan R. Einhorn
Act. Chief
Exchange and Gift Division

Enclosure

Mailed
9-28-59
Mga

September 28, 1959

Mrs. Edwyna D.Ones
Social Director and Counselor
Hurley Hospital
Flint, Michigan

Dear Mrs.Ones:

We are pleased to mail you today (separately) the requested copy of our "Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60".

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

September 28, 1959

Professor George E. Simpson
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

Dear Professor Simpson:

We are mailing you today (separately) the requested copy of our background report on school desegregation for 1959-60. We are also enclosing, with the background report, our latest publication on registration and voting, The Negro and the Ballot in the South.

Your name will be placed on our mailing list to receive all research publications.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

REVISED - OCTOBER 7, 1959

TOKEN DESEGREGATION
VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND TENNESSEE

VIRGINIA	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Alexandria	-	9	9
Arlington	-	4	23
Charlottesville	-	-	12
Norfolk	-	17	22
Warren County	-	21	20
	-	51	86
TENNESSEE			
Nashville	19 registered 11 completed	34 registered 28 completed	41 registered 16
State Total (includes Clinton, Oak Ridge)		82	121
NORTH CAROLINA			
Charlotte	4 *	4	1
Durham (Durham County)	-	-	7
Greensboro	6	5	6
Goldsboro (Wayne County)	-	1	14
High Point-Guilford	-	-	2
Havelock (Cherry Point, Craven County)	-	-	17
Winston Salem	1	4	7
Total	11	14	54
Total, 3 areas **	30 (registered)	147 (registered)	261 (registered)

* One withdrew after harassment

** Total includes Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., although they are not listed in the breakdown.

Board of Social and Economic Relations
The Methodist Church

PRESIDENT
BISHOP LLOYD C. WICKE
RECORDING SECRETARY
JAMES P. BRAWLEY
TREASURER
MRS. EDWARD R. BARTLETT

740 RUSH STREET
CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN 2-3707

A. DUDLEY WARD
GENERAL SECRETARY
EMERSON W. SMITH
ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

JANUARY 26, 1960

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 AUBURN AVE., N.E., ROOM 432
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GENTLEMEN:

COULD YOU SEND US A COPY OF THE SPECIAL REPORT ON THE BACKGROUND of school DESEGREGATION FOR 1959-60 WHICH YOU ISSUED AS OF AUGUST 10, 1959. IF THERE IS ANY CHARGE WE WILL BE HAPPY TO REMIT.

YOURS VERY TRULY,

SECRETARY TO MR. WARD

J:CL

sent 2-11-60
also L-15
mga

MA

505 East Seventh Street
Stuart, Florida
March 19, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send a copy of the transcript of Dr. Hansen's program.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. J. Osborn Murray

Mrs. J.Osborn Murray

4-12-60
ans. L16-17

February 23, 1961

Mr. Will Maslow
Executive Director
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Maslow:

Harold has asked me to send you what information we can in regard to your letter of February 17. On the attached sheet you will find enrollment figures for five of the ten larger cities plus two others. I don't think there is any simpler way to obtain complete coverage than by writing to the school board or superintendent in each city; I am fairly sure they would answer you promptly. We are sorry that our files are not completely satisfactory on this question, but we have never tried to keep up with these figures.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: chart

	1960 pop. city	1960 pop. SMA	SMA rank	City School Enrollment Negro	white
Houston	932,630	1,236,704	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dallas	672,424	1,071,003	2	24,951	102,469
New Orleans	621,259	861,299	5	51,113	37,490
San Antonio	583,690	682,481	7		
Memphis	491,710	619,722	9		
Atlanta	484,825	1,010,577	3	45,918	55,248
Fort Worth	347,368	557,864	10		
Birmingham	339,211	629,248	8		
Miami	284,492	921,625	4	est. 27,502 **	133,336 **
Norfolk	276,897	541,494	11	17,475	33,570
Tampa	270,685	759,780 *	6 *		
Richmond	218,486	406,601	-	22,164 **	17,980
Charlotte	200,882	270,966	-	17,200	43,800
Jacksonville	197,948	448,272	-		
Mobile	191,393	312,771	-		
Austin	185,052	210,519	-		
St. Petersburg	177,927	*	*		

* Tampa-St. Petersburg

** Miami and Charlotte figures are for whole of Dade and Mecklenburg Counties; in both cases, this is the SMA!

SOURCES: Dallas - SSN, Dec. 1960
New Orleans - SSN, Nov. 1960
Atlanta - official (figure is not enrollment, but active memberships; enrollment is 47,244 and 61,744).
Miami - SSN, Nov. 1960
Norfolk - ditto
Richmond - ditto
Charlotte - ditto

prepared for Robt. Trautman Jr.
President's Merit Employment Committee

EDUCATION

A. This table shows the level of schooling of non-white Americans, contrasted with that of all Americans.

		Total			Non-white		
		1957	1950	1940	1957	1950	1940
Percentage of all persons 25 years of age or older who have completed:	4 of more years of college	7.5	6.0	4.6	2.8	2.2	1.5
	Some college but less than 4 years	7.3	7.2	5.4	3.1	2.9	1.9
	High school, but no college	26.0	20.2	14.1	11.9	8.1	4.4
	Some high school, but less than 4 years	17.7	16.9	15.0	16.5	13.0	8.5

Source: D. J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (1959) p. 343.

B. The table above demonstrates two points: 1) The educational level of non-whites is much lower than that of whites; e.g. only about 6% of the non-whites over 25 in 1957 had any college training, whereas white enrollment was high enough to bring the national figure nearly to 15%. 2) There has been very little or no narrowing of the gap since 1940; e. g., in that year 10% of the population over 25 as a whole and 3.4% of the non-whites had been to college.

On the other hand, the table below shows that nearly as many non-whites as whites are now enrolled in school, and that there has been a distinct narrowing of this gap since 1940.

Percentage of persons enrolled in school

	White				Non-white			
Age	1959	1957	1950	1940	1959	1957	1950	1940
5-24		75.2	60.9	58.3		71.9	58.4	53.4
7-19		90.0	83.5	79.9		87.7	79.6	73.3

Source: D. J. Bogue, The Population of the United States (1959) p. 332.

(similar presentation for Income, Housing, Health, Fertility, Spending, etc.)

STATE & CITY	Number Schools	Number Negro Pupils
ARKANSAS**		
Bentonville	2	2
Charleston		8
*Dollarway	1	1
Fayetteville		31
Ft. Smith		4
Hoxie		8
Van Buren		21
Little Rock	2	12
Pulaski County		10
** All but Dollarway and Little Rock approximate numbers.		
Approximate Total		97
NORTH CAROLINA		
Yancey County (approx.)		8
*Raleigh	1	1
Charlotte		2
Greensboro		5
Winston-Salem		9
Durham		12
High Point		3
*Chapel Hill		3
Wayne County		17
Craven County		25
Approximate Total		85
TENNESSEE		
*Knoxville	8	28
Anderson County (Clinton)	1	14
Rutherford County	2	1959:14
Nashville	10	159
Smyrna	1	12
*Knox County-all first grades opened to Negroes		0
Oak Ridge, (approx.)	2	1959:100
Approximate Total		327

* Desegregated for first time

STATE & CITY	Number Schools	Number Negro Pupils
FLORIDA		
Miami	4**	27
Total		27
** One of the four, Orchard Villa, has 802 Negro children and 1 white. It is not included in column showing number of Negro children.		
TEXAS		
*Houston	3	11
130 Districts		
Estimated Total		3,500
VIRGINIA		
*Grayson-Galax**	1	7
*Richmond	1	2
*Roanoke	3	9
*Pulaski County	1	13
Charlottesville	2	20
Norfolk	6	23
Alexandria	6	26
*Fairfax County	8	24
Arlington	7	45
Warren County	1	17
Floyd	2	19
		205
** Grayson-Galax are two separate districts, but are considered as one by Southern School News.		

CITIES HAVING SIMILAR PUPIL PLACEMENT PLANS TO THAT OF ATLANTA

CHARLOTTE, N. C. (1957-58 term)

5 Negro students assigned to four all-white schools:
- 1 - Harding Senior High (only trouble occurred here)
- 1 - Central High
- 2 - Alexander Graham Jr. High
- 1 - Piedmont Junior High

According to CCR Report on Education, for 1958-59 term the board of education where possible put more than one Negro in a white school. Life becomes "mighty lonesome," as one respondent observed, when a student is the only one of his race in a school of 1,400.

DURHAM, N. C. (1959 by voluntary action of school board; pupil placement)

For the 1958-59 year, four out of 172 school districts were desegregated. For 1960-61, this was increased to 10 out of 170.

Eight of 225 requests for transfers were approved in 1958-59:
- 2 - high schools
- 2 each to 3 junior high schools
- (before school opened, two junior high students moved and were reassigned to Negro schools; 2 weeks after school opened, one Negro girl--plaintiff in a pending suit)--also was assigned to the high school.)

Thus: 7 Negro pupils were in four formerly white schools during 1959-60 year.

1960-61 year there were 206 applications of which 7 were granted, making 12 Negro pupils in the formerly all which schbols for 1960-61.

HIGH POINT, N. C. (1959-60)

13 applications; 2 were granted.
- 1 - junior high with 1,325 white students
- 1 - senior high with 1,450 white students

1960-61: 13 requests; only one granted

SOUTH CAROLINA: Catholic Bishops have vowed desegregation of parochial schools "not later thanpublic schools are open to all pupils."

St. Anne's parochial school has 12 Negro pupils in a total enrollment of 90. (Rock Hill)

Turks have requested court order to enter white schools in Sumter County, S. C.

VIRGINIA: Action by U. S. Attorney General Kennedy to close Virginia public schools unless Prince Edward schools are reopened. Probably many months or year before decision by Supreme Court.

7,261 pupil grants oked this current year, and increase over 4,768 last year. = $1,644,749.30 = $972,878.28 State
671,871.02 local

North Virginia school officials have approved 183 applications of Negro students for transfer to predominantly white schools for 1961-62 year (double 1960-61).

Only Alexandria in No. Va. has not adopted a local assignment policy now permitted under State Board of Education rules.

	1960-61		1961-62	reject
Alexandria	26 Negroes in w. schools			
Arlington*	44	(8 schools)	104	14
Fairfax	27	(16 schools)	76	10
Falls Church*	(Mason$_1$ elem., Mason$_2$ High)		3	0

*In Arlington, Gunston and Swanson Jr. Hi schools desegregated for first time this fall.

*Falls Church deseg. for first time, only 3 applicants, all three accepted.

10 Negro children seeking assignment in Charlottesville lost effort to have federal appeals court order them admitted--4-14-61. U.S.Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge John Paul criticized the application of the city's desegregation plan and said it violated the fights of the Negro children, but that (the court) it would not <u>at this time</u> upset the plan.

ALABAMA: rumor (thru student) of attempt this fall to integrate U. of Alabama.

ARKANSAS: The 8th U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled (3-2-61) that the Little Rock, Arkansas school board must speed up desegregation of the city's schools.

The court held that the constitutional rights of Negro pupils had been violated by procedures used in making assignments to various schools under the Arkansas Pupil Placement Act.

"...as we approach the 1961-62 school year, sufficient time has elapsed to compel affirmative action in this regard to the end that there may be integration in more than a token fashion."

FACT SHEET FOR OASIS DISCUSSION LEADERS

1. Must Atlanta desegregate its schools?

   There is no legal way to maintain a segregated public school system in Atlanta. The reason is pointedly stated by the Sibley Committee's Majority Report: in 1954 the United States Supreme Court ruled that separate schools are inherently unequal, and therefore, unconstitutional. The decision exists; it is binding on the lower federal courts; it will be enforced. The U. S. District Court has enjoined racial discrimination in the Atlanta public schools. There are no delaying tactics which have not been attempted and overruled; there is no alternative.

2. What are the provisions of the Atlanta plan?

   In 1961-62, pupil assignment in the 11th & 12th grades will be made without regard to race or color. In each successive year the plan will be expanded to the immediate lower grade, until all grades are included.

   Current assignments will continue unless transfers are directed or approved by the City Superintendent of Schools or his representatives.

   Certain criteria, known as the "Pupil Placement" program will determine transfers:

   available room & teaching capacity
   transportation facilities
   effect of new pupils on academic programs
   effect of new pupils on academic standards
   effect of new pupils on academic progress of other students
   scholastic aptitude & relative intelligence of pupil
   adequacy of academic preparation of pupil
   psychological qualification of pupil
   psychological effect upon pupil
   ability of pupil to conform to new educational environment
   morals, conduct, health and personal standards of pupil
   suitability of curricula for pupil
   choice & interests of pupil
   home environment of pupil
   request or consent to transfer of parents, & reasons therefor
   maintenance or severance of established relationships of pupil with other pupils & teachers
   possibility or threat of friction or disorder
   possibility of breaches of peace or ill will

3. How is the Atlanta plan being applied?

   Applications for transfer to be obtained from Superintendent's office by applicant, his parent or guardian; when completed, forms to be notarized and returned to student's principal, during period May 1 - 15.

Data to be submitted to Area Superintendent, who then schedules an interview with student and parents (this year, interviews were held with selected number of students after tests administered) and arranges for series of tests (standardized achievement tests, aptitude tests, and personality adjustment test). This information, along with a report of the characteristics of the school to which transfer is requested shall then be transmitted to the Deputy Superintendent.

A Student Transfer Reviewing Committee, including the Deputy Superintendent, one or more Area Superintendents, the AssistantSupt for Pupil Personnel Services (or Director of Psychological Services the Assistant Superintendent for Instructional Services (or Director of Instruction), and any other personnel that may be considered desirable, shall meet to study the completed folder of each student. Interviews with the student may be scheduled at the discretion of the Deputy Superintendent.

Recommendations of this Reviewing Committee will be submitted to the Superintendent.

Notice of action taken on transfers will be mailed to parents or guardians within thirty days or not later than June 15th, and will be final, unless the action is appealed.

4. What are the provisions for appeal of a denied transfer?

Appeals are to be made in writing within ten days of the mailing of the notice of action. The Board may conduct hearings if it desires. Every appeal shall be concluded by the Board before September 1st. Any person dissatisfied with the final decision of the Board may appeal to the State Board of Education.

5. What have been the developments in other cities that have adopted grade-a-year plans?

Nashville - In 1957, Nashville began desegregation with the first grade under a court-approved plan. Grades one through four are now desegregated, with 159 Negro children presently enrolled in 10 predominantly white schools. This number is only about one-third of the Negro children eligible by residence to attend white schools; the others requested and were granted transfers to all-Negro schools. Last year only 44 Negro pupils were registered in predominantly white schools; in 1958-59, there were 34, and in 1957-58, there were 19. Surrounding Davidson County desegregated its first four grades in 1960-61, and 41 Negro students are now in interracial classes there.

Knoxville & Houston - In 1960-61, non-discriminatory school assignment was begun in Knoxville and Houston. In Knoxville, 28 Negro students attend white schools; in Houston, there are 12 Negro students attending white schools.

6. How many Negro pupils are attending previously all-white schools?

Although it has been seven years since the Supreme Court decision, there are now only 4,313 Negro children in the previously all-white schools of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee,

Texas and Virginia. This figure represents 169 school districts, desegregated between 1956-60. In North Carolina, for example, four years after desegregation, there are only 2 Negro children in school with white children in Charlotte, 9 in Winston-Salem, and 5 in Greensboro. Although efforts to limit the desegregation to a "token" number of Negroes may be responsible for this minimal total in some districts, "token" desegregation is not the procedure of the majority of these school boards. The following figures show that the total has increased by less than 1,000 in five years.

NEGROES IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

State	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
Arkansas	34	91	73	94	113
Florida	0	0	0	512 c	27
North Carolina	0	11	14	34	82
Tennessee	6 a	19 a	82	169	383
Texas	3,400	3,600	3,250	3,300	3,500
Virginia	0	0	30	103	208
Total	3,440 a	3,721 a	3,449	4,212	4,313

a - plus Oak Ridge
c - only a handful of whites stayed with 490 Negroes in the racially changing neighborhood of Orchard Villa school near Miami.

7. Will desegregation result in lowering of academic standards?

In March 1959, administrators of 17 desegregated school systems participated in a conference held at Nashville before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Not one of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question reported that desegregation had harmed the academic progress of white students, or had lowered academic standards. Following are excerpts from some of their testimony:

Dr. Ward I. Miller, Supt. of Schools, Wilmington, Del.

.... (We have) over the last 4 years developed our grouping program to a point where we classify our youngsters according to performance and scholastic achievement, and those standards are set for each particular track on which the youngsters run. The accomplishment of the average white student is better than it was. The accomplishment of the above average and the advance placement and honor classes is truly remarkable...

Question: In other words, what you are saying is that there has been no diminution of quality resulting from this integration.

Dr. Miller: We feel it is better.

Mr. William Henry Oliver, Supt. of Schools, Nashville, Tenn.

...Our children are all in school, and are, we believe, achieving normal success in their studies...
... I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together.

Dr. John H. Fischer, then Supt. of Schools, Baltimore, Md.

... There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.

The Late Dr. Omer Carmichael, Supt. of Schools, Louisville, Ky.

... Now, you asked, if I got your question, in the desegregation, what, if any, changes, we have observed. It happens that one of our principals on sabbatical leave last year wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to scholarship or to achievement of pupils in a school system in the process of desegregating. His findings can be summarized in about this statement, that there was definite improvement in the 2-year period in the achievement of both races. The achievement of the Negro children increased markedly more than did the achievement of the white children....there was certainly improvement, and it is statistically significant for the Negro at all levels, and the white did not suffer. The white slightly improved, but not as much as the Negro.

None of these communities employed pupil assignment criteria which might have selected for desegregation the Negro students with the highest academic standings. That is, desegregation affected all Negro students, both those of highest and lowest achievement, with transfers made solely on the basis of school districts.

In Washington, D. C. where citywide pupil testing immediately after desegregation revealed that many Negro pupils lagged far behind white children in school achievement, findings on five years of public school desegregation (published as "Addendum: A Five Year Report" by District School Supt. Carl F. Hansen) reveal:

Integration has not retarded the advancement of high-quality students, Negro or white, and educational standards in the District public schools, when examined in relation to students' preparation and ability for learning, are high.

City-wide averages on standardized tests have climbed steadily since desegregation to approach -- and in some instances match or surpass -- national norms, Mr. Hansen reports.

8. Does desegregation create new disciplinary problems?

The Superintendent of the Washington, D. C. school district reports ("Addendum"), "serious incidents that seem to be primarily racial in origin are relatively infrequent. The records of the central school office reveal reports of few such cases."

Statistics show that "juvenile delinquency as reported in cases per thousand between 1954 and 1958 has decreased, although data for 1958-59, not yet available in cases per thousand, shows an increase over the year before....The District of Columbia Commissioners' 1959 report... reveals the following delinquency

rates for children 5 to 17:

> For non-white children a decline from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 cases in 1958.
> For white children, 15.3 cases per thousand in 1954 to 15.2 cases in 1958."

Dr. Hansen concludes from these data: "The schools do not claim credit for this development. But one conclusion is clear: Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency."

How behavioral problems have been affected by desegregation in some localities is shown in the following excerpts from the report of the Commission on Civil Rights:

> Dr. Omer Carmichael, the Louisville Superintendent, stated that in his desegregated schools there had been somewhat greater difficulty in matters of discipline, due more to the emotional reaction to desegregation than anything else, but that it had been substantially less than he had feared.
>
> In the Baltimore schools, Dr. John H. Fischer...has found no problems attributable to race as such...: "...No Negro child has ever brought into any of our schools a problem that had not already been presented somewhere by a white child. Nor has any white child been able to claim much originality for his race in inventing new forms of misbehavior. We find that these are a function of the child's total life-situation and are always due to a number of factors. It is never possible to explain a child's behavior simply in terms of his race, or to classify children's problems on a racial basis."

9. Will desegregation result in increased health problems in the schools?

In a study conducted by Phi Delta Kappa, an honorary international education fraternity, teachers of mixed schools reported that:

> Negroes coming from a low socio-economic group have health problems, but not in any greater proportion than whites of the same background. According to teachers, most Negro parents send their children to school so scrubbed they shine. Negro parents are evidently conscious of white people's stereotypes and try thus to change them.
>
> St. Louis and Baltimore school superintendents reported that desegregation did not create any new or difficult health problems.

10. Will school desegregation lead to intermarriage?

Dr. Hansen's report on five years of desegregation in Washington states that "...considering the extent of desegregation here,

and the limited number of intermarriages following school attendance together -- one confirmed, two rumored -- it is unlikely that proximity in school has contributed significantly to interracial marriages. This fear that proximity in school will induce intermarriage seems not to have been realized." The Washington experience supports the findings of psychiatrists and social scientists; after investigation it has been concluded that no evidence exists to prove that desegregation of the schools and the mixing of white and Negro children in and of themselves lead to intermarriage.

The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP) has stated:

> The many factors that determine fluctuations in the rate of racial intermarriage are far from clear. In Boston, where legal school desegregation has been in effect for decades, there was a relatively high rate in the years immediately after 1900 and a marked decrease in the next decades despite a constant ratio of Negroes to the total population. In urban New York State, other than New York City, the ratio climbed between 1916 to 1924 and then dropped steadily for the next ten years. No satisfactory explanation for this shift has been established. The facts conclude that legal school desegregation per se does not influence the rate of intermarriage in ways that are yet predictable.

GAP, drawing on available evidence, observes that "The expectation voiced by many people that school desegregation will result in a great rise in the rate of intermarriage seems to be an expression of their bias and fear, rather than a reliable prediction."

The Committee on School Desegregation of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues arrives at the same conclusion:

> One ungrounded fear is that intermarriage will result from desegregation. Statistics show that in parts of the United States where there has been no segregation, intermarriage is a rare thing indeed... Fear of something new and different makes many otherwise reasonable people believe such myths and discount contradicting facts....

11. Will there be disturbances in Atlanta this fall?

No one can predict with certainty what will happen; however, incidents of violence in connection with school desegregation have, in fact, been few indeed, both within schools and in the community. In only seven instances has the situation become so explosive that a real crisis threatened or major violence occurred; these incidents are spread over the seven years in which 778 school districts have desegregated -- proof that violence is not an inevitable effect of school desegregation. There is no example of sustained disturbances where public officials and law enforcement personnel have taken a firm and

early position in support of law and order. In Atlanta, both the Mayor and the Chief of Police have promised the people of the city that no disturbance of the peace of the community will be tolerated.

12. Do white people move away from desegregated school districts?

This question is usually raised by citation of the majority report of the House sub-committee (the Davis Committee) which in 1956 investigated the Washington, D. C. schools. The majority report deplored the preponderance of Negro pupils in Washington schools, asserting that "just a few years ago" 59,582 white students and 33,498 Negroes were enrolled. It was later discovered from enrollment records that "just a few years ago" was November 1, 1935, and that the date marked an all-time high in white enrollment in the District schools. In fact, the change in racial composition in Washington began some 20 years before the Supreme Court's decision, a product of a national trend -- a movement to "suburbia" by whites, and an influx of rural non-whites into the downtown central city areas. There have been conspicuous growths, for example, in the Negro populations of Atlanta, Charleston and Nashville during the last two decades. Yet only one of these three cities has a desegregated school system. Richmond had a 42% Negro enrollment in 1953-54, but in 1959-60, Negroes comprised 54% of the total school enrollment; Richmond schools were not desegregated until September 1960.

13. Did not the Davis Report show that desegregation led to serious problems in Washington, D. C.?

The majority report of the Davis Committee presented so questionable a picture of the effects of desegregation in Washington that a recap of some of the facts is in order. The subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, created by a vote of only 11 of the 25 members of the larger committee, was chaired by Rep. James C. Davis of Georgia; the majority report of its "findings" and "recommendations" was signed by only four of its six members, all Southerners. Two of its members submitted a minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Editorially, all three of Washington's daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation. The Washington Evening Star, for example, stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

When asked, during the course of the hearings, if integration had been carried out "smoothly and without incident," the then Asst. Supt. of District Schools, Dr. Carl Hansen, testified: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment." Various subsequent investigations have confirmed Dr. Hansen's observation. The Richmond Times Dispatch, for example, sent staff reporter Larry Weekley to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years," Weekley wrote on Feb. 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife."

14. What is the cost of violence and tension to a community?

Intangible costs aside, this question can be answered by a look at cold cash losses in communities tolerating violence and tension. Because of its school crisis, Little Rock lost, at lowest estimates, five new industrial plants worth a million dollars and employing a total of 300 persons. Not one single commitment for location of a new factory in the city was signed from the day Gov. Faubus ordered National Guard troops to block the entry of Negroes to Central High until after stability was restored two years later. The Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, and other responsible sources attribute the halt in Little Rock's booming industrial growth to racial tensions and uncertainty in connection with public schools.

Department store sales in New Orleans, already running low, declined sharply as segregationist demonstrations and racial clashes hit the city in November 1960. New Orleans' largest department store, for example, reported a 20% to 30% drop in sales during the first week of near-riots -- a drop which necessitated a 50% slash in advertising outlays, and a halt in buying merchandise. Even loan companies were hurt: "Business has stopped cold," one reported, citing a 50-60% decrease in money loaned. Racial tension sparks a chain reaction of economic losses. Interruptions and stoppages of vital production are also probable -- as in the rubber manufacturing plants in and around Tuscaloosa, Ala. during riots protesting a desegregation attempt at the state university. When mobs gathered as Negro students marched to the state Capitol in 1960, Georgia taxpayers paid for "$75,000 in lost man and woman hours of state employes who left their jobs to watch the demonstration or to see that it did not come off," State Auditor Thrasher reported -- the latter reference to state troopers, who were stationed around Capitol grounds.

Business losses as a result of retaliatory boycotts and counter boycotts, losses from destruction of property, public monies spent to maintain national guard forces: when violence has been permitted, these have been items on the bill.

Les - Looks quite comprehensive. How about adding McGill's collection of editorials ("A Church... A School") and for #27 the AFSC pamphlet?

****
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 5-16-60

To: _____ From: LWD

Subject: _____

To any of the following who can give the attached selected bibliography 30 minutes prompt study, others, please pass on.

The reading list has already gone to the printer. I am sure, however, that the galleys can be revised for any desirable changes. Uncovering suggestions for other many topics is not easy, & we'll be grateful for any help.

For that matter, consider also whether the "For Further Reading" list is a good idea. Should it be entirely cut out?

PR ✓ PA [redacted]
HF ✓ MM ✓ MA
JC EW

The questions are in the right attachment. Let me know any readings you think should be added or deleted. (John has deleted a few asterisks)

FOR FURTHER READING

(Readings marked with asterisk are available from the Southern Regional Council, either free or at a small charge, for as long as supplies last.)

delete column

For ~~More Information~~ on Question Number:	Read
1.	* J. T. Fey, "Segregation in the Schools," New South, September, 1954.
	* R. A. Leflar, What the Supreme Court Said (reprinted from Southern School News, June, 1955).
	* Cecil Sims, "The Segregation Decision: A Lawyer's View"; in Three Views of the Segregation Decision.
2.	Senator J. S. Cooper, "The Role of Public Officials"; in Notre Dame Lawyer, Symposium, 1959.
	* M. A. Wright, Public Ethics and the Integration Question.
	* Attorney-General Malcolm Seawell of North Carolina, "North Carolina at Crossroad," New South, January, 1959.
	* Irving Carlyle, "Law is to be Obeyed," New South, January, 1957.
3.	* Charles Fairman, "The Attack on the Segregation Cases," New South, May, 1957 (reprinted from Harvard Law Review, November, 1956).
	(a) * "A Chronology of Principal Cases on Segregation," New South, October, 1959.
	C. H. Pritchett, "The Supreme Court and Segregation," Concern, December 25, 1959.
4.	The American Jewish Congress issues an annual summary and analysis of The Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court; these have been prepared for the 1956-57, 1957-58, 1958-59 terms.
	See also 3 (a), 8 (a)

5. See Aaron v. Cooper, page ___ this pamphlet.

6. * Attorney-General W. P. Rogers, "U. S. Policy on Desegregation," New South, October, 1958.

7. * Sidney Hook, Democracy and Desegregation (available from the Tamiment Institute, 7 East 15th, N. Y. 3, N. Y.).

8. (a) * A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60, SRC Special Report (also, same for 1958-59).

(b) A series of valuable field reports has been published by the Anti-Defamation League; subjects: Sturgis, Ky.; Clinton, Tenn.; Beaumont and Mansfield, Tex.

* G. B. Johnson, "New Ways on the Campus," New South, February, 1955.

Southern School News, April, 1960.

* Helen Fuller, "Southerners and Schools," (a series of articles from the New Republic, January-February, 1959).

H. C. Fleming and John Constable, What's Happening in School Integration, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 244.

9. * A. M. Secrest, "Moderation Is Key to South's Dilemma," New South, February, 1960.

See 10 (a)

10. (a) * D. R. Green and Warren Gauerke, If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan.

Excerpts from remarks of Assistant Attorney-General Odum of Florida, SRC Report L-7.

11. * Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools?, a statement of 33 Southern educators.

* L. A. Thompson, "Virginia Education Crisis and Its Economic Aspects," New South, February, 1959.

* Jim Montgomery, The Economic Effect of School Closing.

* Save Our Schools, A Roundup of Southern Press Opinion.

* SRC Reports L-2, L-3, L-4, L-5, L-7, L-10, L-11, L-14: all of these short reports deal with the economic effects of the schools crisis.

Little Rock Report, by the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools (condensed in SRC Report L-11).

12. * Jane Reif, Crisis in Norfolk

* W. M. Lightsey, The Virginia Committee for Public Schools.

* Nat Griswold, "Arkansans Organize for Public Schools," New South, June, 1959.

* Paul Rilling, "Virginians Support Public Schools," New South July-August, 1959.

* "Georgians Resist Closed Schools," New South, April, 1959.

13. (a) * Herbert Wey and John Corey, Action Patterns in School Desegregation.

14. * K. B. Clark, "Observations on Little Rock," New South, June, 1959.

(a) J. D. Grambs, A Guide to School Integration, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 255.

* SRC Policy Statement, December 6, 1959.

15. See 13 (a)

16. (a) * C. S. Johnson, "A Southern Negro's View of the South," New York Times Magazine, September 23, 1956. (Excerpts reprinted in New South, December, 1956.)

* B. E. Mays, "Why an Atlanta School Suit?" New South, October, 1950.

* J. N. Popham, "The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox," New York Times Magazine, December 1, 1957 (reprints available from SRC).

(b) * M. A. Wright, The Southern Dilemma.

(c) * J. M. Dabbs, "The South's Man Across the Table," New South, June, 1957.

(d) * H. V. Richardson, "What the Negro Wants," New South, January, 1956.

J. H. Robinson, ed., Love of this Land. 1956. Philadelphia: Christian Education Press.

See also 24 (a)

17. * F. J. Stallings, Racial Differences in Academic Achievement.

* Excerpts from remarks of Omer Carmichael, SRC Report L-13.

* Desegregation and Academic Achievement, SRC Report L-17

* Erwin Knoll, The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools.

* The "Davis Report" and the Truth About the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C., SRC Report L-6.

* The Washington School Story, SRC Special Report.

* The Louisville School Story, SRC Special Report.

18. * New South, November, 1956 contains several authoritative statements on biological traits.

* Race and Intelligence, SRC Report L-8.

R. D. North, "The Intelligence of American Negroes," Research Reports, (published by the Anti-Defamation League).

19. * Margaret Dages, "Teacher Integration in St. Louis," New South, December, 1955.

A. W. Spruill, "The New Teacher in the Process of Desegregation of Schools," Journal of Negro Education, Winter, 1960.

20. See 21 (a).

21. (a) * Journal of Negro Education, Yearbook Number, Summer, 1959.

22. Milton Mayer, "The Issue is Miscegenation," The Progressive, September, 1959.

See also 23 (a).

23. * "Migration and Desegregation," New South, November, 1959.

(a) The Myths of Racial Integration (published by the American Jewish Congress).

24. * W. D. Campbell, "The Role of Religion in Segregation Crisis," New South, January, 1960.

(c) Race and Conscience in America, a review prepared for the American Friends Service Committee.

* M. A. Wright, Segregation versus the Space Age.

* A Mike Wallace Interview with James McBride Dabbs.

* M. L. King, Jr. "The Current Crisis in Race Relations," New South, March, 1958 (reprinted from Presbyterian Outlook, February 10, 1958).

(a) * B. E. Mays, "The Moral Aspects of Segregation," in Three Views of the Segregation Decisions.

(b) Harry Fleischman, Let's Be Human, 1960. N. Y. Oceana.

See also 16 (a), (b), (c), (d); 27 (a).

25. * G. B. Johnson, "The Impending Crisis of the South," New South, May, 1953.
See also 24 (b).

26. (a) * ~~E. Roy~~ LeRoy Collins, The South and the Nation.

Merrimon Cunniggim, "The Southern Temper," New South, July-August 1958 (reprinted from Perkins School of Theology Journal, Spring, 1958.

* George Mitchell, Map Talk

R. W. Patrick, Race Relations in the South, 1958 (available from Florida State Teachers Asso., Box 1211, Tallahassee).

27. * Statements of several ministerial groups have been reprinted and are available on request.

(a) * C. C. Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension.

* Ralph McGill, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," New York Times Magazine, September 27, 1959.

Y. M-J. Congar, The Catholic Church and the Race Question (published by UNESCO).

See also 27 (c).

28. Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence, a report of the American Friends Service Committee, National Council of the Churches of Christ, and the Southern Regional Council.

* Marge Manderson, "Solid South...Or Else," New South, April, 1960.

* M. A. Wright, Public Ethics and the Integration Question.

* Wilma Dykeman and James Stokeley, "McCarthyism Under the Magnolias," The Progressive, July, 1959.

See also 8 (b).

29. * T. C. Cothran, "The South's Potential and Responsibility for National and World Leadership," New South, June, 1960.
* H C Fleming, "A Southern View of the South" etc

See also 26 (a).

30. ~~(a)~~
* H. F. Williams, "The Moderate," New South, October, 1959.

See also 14 (a).

For longer reading, SRC recommends:

H. S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools. 1954. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

H. S. Ashmore, An Epitaph for Dixie. 1957. N. Y.: W. W. Norton.

W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South. 1941. N. Y.: Knopf.

J. M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage. 1958. N. Y.: Knopf.

Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, Neither Black Nor White. 1957. N. Y.: Rinehart.

Jack Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law. 1959. N. Y.: Columbia University.

Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective. 1959. N. Y.: Harper.

Brooks Hays, A Southern Moderate Speaks. 1959. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

C. S. Johnson, A Preface to Racial Understanding. 1936. N. Y.: Friendship.

J. W. Johnson, Negro American, What Now? 1934. N. Y.: Viking.

V. O. Key, Southern Politics. 1950. N. Y.: Knopf.

Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma. 1944. N. Y.: Harper.

W. H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition and Regional Progress. 1960. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

H. W. Odum, Southern Regions. 1936. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

William Peters, The Southern Temper. 1959. Garden City: Doubleday.

Saunders Redding, The Lonesome Road. 1959. Garden City: Doubleday.

Don Shoemaker, ed., With All Deliberate Speed. 1957. N. Y.: Harper.

Lilliam Smith, Now is the Time. 1955. N. Y.: Dell.

C. V. Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow. 1955. N. Y.: Oxford.

Inserts for Suggested Reading:

Number

1. (after Sims) See also 3 (b).

2. (after Carlyle) See also 3 (b).

3. (after Pritchett) (b) Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg, Citizens Guide to DeSegregation, 1955. Boston. Beacon.

17. (after Louisville School Story) C. F. Hansen, Addendum: A Five-Year Report (published by the Anti-Defamation League).

18. (after North) See also 21 (b), 24 (c), 30 (a).

20. (delete See 21 (a) and insert) See 21 (a), (b); 30 (a).

21. (after Journal of Negro Education) (b) Children, Together (published by the American Jewish Congress).

See also 30 (a).

22. (delete See also 23 (a) and insert) See also 23 (a), 30 (a).

24. (delete Race & Conscience in America)

(after Fleischman) (c) Marie Jahoda, "What Is Prejudice?" Look, May 24, 1960.

(d) Race and Conscience in America, a review prepared for the American Friends Service Committee.

27. (after Congar) See also 27 (d).

30. (after Williams) (a) * Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation (this is a shortened and simplified version of an earlier report issued by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry).

R. A. Goldwin and Don Shoemaker, The Case of the Lively Ghost (available from the American Foundation for Political Education, 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago 3, Ill.).

R. B. McNeill, A Georgia Minister Offers a Solution for the South (available from the American Jewish Committee).

(delete See also 14 (a) and insert) See also 14 (a), 21 (b).

William Peters, The Story Nobody Tells You About the South (available from the American Jewish Committee).

Insertion "For Larger Reading"

Ralph McGill, A Church, A School. 1959. Nashville: Abingdon.

Insert for No. 28: Who are the "extremists?"

see below:

The extremists are those who advocate or employ intimidation or violence to deny the rights of others. No one who advocates compliance in good faith with rhe law, or who seeks the vindication of roghts through peaceful means, can be validly called an extremist.

In 1960, Congress enacted further provisions to guard voting rights. The Act of 1960 also tightens up the law against bombing and dynamiting of property; authorizes direct federal educational programs for children of military personnel if their public schools are closed; and makes more firm the authority of federal judges to prevent interference from any source with their orders.

THE QUESTIONS

1. What did the Supreme Court rule in Brown v. Topeka ?
2. Does the Supreme Court's decision represent the "law of the land ?"
3. Was the decision in Brown v. Topeka a sharp break with the past ?
4. What other points of law have been decided since 1955 ?
5. What about the "states' rights" argument against the School Segregation decision ?
6. What have Congress and the President done to support civil rights ?
7. Does desegregation violate the freedom of association ?
8. What progress has been made toward desegregation of public schools?
9. What is the prospect for schools not yet desegregated ?
10. Are private schools a realistic substitute for public schools ?
11. Who loses when the schools are closed to avoid desegregation ?
12. How successful have "save our schools" committees been?
13. What are some of the desegregation plans which have been adopted?
14. What is "token desegregation?"
15. What are the requirements of a good desegregation plan?
16. Why do Negroes want desegregated schools?
17. Will desegregation lower academic standards?
18. Are there differences in intelligence between the Caucasian and Negro races?
19. Will Negro teachers lose their jobs when schools are desegregated?
20. Is it reasonable to delay integration because Negroes have a high crime and disease rate?
21. Will desegregated schools cause juvenile delinquency and school behavior problems to increase?

22. Do desegregated schools lead to interracial marriages?

23. Do recent population trends have a meaning for school integration?

24. What is wrong with school segregation?

25. Did the decision "set back" race relations?

26. Is there a "solid South?"

27. What have church groups said?

28. Who are the "extremists?"

29. How does the racial issue affect the international relations of the United States?

30. What can we do in our communities to help effect harmonious social change?

CONTENTS

Page

Foreword . . . . . .

The Questions . . . . . .

The Discussions . . . . . .

Court Decisions:

Brown v. Topeka, First Decision .

Brown v. Topeka, Second Decision .

Cooper v. Aaron (partial text) . .

James v. Almond (partial text) . .

Suggestions for further reading . . .

File - Information Reports

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Sept. 1957

I. Statistics:

A. Population, Standard Metropolitan Area, 1950 Census:
1. Total: 558,928
2. White: 350,312
3. Non-white: 208,616
4. 1940 Total: 459,930

B. Population, City of Birmingham, 1950 Census:
1. Total: 326,037
2. White: 195,922
3. Non-white: 130,115
4. 1940 Total: 267,583
5. 1956 Estimated Total: 345,000 (Rand-McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide)

C. Median School Years Completed (1950):
1. Male, 25 years old and older, City of Birmingham: 9.1
2. Female, 25 years old and older, City of Birmingham: 9.6

D. Median Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals (1950):
1. Standard Metropolitan Area: $2,426.00
2. City of Birmingham: $2,423.00

E. Jefferson County:
1. Total Population, 1950 : 558,928
2. Urban Population, 1950: 448,546
3. Rural Population, 1950: 110,382
4. Estimated population, 1956: 594,500 (Rand-McNally Atlas-Guide)

II. Principal Manufacturers:
Cement products, chemicals, clay products, clothing, heating equipment, machinery, paints and varnishes, steel and iron products, textile-mill products, wood products.

III. ~~Public Officials:~~

No longer in office

~~A. Mayor: James W. Morgan (until October, 1957)~~
~~B. Police Chief: Jamie Moore~~
~~C. Superintendent of Schools: Doctor L. Frazer Banks~~

IV. Newspapers:

A. Birmingham Post-Herald
1. Editor: James E. Mills

B. Birmingham News
1. Editor: Charles A. Fell

V. Previous Desegregation

June, 1959

ALABAMA

Table of Contents | Page

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA
- A. Population 1
- B. Income 2
- C. Education 3

II. FORCES RESISTANT TO DESEGREGATION
- A. Statements of Public Officials 4
- B. Major Official Action Designed to Preserve Segregation 5-6
- C. Private Organizations 7
- D. Groups Organized to Preserve Segregation 7-8-9

III. FORCES SUPPORTING CIVIL RIGHTS, DESEGREGATION
- A. Anti-KKK, Anti-Violence Laws 10-11
- B. Organizations 11

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES
- A. Education 12
- B. Elections and Appointments 13
- C. Employment 14
- D. Health and Medical Care 15
- E. Housing 15
- F. Jury 16
- G. Law Enforcement 16
- H. Organizations 17
- I. Public Accommodations 17
- J. Recreation 18
- K. Suffrage 19
- L. Transportation 20-21
- M. Violence, Intimidation, Reprisal 22-23

A L A B A M A

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA:

A. Population

	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
1957 *	3,308,656	2,272,813	1,035,843	31.3
1950 **	3,061,743	2,079,591	982,152	32.1
Urban	1,340,937	886,717	454,220	33.9
Rural	1,720,806	1,192,874	527,932	30.7
Urban as % of Total	43.8	42.7	46.2	

* - Estimate
** - U. S. Census, 1950

B. Income (Median Income, 1949, persons over 14, U. S. Census)

	Total	White	Negro
Alabama	$1,102.	$1,455.	$616.
United States	1,917.	2,053.	952.

C. Education (Median School Years Completed by Persons over 25, U.S. Census, 1950.)

	White	Non-white
Alabama	8.8	5.4
United States	9.7	6.9

II. Forces Resistant to Desegregation

A. Statements of Public Officials:

U. S. Senator Lister Hill: "It is shocking that the court should now reverse the able judges of the past and over-rule their decisions" (in reaction to the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision). In 1957 Senator Hill expressed his feeling that Court would change its decision, commenting, "I have seen the Supreme Court change its position before."

Governor John Patterson: "We will continue our fight with every power at our command, to preserve states' rights and maintain segregation of the races." (November, 1958), on election to the governorship.) During his campaign, documentary evidence forced Patterson to acknowledge the Grand Dragon of the Alabama K.K.K. as a friend and associate. He refused to repudiate Grand Dragon or Klan votes.

Senator Sam Engelhardt (Macon County): On the Supreme Court ruling of 1955: "No brick will ever be removed from our segregation walls." On Civil Rights Act of 1957: "If that civil rights commission comes down here and forces mass registration of unqualified Negroes, there'll be bloodshed. Why, we'd have niggers in office. Can you imagine being arrested by a nigger sheriff?"

Former Lt. Governor Guy Hardwick: "And I predict that they (white people) will refuse to employ, feed, clothe or otherwise aid or assist Negroes, if the latter insist in disrupting and upsetting our way of life in Alabama..." Mr. Hardwick spoke in regard to 1957 federal civil rights legislation. He predicted a total boycott of Negroes by whites if "Congress passes this outrageous civil rights bill and the Negroes attempt to avail themselves of its provisions." (July, 1957)

Circuit Judge George Wallace: "I shall forthwith invoke the full power and authority that I possess and shall issue an order for the arrest of every member of the F.B.I. or other Federal police so involved in such investigation (of Grand Jury practices in his circuit)..." Remarks were provoked by a Federal investigation of the method of selecting jurors in Cobb County, Ga. (February, 1956).

B. Major Official Action Designed to Preserve Segregation

1. Interposition: Senate adopted in May, 1957, without opposition, far-reaching resolution seeking to nullify certain Supreme Court decisions. Patterned after original interposition doctrine adopted in 1955, the 1957 Resolution sought to set aside school decision along with other Supreme Court rulings.

2. Schools: Major legislative enactments have been the "pupil placement law," which provides that local boards of education will assign students to specific schools on the basis of a number of factors other than race, and the "freedom of choice" plan, providing for: 1) "the grant or loan of public funds;" 2) "lease, sale or donation" of public school properties; and 3) the option that minors attend schools with their own race, if parents or guardians so elect. (The "freedom of choice" plan was in the form of a constitutional amendment, ratified by voters on August 28, 1956.) See 5-a

3. N.A.A.C.P.: Although since 1956 the NAACP has been "outlawed," no new state-wide laws have been enacted with the intent of restricting its activities. The state has instead attacked through its courts. A lawsuit was initiated, Spring 1956, by then Attorney-General John Patterson, charging the NAACP with failure to register as an out-of-state corporation (as required by Alabama law) and contending further that the organization had stirred racial unrest and promoted lawsuits against segregation in the state. A temporary restraining order was issued in June, 1956 prohibiting NAACP from operating in Alabama, and a $100,000 contempt fine was levied against the organization for failure to produce membership lists and "certain other books, papers, and documents." On appeal, the U. S. Supreme Court set aside the $100,000 fine (1958) but left the temporary restraining order in effect pending final action by state courts. In February, 1959 the State Supreme Court reaffirmed the $100,000 fine, on the grounds that records other than membership were not made available in 1956 and that the NAACP is, therefore, still in contempt. See pg. 5-a

State legislature has enacted laws which would hamper NAACP operations in certain localities:

a. Wilcox County, 1955 - Any organization soliciting money within the county must pay a $200 license fee, $50 for each solicitor, and $5 for each person enrolled.

b. Marengo County, 1956 - Organizations collecting dues may not solicit members without registering with county officials.

B.-2

a law allowing any integration-threatened school to "secede" from city, county and state school systems and become an independent school district was signed by Gov. Patterson, Aug., 1959.

1959 legislation included a measure allowing the state to appropriate public funds directly to private schools where public schools have closed to avoid desegregation. Another measure was approved authorizing the payment of school tuition directly to a student even though his school was not under ~~a~~ desegregation threat.

Under 3

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In June,

~~the~~ U.S. Supreme Court struck down for the second time a $100,000 contempt fine imposed on the NAACP by an Ala. court. ~~(June 8, 1959)~~ The state ~~has~~ then ~~since~~ requested a rehearing of the Supreme Court. (July.)

4. Voting Rights

a. Tuskegee Gerrymander - In 1957 General Assembly redrew city limits of Tuskegee (Macon County, population in 1950 - whites, 1,315; Negroes, 5,397). The gerrymandered city was changed in shape from a square to a 26-sided area. Registered Negro voters within new city limits numbered 10; formerly 420. Sam Engelhardt, Macon County state senator, executive secretary of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, and author of the bill changing Tuskegee's city limits, commented, "We gerrymandered those niggers right out of town." He indicated this was because of the new Civil Rights Act, which he called "our greatest danger."

In fall, 1957 the Macon County Abolition Commission was set up by referendum and vested with authority to recommend the abolition of the county if considered necessary to maintain white control. The Commission made its report in September, 1958; it did little beyond restate the conviction that the situation in Macon County was serious, that activities of the Federal Civil Rights Commission should be watched, and that a permanent Macon County Committee should be set up to watch developments. (Also see "Forces Favoring Desegregation, ~~Pg.~~ C, Pg. 11)

b. The 1959 legislature unanimously passed a bill permitting voter registration officials to throw away all registration records over thirty days old. Three additional measures were passed, one allowing registrars 12 days a year to catch up on paper work; another allowing them 20 days to visit precincts within a district; a third making it mandatory for all courts to report to the boards of registrars those convictions that could disqualify a person from voting.

5. Other

a. The sale and distribution of Look Magazine in Pell City and St. Clair County was prohibited by Circuit Judge L. P. Wald. Plaintiffs, the Committee for Better Race Relations, had charged that Look made "infamous distortions of truth regarding the 'so-called' integration and segregation 'problems' in the South and particularly Alabama." (Aug. '59)

C. Private Organizations:

1. The Alabama Bar Association strongly condemned U. S. Supreme Court for the third straight year in a resolution passed almost unanimously. Resolution protested an "unjustified seizure of power reserved to the states." (July, 1957)

2. The Alabama Cattlemen's Association, in strongly worded resolution, went on record against any attempts to mix races and sharply criticized U. S. Supreme Court for desegregation decisions. (January, 1957)

3. The Birmingham Federation of Teachers voted to split from national organization, automatically severing itself from the A. F. of L. and affiliated bodies, in a dispute over admitting Negroes to Birmingham local. (January, 1956)

D. Groups Organized to Preserve Segregation

1. Alabama White Citizens' Council: State's first W.C.C. rally, 1954 at Selma, drew some 1,200. In August, 1955 State Senator Sam Engelhardt, Jr. claimed membership numbering 60,000; a 1956 report credited organization with some 80,000 members, largely drawn from central and southern portions of state. Although 1957 brought a substantial loss in membership, Senator Engelhardt (serving as executive secretary) reported an increase in interest in the organization following use of federal troops in Little Rock and most recent estimated membership is 100,000. (October, 1958) Among major leaders, in addition to Senator Engelhardt, were, in 1956: Walter C. Givhan of Safford, planter and state senator; Alston Keith of Selma, attorney; Luther Ingalls of Montgomery, attorney; and Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, then an attorney and state senator, now Lieutenant Governor.

Some activities of the WCC:

a. Prospective candidates for public office, in Alabama's May, 1958 Democratic primary election, were asked by the Citizens' Councils of Alabama to answer questionnaires dealing mainly with maintaining segregation. Similar questionnaires, forwarded during 1956 elections, asked, "Have you or will you solicit the Negro vote?"; "Do you here and now deny the Negro vote?" Answers of the candidates were made public. (1956; May, 1958)

b. Horace L. White, medical director of Tuscaloosa's Hale Memorial Hospital, resigned under fire from Citizens' Council and Ku Klux Klan officials for allowing white nurses at the state supported tuberculosis hospital to perform services for Negro patients. Threats, first directed at White, continued after his resignation. The temporary medical director reported a call to one of the nurses saying, "They knew there were five nurses on duty and they were going to beat them up when they got off." (April, 1959)

c. WCC pressure was applied to the end of removing Montgomery School Superintendent Clarence M. Dannelly. Mr. Dannelly was named vice-president of the Methodist Church's Judicial Council in a Minneapolis Conference. On his return to Montgomery he resigned because he would have to serve under a Negro president, J. Ernest Wilkins. Dannelly came under WCC attack because he did not refuse election or resign promptly after being named. (July, 1956)

d. "The Defiant Ones", Academy Award nominee, was cancelled by a Montgomery, Ala. theatre after a local White Citizens Council head protested its showing. (April, 1959)

e. Montgomery Citizens Council, in a full page Montgomery Advertiser advertisement, stated: "(1) No person who now enjoys success, leadership or acceptance in our communities will continue to enjoy success, leadership, or acceptance should he aid in making more difficult our mission of maintaining segregation. (2) We feel that an aroused and informed public will make it unprofitable and uncomfortable for any person to remain in our community if he is not willing to support the community in this matter." (April, 1959)

2. North Alabama White Citizens' Council: A splinter group, the NAWCC was expelled from the state organization because of its "extremist" approach. Its leader, Asa ("Ace") Carter, is also active in the KKK, an associate of John Kasper, and was one of the participants in the Clinton, Tenn., school disturbances.

3. Ku Klux Klans: At least five KKK groups have operated in recent years:

a. U. S. Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Robert Marvin Shelton, Grand Dragon)

b. Alabama Knights of the KKK

c. Gulf Coast Klan (now defunct)

d. KKK of the Confederacy (now defunct)

e. A Florida Knights of the KKK

A 1958 estimate of 8,000 Alabama members of the Klan was said by Shelton to have been "way under" the real total, but other reports term the Klan groups ineffectual because of bitter factionalism. One small chapter at Mobile burned a few crosses in the past year and visited several small churches to make contributions. The Montgomery area Klan is believed to have gone underground since conviction of four members for the sex mutiliation of a Negro, performed by Klan members to prove the worthiness for promotion of one of the accused. (See below) Examples of other Klan activity:

An Indiana foursome of psychologists visiting Tuscaloosa were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and accused of throwing paint on a Ku Klux Klan "Welcome to Tuscaloosa" sign. The group flatly denied that they had thrown any paint on the sign and said arresting policemen ignored requests that their car be searched for paint. The four were released after property bonds were posted but they left Alabama immediately because of apprehension about their safety. (May, 1959)

Grand Dragon Shelton recently (1959) stepped down from his office, reportedly in order to lessen criticism of the Patterson Administration. His successor is Roy Hartley, an employee of the Goodrich Rubber Plant in Tuscaloosa. Hartley is still on five years probation after his conviction for intercepting public mail (to and from Alabama Council on Human Relations) during the Autherine Lucy period. Despite his probationary status, he has continued

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to be active in the Klan. He was the person who filed suit against the Indiana couple for allegedly defacing a Klan welcome sign near Tuscaloosa.

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4. The Methodist Laymen's Union, a group of businessmen and civic leaders, was formed in Birmingham March 19, 1959. The specific purpose of their organization is to prevent the segregated Central (Negro) Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church nationally from being merged with the white conferences of the church that it overlaps. Circuit Judge Whit Widham was elected president; Circuit Judge L. S. Moore of Centreville was chosen first vice president.

e. A number of white clergymen are outspoken advocates of moderate progress toward desegregation. See pg. 11 a.

C. Community Action

Spontaneous boycott of Tuskegee's white-operated business establishments by Negro consumers (June, 1957), protesting the gerrymandering of city limits, has seriously endangered the business community (1957-59). According to one observer, "the current situation will continue perhaps for an extended period until the failing resources of either group create the conditions for cooperation, compromise or adjustment." (Voting Rights and Economic Pressure: Jones, Lewis; and Smith, Stanley. p. 43)

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Under B - 2

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c. The program of the Westminster fellowship groups at Auburn (white) and Tuskegee Institute (Negro) was vigorously ~~attacked~~ criticized ~~by~~ in a meeting of the Presbyterian Synod of Alabama ~~[illegible]~~ by a one-time candidate for governor, Bruce Henderson of Camden. Although the Tuscaloosa Presbytery stood behind the attack, the state Synod overwhelmingly rejected efforts to criticize the fellowship programs. Occasional joint meetings of the Negro and white groups, at which buffet style suppers were served, (summer, 1959) main target for criticism:

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES

A. Education

1. Private and Parochial Secondary Schools - None desegregated at any level.

2. Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

   a. None desegregated

   b. Applications from a total of nine Birmingham Negro children seeking entrance to white school (to both Phillips High School and a grade school) were filed in January, 1959. School Superintendent L. Frazier Banks said he found nothing to indicate that a transfer would be of special benefit to eight of the students involved; one application was rejected because the child was not of school age.

3. Desegregated Institutions of Higher Education (as of January, 1959)

   Spring Hill College, Mobile (Roman Catholic) has accepted Negro students since 1951. Had, in 1958, some 40 Negroes in a total of above 800 students.

   Talladega College, Talladega (formerly all Negro, American Missionary Association and Private) maintains a policy of enrollment without regard to race and white students have attended although none were enrolled during fall quarter, 1958.

4. University of Alabama Desegregation Attempt: On February 1, 1956 the University announced acceptance of a Negro student, Miss Autherine Lucy, following aDecember, 1955 U. S. Circuit Court affirmation of a lower court ruling that the University could not refuse to admit any student on the ground of color. After an unsuccessful appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, Miss Lucy was registered by University, but denied dormitory accommodations. She attended her first class on February 3, 1956. Mob demonstrations protesting her enrollment occurred on February 3, 4 and 6, and university administration barred her from classes in what it termed a safety measure.

   A February 9th petition to U. S. District Court (by Miss Lucy) resulted in a court order that plaintiff be readmitted to the school; however, on March 1 the University Board of Trustees announced Miss Lucy was expelled for publicizing unfounded charges that school authorities had conspired against her. A subsequent request that the U. S. District Court over-rule the expulsion was refused on the grounds that Federal Courts should not interfere with administrative action of the University.

B. Elections and Appointments

1. Five Negroes were candidates in Democratic primaries in 1954 - three in Mobile, one in Montgomery, one in Jefferson. Two of the Mobile contestants were elected to county Democratic Committee posts.

2. The first Negro member of the Birmingham Community Council was appointed in May, 1954.

3. L. C. Jamar was defeated in his second bid for a seat on Prichard city council in 1956. Joshua A. Barney placed 16th in a field of 19 candidates seeking five posts on Huntsville city council, 1956.

4. Fairfield. There were two Negro candidates seeking election to the city council in the May Democratic primary - D. C. Newton and Vernard F. Thomas. (May, 1956)

C. Employment

1. Municipal

a. Negro policemen are employed in at least the following cities:

Mobile (first deputy sheriff employed June, 1955)
Tuscaloosa (several policewomen employed, 1955)
Dothan
Talladega
Montgomery

b. Birmingham Personnel Board requires Civil Service examinations to be administered to "white applicants only." Negro spokesmen say requirement is not a rule, merely an "agreement" between the City Commission and the Personnel Board. (October, 1956)

c. Mobile had employed a total of 7 Negro firemen by 1943; no additional information known.

2. Federal

Birmingham, Alabama's Post Office employs 56 Negro mail handlers, 40 Negro clerks, and 85 Negro carriers. Promotions above clerk and carrier classifications are given only to whites.

Birmingham's V.A. Hospital has Negro nurses aides and nurses, nursing supervisors in two wards, and an assistant chief and two supervisors in housekeeping department.

Birmingham's Internal Revenue Service, Labor Department, and Federal Housing Authority have no Negroes in non-traditional jobs.

D. Health and Medical Care

1. V. A. Hospitals/ desegregated

2. A Negro doctor was admitted to the Jefferson County Medical Society, Fall, 1955.

E. Housing

1. "In the last decade by minimal count of Birmingham's white newspapers, there have already been 22 dynamite bombings and four arson burnings attributable to race tensions. Fountain Heights and North Smithfield, where Negroes, with a go-ahead from federal courts, began moving in nine years ago to break the city's segregated housing patterns, are now known as 'Dynamite Hill.' The $18,000 home of the Negro woman who had won the lawsuit was torn by a dynamite blast days after the court decision." (Time, December 15, 1958)

2. In 1957 Alabama ranked third among all states in nation in number of towns participating in low-rent public housing program, with 106 towns enrolled.

3. Complaint brought by group of Birmingham Negroes (contending that the Housing Authority has refused to consider their application for admission to certain housing units solely because they are Negroes) was dismissed by Federal Judge Seybourn H. Lynne. The Negroes live in an area being cleared for expansion of a Medical Center. (January, 1955)

4. Gadsden Negroes are contesting in federal court slum clearance program which would resettle Negroes now living in a servants-quarters area. Plaintiffs contend program has aim of maintaining segregation. (1958)

F. Jury:

A Negro served on the Pike County grand jury in May, 1959, the first of his race in the memory of court officials to serve on a jury in the county.

G. Law Enforcement:

1. The police chief of suburban Saraland (Mobile) arrested in connection with a cross-burning in September, 1958. Sheriff Ray D. Bridges said after the arrests: "We have evidence that the Saraland police headquarters was being used as a center for a good portion of the Ku Klux Klan activity in Mobile County."

2. Police Commissioner Eugene Connor in a prepared statement said he would refuse to cooperate with any civil rights investigation by federal authorities in Birmingham. "We don't need any of the Washington left-wing civil rights committee goons snooping around down here," Connor said. (September, 1958)

3. Mobile police were ordered by city commission to enforce city ordinances prohibiting cross-burning in wake of two cross-burnings stemming from the efforts of a white woman to have a Negro girl admitted to an all white public school. (September, 1956)

H. Organizations

Alabama-West Florida Methodists adopted two resolutions urging preservation of racial barriers in the church (May, 1959). The resolutions are to be sent to the denomination's general conference in April, 1960.

I. Public Accommodations

1. A downtown Birmingham office building abandoned its segregated elevator practice in November, 1956.

2. A cafeteria at Wilson Dam in north Alabama has been operated on a desegregated basis for more than two years in accordance with TVA fair employment practices policy, the Tennessee Valley Authority's Randolph Perry reported in June, 1957.

J. Recreation

1. An Associated Press story of November 14, 1955 states, "Some Mobile, Ala.neighborhood parks have always been used by both races." There is no specific reference to golf courses. A suit was filed in April, 1958 asking that the city's new golf course be desegregated.

2. A Montgomery city ordinance, adopted in 1957, prohibits interracial participation in sports or games of "cards, dice, dominoes, checkers, pool, billards, softball, basketball, baseball, football, golf, track and at swimming pools, beaches, lakes or ponds..." City's nine white parks and four Negro recreational centers were closed "indefinitely" in January, 1959 after a desegregation suit was filed.

3. A Birmingham City Ordinance requires separation of races in use of seating, entrances, exits, standing in public or privately owned places of amusement. Specifically states that it is unlawful for a Negro and white person to play together or in company of each other in any game of cards or dice, dominoes or checkers.

   In 1954 the city commission sought amendment so that whites and Negroes might join in professional sports. A voters' initiative and referendum upheld the segregation requirement more than 2 to 1.

4. Huntsville city council adopted resolution providing for segregated use of municipal golf course, February 1956. Negroes are allowed to play on Mondays only.

5. An amendment, approved by state voters on August 28, 1956, permits cities and counties to give away or sell public parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, golf courses, public housing projects, etc., to prevent desegregation, "upon the approval of a majority of the duly qualified electors (of the locality)..."

6. Spokesman for the Restoration and Amelioration Association said, "a representative group" of Negroes will ask the city of Montgomery to reopen its parks "on any kind of basis," including segregation. (April, 1959)

K. Suffrage

1. Negro registration in 1958 estimated by capitol newsmen and other observers to total 60,000, or 6.9 % of state electorate.

2. Cumulative poll tax requirement was abolished in 1953. Non-cumulative poll tax of $1.50 annually is still required.

3. Lieutenant Governor Guy Hardwick predicted in September, 1957 that 12 to 15 Alabama counties would try to turn election of their local officials over to the Legislature or to have the governor appoint them to escape possible federal civil rights action. A Black Belt legislator predicted that legislative reapportionment would be necessary in his section if the 1957 Civil Rights bill passed Congress, so Negroes would not control elections in those counties. (July, 1957) Neither action has been approved by state legislation.

4. A Civil Rights Commission investigation into charges of discrimination against Negro voters in six Alabama counties - Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Lowndes, Macon and Wilcox - was initiated in December, 1958. County officials, however, refused to honor subpoenas for voting records, and the commission unanimously asked the Justice Department to seek a federal court order against Macon, Barbour and Bullock County registration officials who refused to testify or surrender voter records. Federal District Court orders were issued to Circuit Judge George C. Wallace, who had refused to appear at the hearings, and five registrars, three of whom then resigned. A compromise agreement was reached permitting Commission agents to examine registration records within the counties; however, Wallace "defied" the court by handing Barbour and Bullock County records over to hastily called court grand juries (who later allowed them to be examined). Contempt of court charges were brought against Wallace, then dismissed by U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., on grounds that although he "attempted to give the impression that he was defying the court's order," Judge Wallace had, "through devious methods," actually helped the Commission get the records.

5. In February, 1959 the Justice Department filed suit charging the Macon County Board of Registrars with violation of Negro voting rights. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., ruled that the 1957 Civil Rights Act did not give the Federal Government authority to sue individual states and that the absence of any functioning registrars (two resigned in December; one died shortly before) left no one who could legally be sued. Decision was appealed May 1, 1959. (See Section II, B, Major Official Action Designed to Preserve Segregation, 4, for further information on voting rights in Macon County.)

119, more than 1/3 of the total number of voting complaints filed with the Federal Commission on Civil Rights, have come from Alabama. (May, 1959)

See pg. 19-a

~~Suffrage~~ Under 5

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None of three newly appointed members of the Macon Co. voter registration board showed up on first registration day after their appointment. (July 20, 1959 - This was the first registration day ~~since December, 1958~~ on which the county has had an appointed Board of Registrars since December, 1958.) It was later announced by Gov. John Patterson that ~~the appointees~~ they had declined their appointments for fear of being "hounded" by the

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The United States Court of Appeals in New Orleans upheld a lower-court action dismissing the Government's suit charging voting discrimination against Negroes in Macon County. The Justice Department announced that the decision would be appealed to the Supreme Court. (June, 1959)

L. Transportation

1. Intra-city

a. City bus lines are desegregated in Montgomery (by court order; see "d" below) and in the Florence-Sheffield-Andalusia system only.

b. National City Lines, Mobile's intra-city transportation company, voluntarily abandoned segregated bus seating in 1956. A city ordinance requiring segregation on buses remains in effect, however.

Two Negro citizens filed suit in Federal Court asking desegregation of city buses, required by Mobile city code. (May 2, 1959)

c. The Birmingham City Commission abolished the ordinance requiring segregated seating on city buses in 1958, but adopted another giving bus drivers authority to tell passengers where to sit, and making it a breach of the peace to disobey them. Suit was filed in U. S. District Court in November, 1958 by 13 Negroes, asking that the ordinance be declared unconstitutional.

d. The Montgomery bus segregation protest movement stemmed from the arrest of a Negro bus rider, Mrs. Rosa Parks, on December 1, 1955, for her refusal to give up her seat to a white man. Negro citizens, in protest, decided to stop riding the buses until they were assured by the bus company of: 1) more courteous treatment; 2) seating on a first come, first served basis, within the segregated seating pattern; 3) the employment of Negro bus drivers on predominately Negro runs. The Montgomery Improvement Association was formed to serve as guide and spokesman for the protesters.

Negro citizens were unable to obtain satisfactory consideration of their demands by bus and city officials and the boycott continued until December, 1956. During the year of protest, numerous acts of intimidation and violence were directed against Negro citizens, including bombings of the homes of several M.I.A. leaders. On December 20, 1956 a direct order from the U. S. Supreme Court, requiring that bus segregation be ended, reached Montgomery (the order resulted from litigation initiated in early 1956). Negro citizens began using the city transportation facilities, and, after several minor acts of violence, desegregated seating on buses caused no further major incident in Montgomery.

2. Interstate, Intrastate Waiting Rooms

a. Anniston, Mobile, Tuscaloosa, Tuskegee — Bus and Train waiting rooms remain segregated in their facilities for both interstate and intrastate passengers. Occasional usage of white facilities by Negro passengers (reported in Mobile) is met with discouragement ("inquiry" and "angry looks") from white employees.

Air line terminals in Anniston and Mobile maintain separate waiting rooms and facilities, although Mobile reports frequent use of white waiting room by Negroes. Tuscaloosa reports desegregated airport facilities, with only rare boarding of planes by Negroes from that point. There is no airport in Tuskegee.

Montgomery: Negro train passengers may use either a general waiting room marked "Inter-state" or a "Colored Intra-state" room. Separate lunch rooms are maintained. The usual "Negro" and "White" waiting rooms and lunch facilities remain in the bus station, while the airport segregates waiting passengers by means of a small section in the general waiting room marked "For Negroes". New airport facilities are being built, entirely segregated. (1958) A Negro interstate passenger was arrested on a disorderly conduct charge when he refused to move from a "white" waiting room at the municipal airport. (September, 1957)

b. In January of 1956, president of the state Public Service Commission informed all carriers that state laws requiring segregation in waiting room facilities remain in effect for all bus and railroad lines "not parties to" the complaint cases precipitating 1955 I.C.C. desegregation rulings.

c. Birmingham: A mob of rock-throwing whites, yelling threats, attacked a white integration leader who had just left the Terminal Railroad station waiting room where a Negro couple had tested the segregation policy. Lamar Weaver, the victim, was convicted at a special hearing of running a red light and reckless driving as he drove his damaged car through the mob. (March, 1957)

M. Violence, Intimidation, Reprisal

1. Bombings and Bombing Attempts, January 1956-November 1958

a. Montgomery: At least eight bombings and one bombing attempt have been directed against: the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.; the home of the Rev. Robert Graetz (white minister active in the Montgomery Improvement Association); four Negro churches and the home of another Negro minister; a home belonging to a Negro family.

b. Birmingham. Bombings have included: the home of the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister and leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (January, 1957); bombing attempt on Rev. Shuttlesworth's church, June 1958; four homes purchased by Negroes in the once all white section of Fountain Heights (November 2-December 7, 1957); two homes in the same area (July, 1958); East Birmingham home of a Negro family in a previously white neighborhood. (December, 1957)

The Temple Beth-El was target of a bombing attempt in April, 1958. Fifty-four sticks of dynamite, with enough power to demolish the synagogue, failed to go off when a fuse burned out.

c. Bessemer. A Negro church, with a congregation of 200 inside, and the home of a Negro civic leader were damaged in April, 1957. Home where seven Negro children were asleep damaged heavily in May, 1958.

d. Mobile. The fifth of a series of bombings was reported in March, 1957. This bomb was tossed at the home of a Negro in a racially mixed section.

2. A survey of violence, reprisal and intimidation in eleven Southern states between January 1, 1955 and May 1, 1958 included 64 entries reported from Alabama, a greater total than that from any other state.

   a. Twelve cases of crossburnings, and violent threats (with a series of incidents sometimes constituting one case).

   b. Nine cases of threats and reprisal, ~~and~~ sometimes involving an entire Negro community.

   c. Forty-three dynamitings, burnings, gunshots, beatings, horsewhippings and other malicious personal assaults.

3. Other forms of Violence and Intimidation

   a. Asbury Howard, a Negro civic leader of Bessemer, was fined $105 and sentenced to 180 days for having a poster made depicting a handcuffed Negro praying: "Lord, help all Americans to see that you intended human beings everywhere to have the same rights." The white signpainter who made the poster received the same fine and sentence. The poster was to be placed inside the headquarters of the Bessemer Voters League. Howard, while under arrest, was severely beaten by a group of about 40 white men in the presence of a number of policemen. (January, 1959)

   b. Selma - A newly opened public lake was closed (for at least several days) after white men chased off three Negro airmen who tried to go fishing. It was the second such incident in a little over a week. In the first incident, May 23, two Negroes were ordered from their car and badly beaten as they drove up to the lake. ~~Sheriff~~ (May 31, 1959)

Master Copy
Vio + Intim

ADDENDUM TO REPORT ON
INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE
IN THE SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS

Jan. 1, 1959 - Oct. 17, 1959

ALABAMA

Montgomery. A white night-watchman complained he was molested and threatened by a crowd of 125 Negroes as he left his job in a Negro section of the city. He said the Negroes, armed with bricks and knives, smashed the windshield of his car and told him, "We don't want any white men working around here." Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers subsequently warned that "further incidents of this type will not be tolerated." (Jan. 28, 1959, AP)

Bessemer. Asbury Howard, a Negro civic leader, was fined $105 and sentenced to 180 days for having a poster made depicting a handcuffed Negro praying: "Lord, help all Americans to see that you intended human beings everywhere to have the same rights." (The words "Vote Today for a Better Tomorrow" were to have been added, but the poster was seized before it was completed.) The white sign painter who made the poster received the same fine and sentence. The poster was to have been placed inside the headquarters of the Bessemer Voters League. Howard, as he emerged from the courtroom in which he was convicted, was severely beaten by a group of about 40 white men in the presence of a number of policemen. His son, who tried to defend his father from the assault, was arrested and sentenced to a year at hard labor on a charge of "disorderly conduct" and "resisting arrest." (Christian Century, 5-6-59; Civil Liberties, March 1959)

Tuscaloosa. Threats and intimidation by members of the Ku Klux Klan and others forced the administrator and two staff members of Hale Memorial Hospital to resign. The threats, which caused the probate judge of the county to entreat superintendent Dr. Horace L. White to leave Tuscaloosa for "his own safety," grew out of treatment practices at the hospital, which required white nurses to serve Negroes. (Southern School News, May 1959; Montgomery Advertiser, April 9, 1959)

Selma. A newly opened public lake was closed for several days after a group of white men "chased off" three Negro airmen who tried to go fishing. In another incident, only a week before, a band of white men ordered two Negroes from their car as they drove up to the lake and beat them badly. (AP, June 1, 1959)

Birmingham. About 75 masked and hooded men burned crosses in front of the Cahaba Heights Methodist Church, the home of the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, and another residence. Mr. Hughes is director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The Rev. Jimmy Short, minister of the Cahaba Heights Church, stated his belief that the crosses were burned because he was not "radical enough" on the race issue. "I believe the Negro is a human being and should be treated like one," he said. (UPI, July 26, 1959)

Pickens County. The county grand jury heard testimony of eight persons, seven Negroes and one white man - all victims of recent nighttime floggings by

unknown bands of men, usually 30 to 50 in number. No indictments were returned. Sheriff R. R. Shields said the victims were either unable or unwilling - out of fear - to identify their assailants. He estimated that ten persons - perhaps more - have been flogged in the past two years. Circuit Solicitor Louis Moore said he didn't believe the controversy over racial segregation had any connection with the floggings. "It's just lawlessness," he said. (AP, Aug. 9, 1959)

Montgomery. A white restaurant owner who had replaced three white waitresses with Negro waiters reported intimidation from the KKK. A sign was posted, reading "Jimmy's Barbecue, KKK is watching you," letters warned the owner to fire the Negroes, and a group of Klansmen walked into the restaurant, occupied every available seat, drank coffee, and then left. (AP, Sept. 10, 1959; Southern School News, Oct. 1959)

Birmingham. On the night before school opening, crosses were burned near at least ten white schools: Phillips High, Jones Valley High, North Birmingham Elementary, Gibson Elementary, Tarrant Elementary, Tarrant High, Concord Elementary, Fairfield High, Hueytown Elementary, and Hueytown High. (Southern School News, Oct. 1959)

ARKANSAS

Little Rock. A gunman in a speeding car fired several shots at the home of Mrs. L. C. Bates, state president of the NAACP. One bullet penetrated the living room of a white neighbor, missing a nine year old girl by less than a foot. The Bateses were standing in the driveway in front of their home, talking to some people, at the time the shots were fired. (AP, Aug. 12, 1959)

Little Rock. A small, home-made bomb exploded outside recently desegregated Hall High School, after regular school hours. No damage was done to the building. Police said the explosive could have been a large firecracker. Two white youths were taken into custory in connection with the incident. (AP, Aug. 25, 1959)

Little Rock. Three women threw a tear gas bomb into the building where the Little Rock School Board was holding a routine meeting, causing board members, spectators, and half a dozen reporters to stagger out with tears streaming from their eyes. Firemen were called to the scene to help them out the back of the building. The incident followed the re-opening of desegregated Little Rock high schools by some two weeks. (UPI, Aug. 28, 1959)

Little Rock. Dynamite damaged the Little Rock School Board administrative building, the private business office of Mayor Werner C. Knoop, and Fire Chief Gann L. Nalley's city-owned station wagon in a series of explosions occuring on the same evening. Five men were later charged with the dynamitings; one of them, who pleaded guilty, was given the maximum sentence: up to five years in prison and a $500 fine. Trial dates for the other four were set in November, 1959. (Arkansas Gazette, Sept. 8, 1959; AP, Sept. 18, 1959)

Pine Bluff. A crowd of about 200 jeering whites gathered outside a two-hour closed-door school board hearing in which Negro children were presenting their case for admission to the all-white Dollarway School. As the party of 13 Negroes drove away, they were showered with stones by the whites. School board president Lee Parham was credited with dispersing the crowd and possibly averting a more serious incident when he asked that a distrubance not be created. "Anything you might do here tonight would hurt us," he told the unruly crowd. (AP, Oct. 9, 1959)

Pine Bluff. Sixty to 75 white men harassed a drive-in restaurant for at least four successive nights, apparently protesting the employment of Negro car-hops. The owner of the restaurant said that the men had swamped his place with "nickel business", taking every available seat and drinking soft drinks and coffee for two or three hours at the time. They also filled his parking lot and blocked driveways with cars parked at an angle. Negro employees were threatened verbally and members of the crowd were heard to threaten moving on to "take care of other places" that hire Negroes. (Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 17, 1959)

FLORIDA

Bradenton. A fire, said by Deputies to have been deliberately set, damaged the new home a Negro lady was building on her own land in a white section. She had lived in another house on the land for 43 years. The FBI was asked to enter the investigation by Sheriff Roy Braden, but the federal agency could find no grounds for its participation. (AP, Oct. 12, Oct. 13, 1959)

GEORGIA

Atlanta. Police reported a complaint from a Negro man who said he was threatened by two carloads of men wearing Ku Klux Klan regalia. They stopped him as he was walking in the down-town section and accused him of riding on the front seat of a bus, he stated. (AP, Jan. 28, 1959)

Wayne County. A small cross was burned near a Negro residence at Gardi, a Wayne County community. A full investigation was promised by the county sheriff, who added that such acts would not be tolerated. (AP, Feb. 12, 1959)

Dalton. Murder charges were filed against four white youths accused of killing an 11 year old Negro boy with shots intended to "scare" a group of Negroes. Suspects told police that the Negroes, who were holding a fish-fry in the yard of a private residence, had threatened the white youths when the latter used the Negroes' driveway for turning their car around. The white youths returned later with two shotguns and fired over the heads of the Negroes, they said. The Negro youth, Tommy Dwight, was hit by the blasts and died. (Atlanta Constitution, June 23; UPI, June 22, 1959)

Catoosa County. An explosion, presumably of dynamite, ripped a hole in the front yard and shattered windows at the home of Summerfield Young, who operates a 350-acre farm near Boynton. The family, which includes three children, had been in bed for about an hour at the time of the blast. Young said a terror campaign, designed to chase three Negro families off his farm, has been directed at him. He has been receiving threatening telephone calls since January. Sheriff J. D. Stewart said there also had been several house burnings or attempts to burn houses in the county during the past year.

In late August, more dynamitings - the county's second and third in less than a month - damaged two homes, one occupied by a Negro family, the other by a white family. The Negroes were temporarily occupying a house in an all-white neighborhood and observers theorized that dynamiters may have mistakenly thought the white family rented to Negro tenants. (Chattanooga Times, Aug. 8, 1959; Aug. 23, 1959)

Atlanta. An interracial brawl involving possibly 60 people - some of them white women in evening dress - was broken up by a lone city policeman who fired his pistol in the air to disperse the crowd. The combatants used tire tools, iron pipes, screw drivers, wrenches, and other implements. The fracas was said to have begun as the white occupants of one car yelled for Negro occupants of a second car to move on as a traffic light turned green, and the Negroes yelled back. Passersby from the heavy late evening traffic joined in the foray, grabbing "whatever objects they could" for weapons. Two participants, one white, one Negro, were arrested and sentenced to 30 days each in the city prison farm. (Atlanta Constitution, Aug. 24, 25, 1959)

LOUISIANA

New Orleans. Six young white persons - an 18 year old youth and five juveniles - were arrested for assaulting Negroes with bricks, rocks, and bottles at a Negro housing project. When police returned the six to the scene for further questioning, a large angry crowd of Negroes assembled. Police broke up the mob by firing into the air. One Negro girl, who had shouted, "You police shouldn't have arrested them. You should have let us go after them ourselves," was arrested and charged with inciting a riot and assaulting an officer. (AP, Sept. 9, 1959)

MISSISSIPPI

Poplarville. A lynch mob of 15 or 20 masked white men broke into the county jail, beat a Negro being held on the charge of raping a white woman, and dragged him from his cell to a waiting car. His body was found nine days later on the Mississippi side of the Pearl River, across from Goalusa, La. He had been killed by two shots. The Federal Bureau of Investigation entered the case immediately after the abduction, on the request of Governor J. P. Coleman, and conducted an intensive, month-long investigation. In late May, the FBI was withdrawn, and the evidence they collected turned over to Gov. Coleman. According to the Governor, a case against those men believed to have been in the mob would be presented to the Pearl River County Grand Jury at the time of its next regular session in November. (New York Times, May 25; UPI, April 25, 1959)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Manning. A cross was reportedly burned in front of the business establishment of Billie S. Fleming, Negro undertaker and NAACP official. Senator Thomas C. Hennings raised the possibility that it might have been in retaliation for Fleming's testimony before a Henning subcommittee. Fleming had testified that Clarendon County Negroes were being harassed economically and otherwise. (Southern School News, June 1959)

TENNESSEE

Avondale. About 30 men in Klan regalia held a meeting in a neighborhood in the process of changing into a Negro residentail area. When the owner of one of the houses up for sale photographed the procedings, Klansmen invaded his yard, threatened him, and threatened to "blow up" the place. Many of them were openly armed with pistols and claimed they had legal authority to carry them. (Chattanooga Times, June 9, 1959)

Memphis. Two policemen were "roughed up" by an angry crowd of some 25 Negroes after they arrested a Negro man and woman. The crowd gathered when charges were made that policemen had mistreated the prisoners. Six members of the crowd were arrested after police reinforcements were rushed to the scene. Three were later fined; charges were dismissed against the other three. (AP, Aug. 14, 15, 1959; Southern School News, Sept. 1959)

VIRGINIA

Richmond. Six Negro teen-agers walking home from a store were wounded when hit by shotgun pellets fired by white boys from two automobiles which sped through the Negro residential area. Six white youths were found guilty of maliciously wounding two of the Negroes in a later June trial, and charges against them of maliciously wounding the other four Negro youths were continued. Three more white boys had been arrested after the shooting; their trial was continued. (AP, April 27, 1959; AP, July 1, 1959)

Norfolk. Six Negroes were fined and given sentences for assaulting two white servicemen in a Negro neighborhood. Norfolk detectives said 12 Marines armed with clubs and spiked wooden sticks had marched on the Negro area a week earlier. They were stopped and returned to the base. (UPI, May 4, 1959)

Buckroe Beach. Two white men were injured in a racial altercation involving about 30 persons of each race. According to policemen, the disturbance, which had broken up by the time they arrived on the scene, took place after a group of Negroes began moving from a bus stop they commonly used - the Bay Shore entrance to the Beach - to the Buckroe Beach entrance, the bus stop habitually used by whites. The bus stops first at the Buckroe Beach stop. Six persons - three whites and three Negroes - were arrested. (July 20-21 - Norfolk Virginia Pilot)

Fla.

V + I

A number of dummy rifles, carved from wood, with signs attached exhorting white citizens to fight school desegregation were distributed in 4 Florida cities:

Police collected about 25 in Miami, but said many others had been taken home.

About 25 were placed at Lowry Park in Tampa.

17 were ~~located~~ recovered in West Palm Beach.

Three were found in the yard of the Rev. Ben F. Wyland, active in desegregation moves, in

(over)

St. Petersburg. The signs on these three read:

"Death to all race mixers! Keep your public schools white by massive armed force – Be a Paul Revere! Rally your neighbors to arms. Shoot the race-mixing invaders!"

Three men and a boy, carrying a number of the rifles, were arrested in Miami.

Nov. 1959

F L O R I D A

TABLE OF CONTENTS | PAGE

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA
- A. Population, Urbanization 1
- B. Median Income 2
- C. Median School Years Completed 3

II. FORCES OPPOSING DESEGREGATION
- A. Statements of Public Officials 4
- B. Official Action 5,6,7,
- C. Organizations Opposing Desegregation 7,8,9,

III. FORCES FAVORING DESEGREGATION
- A. Statements by Public Officials 10
- B. Official Action 11
- C. Supporting Organizations 12,13

IV. SEGREGATION - DESEGREGATION STATUS
- A. Education 14,15
- B. Employment 16,17
- C. Elections and Appointments 18
- D. Health and Medical Care 19
- E. Housing 20
- F. Jury Duty 21
- G. Law Enforcement 22
- H. Membership and Participation in Organizations 23,24
- I. Public Accommodations and Facilities 25,26
- J. Recreational Facilities 27
- K. Suffrage 28
- L. Transportation 29,30
- M. Violence and Intimidation 31

FLORIDA

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA

A. Population, Urbanization:

1958*	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	4,448,000	3,603,100	844,900	19.0

1950	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	2,771,305	2,166,051	605,254	21.8
Urban Population	1,813,890	1,417,177	396,713	21.9
Rural non-farm	724,609	572,344	152,265	21.0
Rural farm	232,806	176,530	56,276	24.2
Urban Population as % of Total	65.5	65.4	65.5	

* Florida State Board of Health Estimate, 2/12/59. All 1950 figures, U. S. Census of that year. Rural-Urban figures are under new urban definition.

B. Median Income in 1949 of Persons over 14

	Florida	U. S.
Total	$1,431	$1,917
White	1,737	2,053
Negro	847	952
Non-white, other than Negro	1,159	1,263

C. Median School Years Completed by Persons Over 25, 1950.

	Florida	U. S.
Total, white	9.6	9.7
Total, non-white	5.8	6.9

II. FORCES OPPOSING DESEGREGATION

A. Statements of Public Officials

1. Former Gov. Millard Caldwell: Described Southern moderates as weaklings willing to give in to integrationists without a fight. "(The moderate) prates of state sovereignty but works hand in glove with the meddlers and the do-gooders in their effort to destroy it..." (March, 1959)

2. Gov. LeRoy Collins (during 1954 campaign for election): "I favor segregation in our public schools. It is part of Florida custom and law. I will use all the lawful power of the governor's office to preserve this custom and law."

   J. Tom Watson, campaigning for gubernatorial nomination in 1954 election - who died unexpectedly in the last days of the campaign:
   "The people of Florida will not have to worry about intermingling of white and Negro pupils in the same schools if I am elected."

3. Rep. Prentice Pruitt (House's chief advocate of segregation at time of 1955 implementation decision, when the following statement was made):
   "(Integration) may be feasible in Florida in the next 50 or 100 years. No one will say it is feasible now." (May, 1955)

4. House Speaker Thomas D. Beasley: Called decision of Dade County School Board (to admit 4 Negro children to an all white school) an "outrage". Said legislature "will do something" about the Board's action. (Feb., 1959)

5. Circuit Court Judge John V. Bird: "God, Almighty, when he made the first man, was the first segregationist." (Judge Bird spoke, unsolicitedly, at a ceremony accompanying presentation of American and Florida flags to the Court of Record, declaring further that God placed Negroes in Africa, "yellow people" in Asia, and whites elsewhere. Oct., 1957)

B. Official Action

1. Segregation Legislation

a. Interposition

Adopted over Governor Collins' protest, 1957. Supported by Atty. General Erwin.

b. Schools

(1) 1955 - Permits assignment of students by local board to school "which he is best suited." Local board's decision is "complete and final."

(2) 1956 - Sets up criteria for county board use in assignment of pupils - intellectual ability, scholastic achievement, sociological and psychological factors. Gives governor extraordinary powers to cope with emergencies.

(3) 1957 - Permits closing of schools in any district where federal troops are ordered to enforce integration.

(4) 1959 - County school boards authorized to segregate pupils by sex. Creation of corporations to operate private schools authorized. (Public officials, school board members, forbidden from participating.)
Measures passed by legislature, still without gubernatorial signature on June 7, 1959:
Some criteria of Alabama pupil placement law incorporated into Florida law. Laws relating to accreditation of private schools made more lenient.

c. NAACP

(1) 1956 - Chapter 31390, giving governor emergency powers, also authorizes him to order any corporation, association, or group of persons "from doing any act or thing which would, in his opinion...cause, or tend to cause, a breach of the peace, or endanger the peace and good order of society..."

(2) 1956 - Chapter 31498 establishes a joint legislative investigating committee. 1957 enactment continues the committee, instructs it to make investigations of organizations "advocating violence or a course of conduct which would constitute a violation of the laws of Florida." (see below)

2. Legislative Investigative Committee

a. Johns Committee (Sen. Charley E. Johns, committee chairman) held hearings in Tallahassee in February "to develop facts within its possession concerning subversion in this state." Principal witness was one-time investigator for Sen. Joseph McCarthy, J. B. Matthews, who testified that Communists have tried to infiltrate the NAACP and to stir up racial agitation in the South. An affidavit was produced taken from the widow of a "confessed" ex-Communist, telling of Communist methods of infiltrating respectable organizations. "Then the investigators branched off on another line and brought in under subpoena a prominent Tallahassee furniture dealer who belongs to the interracial Council on Human Relations. They took from him the records of the Tallahassee chapter, and then refused to let him make a statement from the witness chair." (Tampa Tribune, 2/13/58)

b. A hearing planned for mid-summer 1958, to be held in Miami, was called off after a Supreme Court ruling that a state cannot compel the NAACP to surrender membership records.

3. Other

a. Community Chest United Fund withdrew support from local chapter of National Urban League in Jacksonville and Ft. Worth.

b. Health officer of three north Florida counties, Dr. Deborah Coggins, was dismissed from her job because she had a business lunch with a Negro nurse. One of her defenders, health educator Robert H. Browning, lost his job when Jefferson County Commission simply abolished his post. Another defender, Mrs. Flo Way, was asked to resign from the Jefferson County school system; however, she refused and since she had job tenure, continued to work. (Oct., Nov., Dec., 1956)

c. Florida's only Negro assistant state attorney, Henry Arrington, was dismissed by Governor LeRoy Collins on the ground that he had made "public statements in derogation of, and repugnant to, the duties imposed upon him." The dismissal had been demanded by State Atty. George A. Brantigam because of a radio speech in which Arrington stated that his office was integrated and that his work was not confined to Negro cases. (1956)

C. Organizations Opposing Desegregation

1. Florida Federation of Labor adopted a resolution expressing concern over usurpation of "rights vested in the sovereign states and not delegated to the federal government." The use of federal troops, the resolution added, is part of this tendency. (Nov. 1957)

2. The Florida Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in a unanimous resolution, asked Governor Collins to maintain segregation. (July, 1956)

3. Florida State Baptist Association unanimously adopted a resolution advocating continued segregation and reversal of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, at an annual convention attended by more than 600 delegates. (July, 1959.)

4. Organized Resistance Groups

(a) White Citizens Councils

For several years WCC movement, centered around Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Tampa areas, was largely unsuccessful. In February 1957, Robert Patterson, founder and chairman of the Mississippi WCC, helped to organize a state-wide WCC. Although membership remained small, the movement was stronger than at any time in the past. John Kasper was active in leadership during 1957 until his former associations with Negroes in Greenwich Village came to light. Among WCC activities:

(1) St. Petersburg Citizens Councils urged Collins to follow Virginia's lead in fighting desegregation. (Feb. 1956)

(2) Pinellas County Citizens Councils voted to quiz campaigners for public office on their stand on segregation. (Oct. 1955)

(3) Hate literature in the form of mimeographed sheets signed "Citizens Council, Inc.," was left under the doors of dozens of downtown St. Petersburg stores, Sept., 1957. The sheets were headed with the proclamation, "White People of the South Will Never Mix with the Negro." They urged a boycott of restaurants employing Negro cooks, an end to hiring Negroes when whites are available, boycotts of churches, theatres, merchants approving of race "mixing." "Any white person that wants to mix with the Negro socially, don't even give him the time of day," the sheet concluded.

(b) Ku Klux Klans

The Association of Florida Ku Klux Klans, disbanded by grand dragon W. T. Griffin in 1955, was by 1957 officially revived, still under Griffin's leadership. Another active Klan group was the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headed by Bill Hendrix. By early 1958 there were at least seven separate Klan groups and Griffin reported "Klan organizations multiply like rats and rabbits these days." In March 1958, Griffin said his group was disbanding. He blamed "subversive" methods "such as intimidations, parades, cross burnings, mask wearing and all other public exhibitions to confuse and frighten innocent citizens..." employed by the Hendrix group. The latter, however, also was reportedly being disbanded. "Imperial Emperor" Hendrix said there had been too many Klan groups, many at odds with one another. Some of the Klan groups planned to unite under the name "National Christian Church," Hendrix said. (See 8-a)

(b) KKK - continued.

In August, 1959, an 83-car motorcade through ~~some~~ mid-state Volusia and Seminole counties preceded a rally near Sanford, for the purpose of launching a new membership drive designed to "fight the segregation battle with ballots, not bullets." Grand Dragon Jason Kersey, ~~was~~ spokesman for the group of around 200 hooded men, said Miami area Klansmen have been helping white residents move out of the Orchard villa area, in anticipation of full desegregation. The Rev. Lou Davis, of Dallas, Texas, ~~characterized the~~ imperial grand dragon of the U.S., also attended. He characterized the Florida Klan as the fastest growing in the U.S.

(c) Other resistance organizations in state:

Federation for Constitutional Government, Florida States' Rights Council, Dade County States Rights Council, Dade County Property Owners Association, National Federation for the Protection of White People and Fair Treatment of Negroes.

III. FORCES FAVORING DESEGREGATION

A. Statements by Public Officials

1. Gov. LeRoy Collins: "If the South should wrap itself in a Confederate blanket and consume itself in racial furor, it would surely miss its greatest opportunity for channeling into a wonderful future the products of a change now taking place." (Sept. 1957)

   "We must be prepared to accept some desegregation somewhere, sometime." (Nov., 1958)

   To Florida legislature, April, 1959:
   "I urge you never, never, never to set up any plan or device by which our public schools can be closed. When you put a padlock on a school you padlock minds - the minds of children..."

2. Atty. General Richard Erwin: Said in regard to '54 School decision: "If we fight one decision we may fight others and when you do that you have some form of anarchy." Said Florida is going to "stand up for law and order no matter what happens." (Oct., 1954)

   In brief filed in Supreme Court, 1954 (at the request of the Court for suggestions from southern states as to methods of implementing the School decision): "There is reason to believe that segregated schools can be ended in Florida in an equitable manner without destroying the public school system itself."

3. Asst. Atty. General Ralph Odum: "The governor or any other state leader who tells his people that he will be able to preserve segregated public schools regardless of the U. S. Supreme Court order is deluding himself and his people." (Oct., 1958)

4. Rep. John B. Orr, Dade County: "I believe the maintenance of segregation is morally wrong and is repugnant to democratic principles. I believe the Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, which outlaw compulsory segregation in our public schools, to be sound as a matter of law and right as a matter of ethics." (Oct., 1957) (Orr failed of re-election in 1958.)

5. Thomas D. Bailey, state superintendent of public instruction: "I would be for maintaining the public school system in the state, irrespective of what would happen." (March, 1956)

B. Official Action

1. A bill imposing death penalty for fatal bombings, setting stiff fines and sentences for injuries or property damage resulting from bombings, and requiring 5 year prison sentence for "hoax" bombings passed legislature without a dissenting vote. (April, May, 1959)

2. A bi-racial committee was appointed to advise and assist Gov. LeRoy Collins in the exercise of extraordinary powers given him by legislature. Headed by retired Circuit Judge L. L. Fabisinski. (August, 1956) See pg. 11-a

3. Anti-mask, anti-cross burning ordinances are in effect in the following cities:

Orlando	anti-mask,	anti-crossburning
Hollywood	"	"
Miami	"	"
Miami Beach	"	"
Miami Shores	"	"
Coral Gables	"	"
South Miami	"	"
Atlantic Beach	"	"
Tarpon Springs	"	"
West Miami	"	"

4. Gov. Collins requested Florida sheriffs to prohibit public demonstrations by the K.K.K., emphasizing "there is...inherent in any public demonstration put on by the Klan the danger of incitement to ~~of~~ riot and disorder." Collins said if necessary he would not hesitate to use his broad emergency powers or call out troops to prevent such disturbances. (March, 1958)

5. Johns Committee (Joint Legislative Investigating Committee) conducted an inquiry into activities of the Ku Klux Klan, summer, 1958. An FBI undercover agent testified that the Klan had guns, ammunition, and a large amount of dynamite stored in the state. Governor Collins asked for immediate investigations by Florida Sheriffs' Bureau.

6. Dade County desegregation. See pg. 15.

Under B. 2

Fla.

Although the 1959 legislature refused to appropriate any funds for the continuation of the Fabisinski committee, Gov. Collins plans to keep the ~~[illegible]~~ racial advisory commission in an ex-officio capacity, without ~~pay~~ monthly pay.

IV. SEGREGATION - DESEGREGATION STATUS

A. Education

1. Public Schools: None desegregated

2. Private and Parochial Schools, Secondary and Elementary: None desegregated

3. Schools on Military Posts:

Thirty-five Negro children were attending integrated elementary schools operated by the Air Force on bases in Florida in 1956. One school had a Negro on its faculty.

Eglin - 1,010 total, 20 Negroes (Okaloosa Co.) (Eglin had Negro faculty member.)

Tyndall Air Base - 369 total, 12 Negroes (Bay Co.) (Air Force provided buses to transport high school students to segregated schools in Panama City.)

MacDill Air Base - 413 total, 3 Negroes (Hillsborough Co.)

4. Desegregated Colleges and Universities:

~~(a) Barry College, Miami (Roman Catholic)~~

(b) University of Florida, Gainesville; graduate school accepted one Negro student at beginning of fall quarter, 1958, as result of court action. (Although plaintiff, Virgil Hawkins, was not admitted, the suit he first filed in 1949 resulted in decision which led to the desegregation of graduate and professional schools of the University. ~~Only one Negro has thus far been admitted.~~)

5. State-Community Action

a. Bradenton Negro leaders asked school board to build a Negro high school or integrate city's white junior and senior high schools. (Feb., 1958)

b. According to Southern Education Reporting Service Summary, "Most school boards have received petitions as a matter of record, but have taken no action on them."

PAGINATION INCORRECT

c. Since passage of Minimum Foundation Act in 1948 educational opportunities of all Florida children have been improved. The average expenditures in Dade County per pupil regardless of race for capital outlay, maintenance, equipment, special facilities are approximately the same. Salaries of all teachers are determined by training and experience. There are integrated opportunities for professional meetings and in-service training.

d. Dade County School Board voted unanimously to desegregate Orchard Villa Elementary School in September, 1959.

e. A federal judge dismissed a suit seeking desegregation of public schools in Hillsborough County (Tampa). He indicated that the state Pupil Placement Act provided adequate remedy and ~~ordered~~ held that the remedies it provides must be exhausted ~~before the~~ to give the federal court jurisdiction in the matter. Attorneys for plaintiffs said they would appeal. (Aug. 1959)

B. Employment

1. Federal

a. Negroes and whites work side by side, under the same Civil Service rules and at the same pay scale at the Miami post office. Nearly 10% of total employes are Negroes: 66 custodians, 19 drivers, 114 mail handlers, 12 clerks, 30 mail carriers. (March, 1959) Employment and promotions depend strictly on Civil Service rules.

2. Municipal

a. Chief of Miami's Fire Department N. L. Wheeler said he did not anticipate the employment of Negro firemen in the near future. "The police here can do it because they're segregated, but the firemen must live, sleep and eat together," he said.

Miami Mayor Abe Aronovitz said he thought the idea of one or two segregated fire stations in the Negro district was good. "It should be just as successful as the practice of having Negro policemen has been." (August, 1955)

b. St. Petersburg city officials are reluctant to allow qualified Negro men to take civil service examinations which would qualify them for employment as drivers on buses. (This fact was one subject of a discussion on transportation problems during a meeting of the St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations. Negro citizens voiced disappointment because Negro drivers were not hired for city buses serving Negro sections. Jan., 1958)

c. Negro policemen are employed in at least the following 39 cities and counties:

ALACHUA COUNTY, Fla.	Gainesville, Fla.	Orlando, Fla.
Belle Glade, Fla.	Haines City, Fla.	Ormond Beach, Fla.
BROWARD COUNTY, Fla.	Hallandale, Fla.	Panama City, Fla.
Clearwater, Fla.	Hialeah, Fla.	Pensacola, Fla.
Cocoa, Fla.	HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, Fla.	St. Petersburg, Fla.
Coral Gables, Fla.	Hollywood, Fla.	Sanford, Fla.
DADE COUNTY, Fla.	Homestead, Fla.	South Miami, Fla.
Dania, Fla.	Jacksonville, Fla.	Tallahassee, Fla.
Daytona Beach, Fla.	Key West, Fla.	Tampa, Fla.
Deland, Fla.	Lake Worth, Fla.	Titusville, Fla.
ESCAMBIA COUNTY, Fla.	Lakeland, Fla.	West Palm Beach, Fla.
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	Melbourne, Fla.	
Ft. Myers, Fla.	Miami, Fla.	
Ft. Pierce, Fla.	Ocala, Fla.	

d. Miami Police Dept. now employs nearly 100 Negroes, including clerk-typists and patrolmen who work in homicide, beverages, narcotics and the juvenile bureaus. Negro policemen, however, work only in Negro districts, arrest only Negro violators, and are not admitted to the training school for prospective white policemen. However, a 40 hour in-service training program was integrated in 1958.

3. Private

a. Forty-eight Negroes were placed in skilled, semi-skilled, clerical, or professional class positions in the Greater Miami area during 1954. An Urban League representative said the 48 were "pilot placements" with 13 Greater Miami employers. (Feb., 1955)

b. According to a Miami Herald report in 1956, there is not a single industry in the state that employs whites and Negroes to work side by side. However, there are many instances in which both races work together - and for the same pay - in the AFL, which is composed primarily of craft unions.

C. Elections and Appointments

1. Jacksonville - Ernest D. Jackson, Sr., was nominated in Democratic primary as a justice of peace, May 8, 1956, with official vote of 7,716 for Jackson, 6,103 for candidate in second place, 950 for a third candidate. In June suit was filed in the name of Miss Sarah Bryan, the second-place runner, contesting constitutionality of the Duval Co. J. P. setup. Eventual outcome was the renomination, by Duval County Democratic Committee, of all J. P.'s who had gained nomination in the Democratic primary except Mr. Jackson.

2. Miami - First Negro judge in the South since reconstruction was appointed, April, 1950 (Judge L. E. Thomas). Presided over all-Negro court for 5½ years. Present judge of the city's Negro court is John D. Johnson.

3. Miami - Henry H. Arrington is on Miami Housing Authority. Arrington was dismissed from appointive office of assistant state attorney in 1956 (see II B, Official Action, pg. 7).

4. Negroes Running for Public Office

   a. Tallahassee: The Rev. King Solomon DuPont was a candidate for City Council, Feb., 1957.

   b. Grant Johnson filed for City Council in Bradenton, Nov., 1957.

   c. Robert F. Houck was a candidate for Marion County Democratic committee, July, 1958.

   d. Riviera Beach: E. H. Cunningham, candidate for city council, received a majority of votes in the April, 1956 contest, forcing a run-off with one of the three white contenders. Cunningham was defeated in the run-off.

D. Health and Medical Care

1. All five of Pinellas County's Negro physicians are full members in the county's Medical Association.

2. Protest by white employees of the Southwest Florida Tuberculosis Hospital against working with Negroes led to an order segregating the races in their work. (Oct. 1957)

3. Dade County Medical Association was first deep South medical association to admit Negro members; however, Negroes are "associate members," entitled to all rights and privileges except that of attendence at major social events. They do attend regular luncheon meetings.

4. Major hospitals in Dade Co. - among them Jackson Memorial, Mercy, Mount Sinai and Variety Children's - include Negro doctors and nurses on their staff. Variety Children's Hospital segregates its patients only on the basis of age, sex, illness, and treatment required. Dade Co. provides no training facilities for Negro nurses and physicians.

5. V. A. Hospitals are integrated. A report on the Coral Gables VA hospital notes that no Negro doctors practice there.

6. Negro doctors are now permitted to treat their patients in Volusia Co. Hospital. Before 1954, Negro doctors and patients were not allowed.

7. Four major Jacksonville hospitals employ Negro nurses on an integrated basis.

E. Housing

1. Negroes and whites live side by side in federal housing at Miami's Homestead Air Force Base, and side by side in private homes in some Miami communities.

2. In greater Miami there is in most instances a pattern of exclusion and segregation. Over 11% of Greater Miami's houses have no private bath, or are dilapidated. Both rental and owner-occupied housing property for non-whites are above prevailing cost. Over-crowding of non-whites is evidenced by the fact that there are 150 persons per residential acre as compared with 12 for the city as a whole. (American Jewish Committee Community Audit.)

F. Jury Duty

Negro citizens have served on federal and local grand and trial juries in Dade County for at least 10 years. Records do not show the race of jury members. At least once, a mixed jury has elected a Negro foreman.

G. Law Enforcement

Miami police department formed in 1958 a well trained anti-riot platoon.

H. Membership and Participation in Organizations

1. Secular

(a) Jacksonville: Democratic ward leaders and local political representatives hold integrated meetings and work together at central headquarters on some occasions, according to a 1956 report.

(b) Dade County: . For about 10 years, both white and Negro principals have attended regular meetings for Dade school principals. Both white and Negro teachers belong to the various professional organizations within Dade Co. - for teachers of English, history, etc. However, the Fla. Ed. Association affiliate, Dade County Classroom Teachers' Association, is for white teachers only, while Negro teachers belong to Dade Co. Teachers' Association.

(c) Negro attorneys are required to join the Florida Bar Association and may attend its meetings, but they are refused membership in the Dade Co. Bar Association.

(d) Local 643 of the Hebrew Butcher Workmen and Allied Trades Union is the only completely integrated union in Miami area, according to a 1956 report.

(e) The CIO had a Negro trustee (director ?) on its state board and some of its locals in northern part of the state have both white and Negro members. Florida Federation of Labor had a Negro vice-president. (1956. Present status unknown.)

2. Church

(a) The Florida Synod of the Presbyterian Church announced that immediate steps would be taken to integrate youth activities, fellowships, workshops, and meetings. (June 1957)

(b) United Churches of Greater St. Petersburg has a race relations committee which sponsors Bible classes in Negro schools and helps the teacher training program in Negro churches. Special integrated services have been sponsored.

(c) One of Miami's Unitarian churches has 2 active Negro members in the congregation of 385. It also has an inter-racial day nursery (with one Negro child out of 20) and a human relations committee.

(d) The Florida Older Youth Assembly of the Methodist Church (Leesburg) has been integrated for several years.

(e) Ministerial Association of the Halifax area - one of the first integrated ministerial organizations in the South - was founded through the merger of two segregated associations, January, 1956.

(f) South Florida's Episcopal Church camps for young people, men's conventions, diocesan convention and deanery (district) meetings are desegregated.

(g) A Negro Baptist minister preached from the pulpit of white Riverside Methodist Church in Miami during a week of interracial, interdenominational observance of Brotherhood Week. (Feb., 1956)

(h) A Florida Council for Racial Cooperation sponsored service commemorating Brotherhood Week drew a capacity audience of Negroes and whites to St. Petersburg's Westminister Presbyterian Church. (Feb., 1957)

Fla.

(i) Threats of violence if Negroes participated in the youth camps of St. Johns Presbytery resulted in a decision to close the camps for the scheduled period. This was the first attempt of the Presbytery to hold a desegregated youth camp. An Orlando Negro church, the only one involved, was taken into the presbytery 3 years ago. (1959)

Both the Episcopal and Congregational Christian churches hold de-segregated youth camps in Florida.

I. Public Accommodations and Facilities

1. Libraries

a. Localities giving "limited" service to Negroes at Main Library: Daytona Beach, Orlando, Lakeland, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Key West.

b. Localities extending full service to Negroes at main library: Miami, Miami Beach.

2. From American Jewish Committee's Greater Miami Chapter Community Audit, Jan., 1959:

a. Assets: Hotels on Miami Beach accept Negroes as part of conventions. Restaurants in Miami will accept mixed groups in private dining rooms. Department stores and retail shops accord equal treatment to Negro and white.

b. Liabilities: The majority of hotels in Miami refuse to accommodate Negroes as guests whether or not in convention groups. Most restaurants in Miami also refuse service to Negroes. Public restroom facilities are segregated. White taxis in Miami refuse to take Negro passengers. The department stores which accord equal treatment to Negro and white shoppers refuse to serve Negroes in their restaurants. Drinking fountains in the County Building are segregated. The State Sanitary Code requires separate washroom facilities according to race in places of public accommodation.

3. According to Miami Daily News: In a few top restaurants and night clubs, Negro guests are served without question. At Miami Beach Auditorium always, and at other auditoriums sometimes, both white and Negro citizens sit where they please. Crandon Park Zoo is open to white and Negro visitors...Interracial groups (in Miami) which need to schedule lunch or dinner conferences sometimes use YWCA facilities...seating is not segregated in any courtroom...white attorneys generally are willing to accept Negro clients in their regular waiting rooms and at usual office hours. By contrast, some white doctors have separate entrances and waiting rooms or separate office hours for Negro patients. There are others who do not...

It is routine for luxurious Beach hotels to handle conventions which include some Negro delegates. Neighboring restaurants serve these delegates.

Negro entertainers performing at Beach hotels and night clubs stay in swank Beach hotels, eat at Beach restaurants.

At least occasional Negro visitors who are neither entertainers nor convention delegates register at the hotels without question...

Miami hotels will not take mixed conventions. But some of the most elaborate hotels regularly serve mixed groups at luncheon meetings.

Tickets to events at Miami Beach Auditorium have never been sold on a segregated basis since auditorium opened Aug. 20, 1950. They would be if any lessee for an individual event wanted segregated seating, but nobody ever has asked.

Technically, seating at the Orange Bowl is always segregated. In practice, at least for some events, Negro football fans can buy tickets in white sections and sit there undisturbed.

Seating at Bayfront Park, Dinner Key and Dade County Auditorium is normally segregated. But at some events in all three, whites and Negroes sit where they choose.

4. American Civil Liberties Union's Miami Chapter was barred from meeting in a downtown restaurant because of 3 Negroes in the group, but the 50 members were admitted to another all-white restaurant shortly after. Oct. '57.

5. American Legion state convention was switched from Fort Myers to Tampa because of segregation policies in the former city barring Negroes from the municipal auditorium. The 850 delegates included some Negroes. (Nov., 1956)

6. 24 Negro officials of the Dade County G.O.P. were ordered to leave the dining room of Urmey Hotel in Miami, in which they were attending a Lincoln Day Dinner. About 150 of the 425 white guests followed them out. Mayor Abe Aronovitz later called the hotel's action "disgraceful." (Feb., 1955)

7. Florida Barbers Association defeated by a narrow margin a resolution which would have required the state Barber Licensing Board to enforce segregation in barber shops. A spokesman said segregation was the general practice in Florida shops, but that some barbers felt there ought to be a formal resolution on the subject. (Sept., 1955)

J. Recreational Facilities

1. Desegregated

Pensacola's municipal golf course is open to both Negroes and whites, although separate club houses are provided. (Opened, May, 1956)

Miami - Without incident, municipal Miami Springs Golf Course was desegregated April, 1958, after U. S. Circuit Court affirmation of a district's court's desegregation order. The course clubhouse was leased to an individual who planned segregated operation.

West Palm Beach - April, 1958. City-owned golf course desegregated in compliance with federal court ruling.

2. Evasive Action

St. Petersburg's municipally owned Spa Beach, under court order to desegregate, was closed twice in 1958 when Negroes attempted to use beach facilities. (June and September). In January 1959 the city council voted to reopen the beach, but authorized the City Manager to close it should "any emergency arise."

The Boynton Beach Casino swimming area was closed twice (June 1958) after it was used by Negro swimmers. Mayor L. S. Chadwell warned that violence might result from any future desegregation attempt. Ft. Lauderdale's municipal golf course was sold (July 1957) to the Fort Lauderdale Men's Golf Association (at half its appraised value) to run privately, after a federal court order to open the course to Negroes. The Florida Supreme Court upheld the legality of the sale.

Tallahassee City Commission voted to lease the municipal golf course to the Tallahassee Country Club, a private corporation, for $1 a year. (Feb., 1956)

Jacksonville's two city golf courses, ordered desegregated by U. S. District Court, were closed by the city commissioners (April, 1959).

K. Suffrage

1. Negro Registration 1958: 144,810 (official figure released by Secretary of State)
   Negro percentage of Total Registration, 1958: 9.1

2. Greater Miami Chapter of American Civil Liberties Union reports the following discriminatory procedures in the Miami areas

   (a) Registration certificates and precinct voting lists designate whether the registrant is "white" or "colored."

   (b) Registration books are generally less accessible to Negro than white voters.

   (c) Negroes are forced to wait on unduly long lines to register; Negroes encounter unfriendliness and hostility from personnel assigned to handle registration.

   (d) Separate precinct books are kept for each race.

L. Transportation

1. Intra-city:

(a) City bus lines desegregated include Miami, Miami Beach, Daytona Beach, Tampa. Miami taxicabs are allowed to take either Negro or white passengers; taxicab service is segregated in Tampa and Jacksonville. Jacksonville and Miami airline limousines are not segregated. Airline in Tampa claims no segregation on limousine, but one informant found that in practice Negro passengers were transported in separate cars.

(b) Tallahassee Bus Protest

On May 27, 1956, two girls from Florida A and M University, a Negro school, boarded a crowded city bus and sat in the only two vacant seats in the front, ~~of a bus~~, next to a white woman. The driver asked them to move to the rear. The girls declined but offered to leave if the driver would refund their fare. He refused and called the police, who arrested the girls. They were released under bond. (The charges later were dropped.) That night a cross was burned in front of the girls' home. The next day, the student body at the college decided in a mass meeting to refrain from riding the city buses for the two weeks remaining in the term. By mid-afternoon, Negroes in town joined the movement. On May 29, Negro citizens met in the Bethel Baptist Church and organized the Inter-Civic Council, with the Rev. C. K. Steele at its head. Since that time, the situation has been complex. Bus service has been discontinued and resumed. Police arrested drivers in the Negro car pool on charges they were violating the state's "for hire" laws. Businesses have suffered. The Inter-Civic Council accused the police of intimidating Negroes by taking them from their homes at all hours for questioning. Threats have been made, crosses burned, rocks and bricks thrown through windows of homes and cars. After the Supreme Court ruled bus segregation in Montgomery was unconstitutional, the Tallahassee boycott was ended officially. However, the majority of the Negroes still do not ride the buses, apparently awaiting the outcome of several pending court cases.

2. Bus, Train, Airlines Waiting Rooms

Miami - Signs indicating separate waiting rooms are still up in bus stations. Train station has one unmarked general waiting room, while one waiting room is marked "Colored Intrastate." Airline waiting rooms are desegregated. Restrooms and eating facilities are segregated in bus and train stateions, desegregated in air line waiting rooms.

Jacksonville - Greyhound Bus station has separate waiting rooms, as does the Union train station. However, Negro interstate passengers are allowed to sit in white waiting rooms (they do frequently). Intrastate passengers may sit in general waiting room in bus station, may not in train station. Toilets and eating facilities are separate, with an exception in bus station cafeteria, where some "well-dressed intelligent" Negroes have been served in otherwise white cafeteria. Others have been asked to leave.

Tampa - Bus and train station waiting rooms are separate; neither interstate nor intrastate passengers are allowed to sit in white waiting rooms. Restrooms and eating facilities are also rigidly segregated. Airlines facilities are all desegregated.

M. Violence and Intimidation

1. Bombings

Jacksonville, Fla.: Dynamite explosions damaged a Negro school and a synagogue. The 2 blasts, about four miles apart, occurred within a half hour. Police estimated damage to the James Weldon Jones High School at $20,000. The explosion blew in windows and doors of the Jewish center and shattered windows of homes two blocks away. The Florida Times Union received a call from a man who said he was a member of the "Confederate underground" and that there would be three bombings. He said, "we want no more Jews in Florida except at Miami Beach." Rabbi Sydney M. Leftkotitz reported a call from a man who said, "This is the Confederate Center of Information. We have just blown up your Jewish center. All integration in the South must stop." (April 28, 1958)

Miami, Fla.: The school-recreation annex of Temple Beth El was dynamited, causing at least $30,000 in damage. The Miami incident was the first of its kind since a wave of terrorism in 1951 when several synagogues and Negro homes were bombed and dynamite was found at a Catholic church. (March 17, 1958)

2. Other forms of violence

Dade City: A white player for the Tampa baseball team was wounded slightly by birdshot fired at an automobile carrying two other white players and three Negro members of the Florida State League team. The shooting occurred soon after the car was moved from in front of a drive-in at the request of an employee because it carried both white and Negro men. (Aug. 9, 1957)

Suwannee County: A Negro farmer was kidnapped and flogged and an expectant Negro Mother beaten. In an editorial, the Tampa Morning Tribune, attributed lack of action by law enforcement agencies to resentment over the Supreme Court school ruling. (June 6, 1955)

Tallahassee: A shotgun was fired into a Negro grocery store, during the period of unrest caused by bus integration troubles. (January 1957)

Tallahassee: Four white youths, armed with a knife and shotgun, forced two young Negro couples from their parked car, abducted and repeatedly assaulted one of the girls. (May 3, 1959) In early June an all-white male jury declared the accused guilty of rape, but recommended mercy in all four cases.

Tallahassee: On at least two occasions, rocks smashed windows in the home of the Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of a bus desegregation movement in the city. Earlier, a cross was burned on his lawn. (1957)

J.M.B. 3/8/62

MAJOR DESEGREGATION GAINS IN GEORGIA FOR 1961-62

Lunch Counters
Atlanta 9/29/61
Macon 10/1/61
Savannah 7/15/61 (exact date uncertain)
Columbus 1/24/62
Other eating places are: Fulton County Courthouse 12/1/61) Atlanta
Stouffers Restaurant)

Bus Lines
Augusta 2/14/62 Columbus
Savannah

Bus Drivers
Atlanta

Entertainment
Metropolitan Opera
Equity Places (esp. after June, 1962)

Hospitals
Appointment of Dr. Asa Yancey to Grady Staff

Schools
Atlanta Public Schools
Georgia Tech
University of Georgia

Policemen
Savannah

Golf Courses
Macon June, 1961
Savannah February, 1961

Libraries
Savannah 1961

Employment
Lockheed (A Negro was named business manager of the Machinists Union, 9/29/61)

Taxis
Atlanta, May, 1960

Also, the following places are open in Atlanta:
Agnes Scott, Oglethorpe, Atlanta Art Galleries, Emory, Georgia Tech, Academy Theatre, Chastain Park, Tower Theatre (Atlanta Symphony and Actors Equity), City Auditorium, Jewish Community Center, Library, Golf Courses, Entertainment
Metropolitan Opera
Equity Places (esp. after June, 1962)

ATLANTA - An Informal Background Report

I. Some statistics:

A. Population

1. 1959

(a) City of Atlanta, January 1, 1959: 515,000
(Metropolitan Planning Commission estimate.)

(b) Five-county metropolitan area, January 1, 1959:

	Total:
Fulton -	573,000
DeKalb -	234,000
Cobb -	101,000
Clayton -	36,000
Gwinnett -	36,000
	980,000

(Metropolitan Planning Commission estimate.
Racial Breakdown not available.)

2. 1958*

(a) City of Atlanta (Total in DeKalb and Fulton), July 1, 1958:

White - 337,800 Nonwhite - 158,200 Total - 496,000

(Georgia Department of Public Health, Statistics)

(b) Four-county metropolitan area, July 1, 1958**

	White	Nonwhite	Total
Fulton -	395,000	176,600	571,600
DeKalb -	183,800	19,000	202,800
Cobb -	77,800	7,000	84,800
Clayton -	29,100	4,800	33,900
Total -	685,700	207,400	893,100

(Georgia Department of Public Health, Statistics)

*1958 figures are included to show racial breakdown in Metropolitan area, a division not made in 1959 estimates. 1958 figures should not be used for purposes of comparison with 1959 figures, i.e., to show increase of population, 1958-59, since sources of this data do not use same computation methods in deriving their estimates. Health Department figures are consistently lower than those of the Metropolitan Planning Commission.

**Gwinnett was not added to metropolitan area until 1959.

B. Income

1. Per Capita Income, 1956:

Fulton and DeKalb: $2,047
(Percent of National: 104.4)

Cobb: $1,983
(Percent of National: 101.1

Clayton: $1,649
(Percent of National: 84.1)

Gwinnett: $1,373
(Percent of National: 70.0)

(Source: "Analysis of Georgia Personal Income Payments by Counties," Industrial Development Branch, Georgia Tech.)

2. Median Income, 1949, Persons 14 and Over:

	White	Negro
Atlanta (Standard Metropolitan Area):	$2,238	$1,020
Atlanta (City):	2,218	1,045
Georgia:	1,515	610
United States:	2,053	952

(Source: U. S. Census, 1950)

C. Education

Median School Years Completed by Persons Over 25, 1950:

	All persons	Nonwhite
Atlanta (Standard Metropolitan area):	9.7	6.5
Atlanta (city):	9.5	6.8
Georgia:	7.8	4.9
United States:	9.3	6.9

(U. S. Census, 1950)

D. Schools

1. Enrollment, 1958-59:

	White	Nonwhite	Total
a. Atlanta Public Schools	63,507	42,543	106,050
b. Georgia	606,949	293,119	900,068

2. Number of schools in Atlanta Public School system:

   a. White: 90
   b. Negro: 43
   c. Total: 133

3. Per capita expenditure:

   a. Atlanta: $251.00 (June, 1958)
   b. Georgia: $204.87 (June, 1958)

II. Some indices to community progress in eliminating segregation and discrimination patterns:

A. Education

Although no public schools, no parochial schools have desegregated, five private colleges have eliminated or have never had racially restrictive policies. Four are formerly all-Negro colleges:

	Legal Control
Atlanta University	Private
Clark College	Methodist
Morehouse College	Private
Spelman College	Private

One was previously all-white:
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur - Presbyterian

(Note: Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of actual desegregation in these schools is not available.) Seven other institutions of higher education are located in the Atlanta area: Agnes Scott College, Emory University, ~~Gammon Theological Seminary~~, Georgia State College of Business Administration, Georgia Institute of Technology, Morris Brown College, Oglethorpe University. As far as can be determined, all observe some racially restrictive policy or device. (Gammon Theological Seminary, the 7th, is to be incorporated with AtU. + Morehouse Schools of Theology, Sept., 1958)

B. Elections and Appointments

1. Negroes ~~####~~ serving in public office since 1950 have included:
   a. Dr. Rufus E. Clement, first elected to the Atlanta School Board in 1953, re-elected in 1957.

   b. Dr. C. A. Bacote and Mr. J. C. Daugherty elected to Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in September 1958.

2. Negroes running for public office (1957-58):
   a. T. M. Alexander for Atlanta Board of Aldermen in May, 1957. (His opponent's plurality of only some 6,000 votes forced a run-off, in which Mr. Alexander was defeated.)

   b. Four Negroes ran for places on Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in 1958. Two were elected, two defeated.

C. Employment

1. Federal

An August 1956 survey of 46 federal establishments and their subdivisions in the greater Atlanta area revealed that in 40 no Negroes were employed in clerical, administrative or supervisory capacities.

1958 investigations indicated some increase in Negro employment in non-traditional type positions in Atlanta federal agencies. At least 48-49 such positions were held by Negroes in seven of the 46 agencies. However, positions were primarily those which would necessitate contact with excludively Negro clientele.

2. Municipal

A total of 31 Negro policemen were reported to be employed by Atlanta Police Department in April, 1959. Four of this number are detectives, 3 are patrolmen serving as turnkeys in police station, 24 are patrolmen. 1961 Report: 10-15 more policemen to be hired.

3. Private

Negro employment is negligible in such major industrial plants as the General Motors and Ford plants in the Atlanta area, according to NAACP reports. NAACP complaints filed with the President's Committee on Government Contracts against Lockheed Aircraft have resulted in the opening of company-union conducted apprentice training programs and some non-traditional job classifications to Negroes.

D. Health and Medical Care

1. Veteran's Administration hospital is not segregated.

2. Public and private hospital facilities are rigidly segregated. Atlanta had in April 1959 only 3½ hospital beds per 1,000 of its non-white population, less than half the national standard available for Negroes. There are more than 600 white doctors in Atlanta but only about 35 Negro doctors (according to data made available by Mr. Ferman Smith).

E. Law Enforcement

1. Atlanta officials of the NAACP released a statement charging members of the Atlanta police force with "harsh, unfair and brutal treatment of Negro citizens" in September, 1958.

2. A Citizens Committee, composed of a number of prominent Negro Atlantians, formed in September, 1958 following the shooting of a Negro man by Atlanta police. In a public statement, the Committee called for a complete investigation of the incident, and condemned "trigger happy" policemen.

F. Public Accommodations and Facilities

1. Libraries

Public Library officials revealed in May, 1959, that library employees had been instructed, several days earlier, to serve Negroes on the same basis as whites. Both main library and branches are reportedly now following desegregated policy.

2. Restaurants

Negro and white eating facilities are rigidly segregated. Restaurants are generally in separate buildings in separate sections of town (as opposed to the practice in some Southern localities of dividing one restaurant into Negro and white sections). Negroes are allowed "take-out service" at some lunch counters; they are rarely allowed to sit down to wait for the food to be prepared. Eating facilities in Atlanta Veterans Administration hospital are not segregated. Infrequently, downtown Atlanta restaurants are called upon to serve a racially mixed group. If a private dining room is available, some restaurants will allow its use by such a group. A restaurant serving exclusively Negro clientele was opened on one of the main streets (Marietta) of downtown Atlanta recently. Its central location is a departure from the usual Georgia urban practices.

3. Department Stores

Members of both races have been allowed to use the same water fountains in Atlanta's major department stores in recent years. Atlanta's largest department store, in 1958, attempted to equalize its separate public facilities for customers. New ladies' lounge for Negroes added and the old lounge redecorated, to compare favorably with the two (larger) white ladies' lounges. Negro cafeteria in the basement enlarged; it remains only eating area for Negroes in the very large store. Whites may eat in four separate restaurants or cafeterias.

Major Atlanta "dime Stores" provide separate lunch counters and water fountains for Negroes and whites.

4. State office buildings in Atlanta provide only segregated facilities. Negro applicants for Automobile Operator's Permits must stand in a separate line, apply to a separate "window." Negro and white marriage licenses are issued in entirely separate offices, on separate floors of a state office building.

5. By vote of 16-13, the Session of Druid Hills Presbyterian Church in Atlanta approved setting aside pews for Negroes at public worship as a "compromise" between two extreme views said tobe held by the congregation. (April, 1959)

G. Recreational Facilities

1. Atlanta Municipal Golf Courses were opened to Negro players after a ruling by the Supreme Court in December, 1955.

2. Atlanta's annual Arts Festival in municipal Piedmont Park is open to both Negro viewers and exhibitors.

3. Zoo in Atlanta's Grant Park is open to Negroes, although some restrictions on use of park benches in Zoo area have been reported.

H. Suffrage

	Negroes Registered		Whites Registered
	1956	1958	1958
Fulton County:	24,441	28,414	104,877
DeKalb County:	2,650	2,153	64,450

I. Transportation

1. Buses, Taxicabs:

JAN 9

Desegregation of the Atlanta buses came in January, 1959, following a court order. No major incidents have resulted from the change-over. Taxicabs remain rigidly segregated by city ordinance in Atlanta (a white taxicab driver was arrested on charges of transporting a Negro passenger in August, 1957).

2. Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms:

Buses have separate waiting rooms, although signs are down. Railway stations provide two waiting rooms, one general and unmarked, another marked "colored intra-state." There is infrequent use of the desegregated general waiting room by Negro interstate passengers. The Air Terminal offers desegregated waiting room facilities and restroom (except for Negro employees) and encourages but does not usually require segregation in the restaurant. Sometimes Negroes are seated behind a screen in the latter facility. (A court suit is pending, brought by a Birmingham man who states he was refused desegregated service.)

J. Violence and Intimidation

An explosion damaged a home into which a Negro family had moved a few days earlier, and caused minor damage to a neighboring home owned by a white man. Five Negroes in the house escaped injury. (March, 1956)

An explosion heavily damaged Negro-occupied house in predominantly white neighborhood. The Negro couple, who had rented the house shortly before, escaped injury. (July, 1956)

1. Atlanta (a) Public schools under Federal court order to begin desegregation by May 1, 1961, with 11th and 12th grades, (desegregation to be effective September, 1961).

Georgia State College of Business Administration under Federal court order not to refuse applicants on basis of race.

A few ~~students~~ students are known to have been admitted to predominately Negro private colleges : Clark College, Morehouse College and Atlanta University. (One previously all-white private college is thought to have admitted a few Negro students: Columbia Theological Seminary.

(b) Student protest acitvity began early March, included sit-ins at theatrical performance at municipal audeitorium, department sote cafeteria, ("maverick"group), newspaper ad. On Appeal For Human Rights. Simultaneous sit-ins at eating facilities in 9 public places on March 15, resulted in arrest of 83 students. Cases have not yet been brought to trial. Other student activity has included picketing of grocery stores, sit-ins at churches, a march to state capitol building (diverted for the most part, by city police, to by-pass antagonistic mob which had gathered in Capitol area), demonstration at Fulton County Board of Registrars. City hall cafeteria, open to cit employees only, has been desegregated, apparently as a result of protest movement. Instances of Negroes being seated without regard to segregation at Municipal Auditorium concerts and Chastain Park ampitheater performances have occurred during the summer and early fall.

(c). public transportation desegragatednby court order.

public libraries desegregated

ppublic golf courses desegregated by court order.

airport restaurant desegregated by court order.

2. Birmingham

(a). Petition filed in U.S. District Court June 17, 1960, asking end to segregation in public schools.

(In earlier Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education, Negro pupils' entry to white schools was denied under state pupil placement law, which was held not invalid on its face.)

(b). Sit-ins in late March caused at least five stores to close their lunch counters temporarily. 10 Negroes were arrested on trespass charges.

(c). All public facilities thought to be rigidly segregated. Suits are pending, in early stages of litigation, against segregated airport restaurant, airport limousine service, public parks and playgrounds. Segregated elevators are still maintained in a few buildings.

3. Dallas

(a). Public schools under court order to desegregate in September, 1961.

Dallas medical and dental branches of University of Texas are desegregated. Dallas Theological Seminary desegregated.

(b). Sit-ins in lunch counters in late April..Some counters reportedly desegregated as a result,

(c). Public transportation facilities desegregated.

Golf courses opened to both races June 1954.

4. Louisville

(a) Public schools desegregated.

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Ursuline College, University of Louisville desegregated.

(b). No student protest activity reported.

(c). Public transportation, parks, golf courses, swimming pools, municipal auditorium, ampitheatre desegregated.

5. Memphis

(a) Public school suit in litigation, brought in March 1960.

Memphis State College desegregated 1959.

(b) Sit-ins at public library, art gallery, lunch counters in private establishments, lunch counters in bus stations, and churches resulted in the arrest of at least 112 Negroes (and some 90 convictions, some of which have been appealed.)

No desegregation has been reported.

(c) Suit attacking segregated seating on city buses has been in litigation four years.

Other suits are pending asking desegregation of public library, city parks, and recreational facilities and airport facilities.

6. San Antonio

(a) Public schools are desegregated.

Six colleges in the area, both municipal and private, have Anglo, Latin-American, and Negro students.

(b) Three separate groups began discussions during February: lunch counter managers, religious and civic leaders, and NAACP. An NAACP "ultimatum" in mid-

led to a joint discussion by the three groups, the outcome of which was a decision to desegregate drug, variety store and department store lunch counters. Later, demonstrations occurred at Joske's (department store) more fashionable restaurants, which had not desegregated.

(c) As another outcome of lunch counter desegregation, an interracial commission has been set up, with the executive director of the Community Welfare Council as its chairman. Its purpose is to consider quietly desegregation of various facilities : hotels, motels, restaurants.

Public golf courses desegregated in June, 1954.

All other public recreational facilities, including swimming pools, desegregated in March, 1956.

Public transportation is desegregated.

7. Houston

(a) Public schools desegregated September, 1960, in compliance with court order.

Houston medical and dental branches of University of Texas desegregated.

(b) Student protest, beginning in early March, included prayers on city hall steps, sit-ins at private eating facilities, bus station cafeteria, and city hall eating facilities. Some 80 counters and other luncheon facilities were desegregated as a result. Arrests were minimal.

A 41 member Citizens Relation Committee was appointed

in connection with the protest movement. It was announced in June that no more meetings would be held.

(c) Golf courses opened to both races in June, 1954. It is unknown whether libraries, parks, public transportation facilities are desegregated.

8. New Orleans

(a) Public schools under court order to desegregate effective November 14, 1960.
New Orleans branch of LSU is desegregated.

(b) Protest acitvity has included parade, picketing, sit-in at private establishments and in churches. Some 30 arrests have resulted. Demonstrations recently intensified. Segregationist picketing has also occurred. Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrision directed police department not to tolerate any more sit-ins or picketing of retail stores, September 12.

(c) City Park dropped segregation December, 1958, on court orders. (It is unknown whether park swimming pools were desegregated.)
City buses are desegregated.

9. Fort Worth

(a) School suit filed in 1959.
Brite College of the Bible, Southwestern Baptist Seminary, and graduate School of Texas Christian University desegregated.

(b) No student protest activity reported.

(c) Public golf courses desegregated 1955.

10. Jacksonville

(a) No school or college desegregation.

(b) Initial sit-ins at variety store counters in March. In mid-August members of the Youth Council of the Jacksonville NAACP began a series of demonstrations in the downtown area: Sit-ins and picketing. Only minor incidents occurred during the first two weeks; however, on August 27, a mob of white men armed with baseball bats, ax handles and walking sticks gathered, marched on area of sit-ins. General street fighting followed as, apparently, white mob attacked any Negroes in the area. Incidents of violence and vandalism continued into the night, throughout entire down-town area. Rival Negro gangs, joined to retaliate, threw rocks and other objects at cars with white occupants entering Negro housing areas. An uneasy truce evolved, after Negro leadership in the area persuaded gangs to cease retaliation. Police action throughout the fracas appears to have been delayed, poorly coordinated at critical times.

(c) No known desegregation of public facilities.

11. Miami

(a) Four public schools have bi-racial attendance, as a result of voluntary action by school board. Barry College (Private) desegregated.

(b) CORE sponsored sporadic sit-ins in 1959. Some student protest activity at lunch counters in 1960, resulting in desegregation of lunch counters in 4 chain of stores in August.

(c) City transportation desegregated.

Municipal golf course desegregated in 1958 on court order. Clubhouse leased to individual for segregated aptitution.

Libraries desegregated.

(All Miami recreational facilities were opened to Negroes by action of City Manager in 1959; however, the city commission rescinded the order several days later.)

12. Norfolk

(a) Public schools desegregated

(total Negro enrollment in six desegregated schools: 23)

Norfolk Division of William and Mary is desegregated.

(b) Picketing and sit-ins at private establishments having lunch counters starting February 12. Some 15 variety store counters in Norfolk-Portsmouth area desegregated in July.

(c) Buses desegregated.

13. Oklahoma City

(a) Public schools desegregated.

Oklahoma City University desegregated.

(b) NAACP Youth Council sponsored sit-ins began in 1958, at downtown lunch counters and at churches. Shortly thereafter, segregation policy was eliminated at four of the five stores singled out. A church-affiliated mediation committee formed, held discussions with proprietors, and some 30 establishments eventually desegregated eating facilities.

GEORGIA

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA

A. Population, Urbanization

1958 *	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	3,934,000	2,791,000	1,143,000	29.1
Urban Population***	1,827,000	1,248,000	579,000	31.6
Urban Population as % of Total	46.4	44.7	50.7	

1950 **	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	3,444,578	2,380,577	1,064,001	30.9
Urban Population***	1,559,447	1,067,911	491,536	31.5
Urban Population as % of Total	45.3	44.9	46.2	

* Source - Georgia Dept. of Public Health, estimate
** Source - U. S. Census, 1950
*** New Definition, 1950, U. S. Census

B. Median Income, 1949, Persons Over 14 (U. S. Census, 1950)

	Total	White	Non-white
Georgia	$1,130.	$1,515.	$ 610.
United States	1,917.	2,053.	952.

C. Median School Years Completed by Persons Over 25 (U. S. Census, 1950)

	White	Non-white
Georgia	8.8	4.9
United States	9.7	6.9

II. FORCES RESISTANT TO DESEGREGATION

A. Statements of Public Office Holders

1. Governor Ernest Vandiver: "The people of Georgia and their new governor say to the United States Supreme Court, that we will fight it wherever it raises its ugly head, in these very streets, in every city, in every town, and in every hamlet - until sanity is restored in the land." (Inaugural address to the General Assembly, January 1959) Governor Vandiver pledged, during his campaign, that if he were elected there would be no integration in Georgia during his tenure in office.(Former Governor Griffin, nominated in the 1954 Democratic primary, pledged: "Come hell or high water, races will not be mixed in Georgia schools.")

2. Attorney General Eugene Cook - In a 1955 advisory opinion to the people of Georgia, Cook advised local school boards to make no move toward school desegregation, saying that Georgia was not a party to the Supreme Court decisions. (August 1955) In a December 1955 speech at Yale University, he told his audience, "We in Georgia intend to circumvent this decision." He charged that the nine U. S. Supreme Court Justices were "either power-crazy or mentally sick" in a 1956 statement.

3. U. S. Senator Richard Russell: "It (the 1954 Supreme Court school decision) may well result in the destruction of the common school system of some states...It is a clear invasion of the prerogatives of the legislative branch of our government of divided powers." (May 1954)

4. U. S. Senator Herman Talmadge:

   a. As Governor of Georgia - "I was elected Governor of Georgia on the solemn promise to maintain our accepted way of life; so long as I hold office it shall be done." (May 1954, in reaction to the Supreme Court School Decision)

   b. As U. S. Senator - "Regardless of whether one accepts it or not, the Supreme Court's school decision is an accomplished fact which will remain so until it either is reversed by the court itself or is nullified or modified by Congress or the people..." (January 1959, before the Senate in proposing a constitutional amendment vesting exclusive administrative control of public schools in the states)

GEORGIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS — PAGE

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA
- A. Population, Urbanization — 1
- B. Median Income — 2
- C. Median School Years Completed — 3

II. FORCES RESISTANT TO DESEGREGATION
- A. Statements of Public Office Holders — 4
- B. Major Official Actions — 5
  - 1. Interposition — 5
  - 2. Schools — 5, 6
  - 3. NAACP — 7
  - 4. State Segregation Committees — 8
- C. Private Organizations — 9, 10, 11
- D. Press — 11

III. SUPPORTING FORCES
- A. Legislation — 12
- B. Intergroup Organizations — 13
- C. Forces Supporting Public Education — 14, 15
- D. Forces Favoring Desegregation — 16, 17

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES
- A. Education — 18, 19
- B. Elections and Appointments — 22
- C. Employment — 23, 24
- D. Health and Medical Care — 25
- E. Housing — 26
- F. Jury Duty — 27
- G. Law Enforcement — 27, 28
- H. Professional and Fraternal Groups, Organizations — 29
- I. Public Accommodations and Facilities — 30, 31
- J. Recreational Facilities — 32
- K. Suffrage — 33, 34
- L. Transportation — 35
- M. Violence and Intimidation — 36, 37, 38

B. Major Official Actions Designed to Preserve Segregation

1. Interposition: Resolution declaring the May 17, 1954, and the May 31, 1955, decisions of the United States Supreme Court null, void, and of no effect passed by General Assembly in 1956.

2. Schools:

a. Constitutional Amendment - "Private School Amendment", proposed prior to the 1954 decision and ratified in the November 1954 general election by a vote of 210,488 to 181,148. Provided for grants of state, county or municipal funds to citizens of the state for educational purposes, thereby discharging all obligations of the state to provide education.

b. Legislation - Numerous laws designed to preserve segregation in the schools have been enacted since 1954. Among the most important are those (1) authorizing the governor to close any school or unit of the university system*; (2) limiting entrance to undergraduate and graduate schools of the University System to those 21 and 25 years of age or under, respectively; (3) providing for educational grants to individual students when public schools are closed; (4) prohibiting the expenditure of state or local funds for any public school system not segregated; (5) authorizing the leasing of public school properties for private use; (6) allowing state income tax deductions for private contributions to any non-profit educational corporation.

* Atlanta League of Women Voters, April 1959, questioned this 1959 law which is "cumulative" and does not supersede earlier law requiring all schools in a district to be closed in event of integration.

c. Actions by the State Board of Education

(1) In July, 1955 resolved to revoke license of any teacher who approved of teaching, or agreed to teach, racially mixed classes, and of any teachers belonging to the NAACP or any "allied" organization. State-wide public protest caused the Board to rescind its order. Substitute resolution adopted, requiring each teacher to sign an oath, administered by local school boards, to "uphold, support and defend the constitution and laws" of Georgia.

(2) 1957 resolution prohibited participation by students in interracial meetings or programs of any club, organization or group.

3. NAACP - Legislative acts and resolutions designed to hamper the activities of the NAACP have included:

(a) Act No. 514 of the 1957 regular session, which defines and provides punishments for the crime of barratry (the fomenting or inciting of litigation).

(b) Resolution Act 18, 1958, creating a joint interim committee of the House and Senate to investigate the need for further legislation defining and prohibiting barratry. (The jurisdiction of the Committee extends to investigation of the activities of all persons or groups in anywise encouraging litigation in the state.)

(c) HB 272 (1959). Allows unincorporated organizations to sue and be sued as entities in their common names. (As of this date it has not received the gubernatorial signature.) Proponents of the measure said it was aimed at the NAACP, while opponents charged that it was a union-busting device, since the NAACP is incorporated. However, both houses passed the measure with little opposition.

h. State Segregation Committees: The Georgia Education Commission, created by 1953 special session at request of Governor Talmadge, functioned from that year until abolished in 1959. The Commission, whose purpose was to find means of circumventing U. S. Supreme Court school desegregation decisions, during the first years of its existence confined its activities to the proposal of legislation to continue segregation in the Georgia schools. In 1957, members of the Commission agreed to spend approximately $376,000, over a two-year period, in promoting and advertising "the Georgia way of life." Some of the subsequent activities of the Commission, under the directorship of T. V. Williams, Jr., included:

a. Purchase of electronic listening and recording devices and a telescopic camera totaling $3,198.38. (October, November 1957)

b. Distribution of around 200,000 copies of a newspaper charging that Tennessee's Highlander Folk School is a "Communist training center," with photographs of integrated workshop sessions at the school made by a Georgia state employee who worked as an "undercover agent" and "infiltrated" the meetings (according to a statement made by T. V. Williams, Jr., October 1957)

c. Authorization of printing and distribution of photographs taken at an interracial meeting of Georgia Council of Churches (authorization made at a January 1958 meeting of the Commission).

d. Distribution of 100,000 booklets attempting to prove that NAACP is Communist dominated; distribution of 20,000 copies of a pamphlet supporting Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus, mailed to citizens of Little Rock on the eve of the 1958 Arkansas gubernatorial primary.

In late 1958, T. V. Williams, Jr. resigned following public charges that he caused staff time to be spent on campaign activities supporting Gubernatorial candidate W. T. Bodenhamer. Among administration (Vandiver, who was elected over Bodenhamer) measures passed by the 1959 Georgia General Assembly were bills abolishing the GEC and establishing a Commission on Constitutional Government. The purpose of the new Commission is to delineate sovereignty of state and federal governments, and to recommend action to prevent "encroachment" by the latter.

C. Private Organizations

1. County Commissioners: The 41st annual convention of Georgia's County Commissioners bitterly attacked Supreme Court and adopted resolution declaring, in part, "Regardless of what the Federal Government or any division thereof says or does there will not be mixing of the races in our schools, and we positively and unequivocally so pledge ourselves." (April 1955)

2. Georgia Education Association: A resolution supporting "separate but equal" public schools in Georgia has been approved by that organization in each annual convention since 1954. Only in 1959 convention did the "separate but equal" phrase provoke strong opposition; the vote was 569 in favor of the resolution, 257 opposed. (March 1959)

3. American Resettlement Foundation: Interested in moving Southern Negroes into northern white neighborhoods, under the leadership of State Representative A. A. Fowler, Jr. Fowler charged that numerous Northern political figures advocating civil rights live in areas barring residence of Negroes and Jews. He implied that they would be the first to receive new neighbors (Negroes from the South). No recent activity by the organization has been reported in the press.

4. Fund for Izola League: A group of white residents of Cartersville announced they were receiving donations to pay for legal defense for Mrs. Izola Ware Curry, charged with stabbing Rev. Martin Luther King in New York City. Spokesman stated that the Cartersville group was the first chapter, but that other chapters of the "Fund for Izola League" might be formed. (September 1958)

5. States Rights Democrats: The Society of States Rights Democrats of America, Inc., granted a charter in May 1958, with the power of turning itself into a political party on the local and national levels. Incorporation was termed "the first step toward preparation for a fight that will come only if forced upon us by the leftists and so-called liberals of the Democratic Party who long since have demonstrated their willingness to destroy the Constitution...in order to humiliate us." The charter provided that society would be activated only when two-thirds of the members of the Georgia State Democratic Committee approved it. No such approval has been given, as of March, 1959.

6. <u>States Rights Council of Georgia</u>: Incorporated December 1954. On September 23, 1955, at the invitation of Governor Griffin, 200 prominent and influential political and business leadersmet and voted to support the movement as "a statewide organization dedicated to the preservation of constitutional government and the maintenance of harmonious race relations." Charter members included Herman Talmadge, Roy Harris, Governor Griffin, Lt. Governor Vandiver, John Sammons Bell (State Democratic Chairman), several members of the University Board of Regents and the State Board of Education. Rev. Wm. T. Bodenhamer, state representative and State Board of Education member, was executive secretary until he resigned in 1958 to enter the governor's race; W. A. Lufburrow replaced Bodenhamer as executive secretary. R. Carter Pittman, Dalton attorney, is president of the group. Distribution of literature is one of the Council's prime program activities. However, an example of activity in other areas was its 1956 attack on the Atlanta Urban League: resolution adopted urging Community Chest to eliminate League as a fund recipient since it was "inimical to the best interest of our society in the field of race relations." State political figures seemingly support States Rights Council without qualification. In January 1959, a letter urging attendance at a fund-raising dinner was sent out over Governor Ernest Vandiver's signature. Senators Russell and Talmadge were speakers at the dinner.

7. U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: During August 1955, announcements were made that an Atlanta auto-assembly plant worker named Eldon Edwards had been appointed Imperial Wizard of a revived Klan movement. Since then group has obtained a charter and has begun to hold public meetings. 1956 and 1957 saw a rather conspicuous flurry of public activity - primarily public meetings and crossburnings attended by robed (but unmasked) Klansmen. However, a 1958 report (from a source unsympathetic to the KKK) stated that Georgia "has not witnessed the gradual fragmentation of the KKK, as in other states. But here it seems to be lying dormant..." (Anti-Defamation League)

D. Press

The Augusta Courier (Roy Harris, editor) and the Georgia Tribune (Parson Jack Johnson), the latter published in Columbus, Ga., are state's most flagrantly racist publications. Courier regularly runs the following headline-type filler: "Supreme Court Ought to be Impeached - See Your Congressman."

Other papers with emphatically pro-segregationist editorial policy include: the North Side News and the Metropolitan Herald, Atlanta (weeklies with limited circulation) and the Augusta Herald.

III. SUPPORTING FORCES

A. Legislation

1. Anti-Mask, Anti-Crossburning Laws, aimed at Ku Klux Klan

   a. State. In 1951 by a 149 to 1 vote in the House, a 38 to 0 vote in the Senate, enacted a law forbidding: (1) wearing of masks on public property; and (2) burning of crosses on private property except by written permission of the property owner. Measure further provides that individuals cannot wear masks on private property without owner's written permission.

   b. Local. The following cities have ordinances forbidding or limiting wearing of masks: Albany, Atlanta, Eatonton, Macon, Valdosta, Columbus, Wrightsville, Swainsboro, Gainesville, Iron City, Cedartown, Moultrie, Augusta, Claxton.

2. "Dynamite Laws"

   a. Sale of Explosives: Regulation of sale of explosives is under jurisdiction of State Fire Safety Commissioner. Anyone may purchase explosives; law requires that dealers keep records of all purchases for two years, which "may at any time" be examined by authorized officials. (Stricter regulations requiring certificates to be issued by ordinaries to persons buying the explosives were repealed in 1955.)

   b. Penalty for Bombing: The Georgia Code (Acts 1897, p. 99) provides the death penalty for malicious destruction of houses or places of business or lodging.

B. Intergroup Organizations

1. The Southern Regional Council. (Although South-wide in its range of activity, the Council's headquarters are located in Atlanta.)

2. The Georgia Council on Human Relations, and its affiliates in the following cities and counties: Atlanta, Macon, Cobb County, Augusta, Columbus.

3. Regional Office of the NAACP is in Atlanta.

4. Local chapters of the NAACP

5. Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office, Atlanta

6. Citizens Bi-Racial Committee (The formation of such a committee was undertaken by a 1958 Fulton County (Atlanta) Grand Jury, acting as a private group. The Committee is not yet functioning.) (March 1959)

7. Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta. (Headed by Martin Luther King, Sr. in Georgia; affiliated with SCLC's in other states, formed by Martin Luther King, Jr.)

8. American Jewish Committee, Southeast Regional Office

9. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Regional Office

10. Jewish Community Relations Council

11. Urban League (Regional Office and local league)

12. Georgia Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission includes: Sylvan Meyer (temporary chairman), Gainesville newspaper editor; L. D. Milton (acting secretary), Atlantabanker; the Rt. Rev. T. James McNamara, Savannah; Dr. F. D. Funderburg, physician from Monticello; Mrs. H. B. Trimble, Atlanta, member of the National Board of Missions of the Methodist Church; Howard See, Atlanta and Fairburn, retired vice-president of the Armco Drainage and Metal Products Company and member of the personnel board of the City of Atlanta.

C. Forces Supporting Public Education, Even Though Desegregated:

1. H.O.P.E. (Help Our Public Education). A citizens group organized for the purpose of preserving public education in Georgia, founded in Atlanta in late 1958. Other chapters have been formed in Marietta and Gainesville; H.O.P.E. officials expect 15 to 20 additional groups to organize throughout the state within the coming month (April, 1959). An estimated 1,500 persons attended an Atlanta rally of H.O.P.E. in March, 1959.

2. 312 white ministers and Rabbis of the Greater Atlanta area issued a statement in late 1958 calling for preservation of public school system, obediance to law, and increasing understanding between races.

3. 419 Atlanta area white doctors made public a statement of conviction that closing of public schools in Georgia would constitute a major catastrophe. (Fall, 1958)

4. 250 full-time faculty members of Emory University published an appeal to save public school system. (Fall, 1958)

5. Other statements of opposition to closing the schools issued by:

   a. The Georgia Council of Churches

   b. The Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta

   c. 31 faculty members at Oglethorpe University

   d. 97% of the Agnes Scott faculty

   e. The United Church Women of Georgia

   f. The Leagues of Women Voters of Atlanta and Georgia

   g. 160 members of the Atlanta Communicable Disease Branch of the Scientific Research Society of America

   h. The West End Cascade Heights Civitan Club

   i. Parent-Teacher Associations (18) in the Atlanta School System (results of a poll); 2 DeKalb County PTA's

   j. 1,950 Georgia Tech students out of a poll involving 2,741 students

k. The Active Voters

l. The Georgia Council on Human Relations; the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

m. Students for Open Schools (A group of high school students organized at Druid Hills High School, Atlanta, with chapters in other areas.)

n. Among public figures supporting preservation of the present school system (in separate statements) have been: Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield; DeKalb County Representative James A. Mackay; Shorter College President Randall Minor; DeKalb County School Superintendent Jim Cherry; Fulton County Representative M. M. Smith.

6. The Atlanta Constitution and the Gainesville Daily Times have editorially opposed the closing of any public schools.

The Macon Telegraph and the North Georgia Tribune favor local option for Atlanta in the matter of compliance with federal court orders.

D. Forces Favoring Desegregation

1. "The Atlanta Manifesto," a statement signed by 80 ministers and calling for obedience to law, was released for publication in November, 1957. The Manifesto, adopted by Georgia Council of Churches, endorsed by a group of Negro ministers, and a similar statement was published by 33 Columbus ministers and rabbis in December, 1957.

   A "Guide for Thought and Action in Race Relations," calling for preservation of the public schools, open avenues of communication, freedom of thought and expression, was adopted by the Gainesville-Hall County Ministerial Association in April, 1958.

2. The United Church Women of Atlanta, in an official resolution, deplored situations "where state officials interpose themselves between the authority of the federal government and local governments..." (September 1957)

   Statewide white and interracial groups who have publicly advocated desegregation include Georgia Council of Churches, the United Church Women of Georgia, the Georgia Council on Human Relations and its cooperating local councils.

3. The North Georgia Methodist Conference gave overwhelming approval (335 to 128) to a proposal that would allow racial integration within the denomination's organization. (June 1957)

4. Illustrative of Negro support is the fact that the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, representing some 9,000 Negro teachers, adopted three resolutions in its 1956 convention, calling for: a) Integration in Georgia schools "with a spirit of fair play and good will;" b) A reaffirmation of "belief in maintaining public schools in the state;" c) Federal aid to education, which the association termed "urgently needed and requested."

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES

A. Education

1. Private and Parochial Secondary and Elementary Schools: None desegregated

2. Public Secondary and Elementary Schools: None desegregated

3. Institutions of Higher Education:

a. It is the stated policy of 5 private colleges to admit all students, regardless of race. (Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of actual desegregation in these schools is not available.) None of the 31 other private colleges will allow desegregation.

Institutions	Legal Control
Atlanta University, Atlanta (formerly All Negro)	Private
Clark College, Atlanta (formerly all Negro)	Methodist
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Morehouse College, Atlanta (formerly all Negro)	Private
Spelman College, Atlanta (formerly all Negro)	Private

b. Georgia law provides that General Assembly "may exempt from taxation" private colleges, provided that "endowments to institutions established for white people, shall be limited to white people."

The same qualification applies to Negro institutions.

4. Community Actions; Suits Pending:

a. A Federal District Court ruling in January 1959 required Georgia State College of Business Administration (Atlanta) to admit qualified students regardless of race. Registration of new students at all state colleges suspended "temporarily" by Board of Regents immediately following this decision. It was removed by the Board in April, after the formation of new entrance regulations.

> Students within age limits must show: "promise of scholastic success...good moral character...seriousness of purpose... social responsibility...qualifications for growth and development."
>
> Regulations for over-age applicants: must show good intent and purpose: "a proper sense of social responsibility and a reasonable promise of favorable personality adjustment; general fitness, including psychological factors; that his admission would further his own and the college's best interests; has ability and character enough to justify his further education at public expense."

Three Negro women then forwarded application blanks to Georgia State College in Atlanta, but were disqualified on grounds of lacking transcripts, prerequisite College Entrance Examination tests, or academic requirements for admission. (May 11, 1959)

On May 11, 1959 chairman of the Georgia University System Board of Regents Robert O. Arnold proposed admission qualifications so stringent that "damn few white people and no Negroes can get in."

b. A suit was filed in January of 1958 by 10 parents of 28 Negro children attending Atlanta public schools, seeking court order forbidding Atlanta Board of Education from operating racially segregated public schools. U. S. District Court judges have promised a trial "at such time as will result in a decision prior to the September 1959 opening of Atlanta schools."

c. A group of 17 Negro parents petitioned the Chatham County board of education to allow their children to attend desegregated public schools in July 1955. The petition was referred to a board committee.

d. The BibbCounty (Macon) Board of Education shelved until "a constructive and proper" time the request of 42 persons and the local unit of the NAACP for a conference to discuss desegregation of county schools. (December, 1954)

B. Elections and Appointments

1. Negroes serving in public office since 1950 have included:

a. Mr. Rufus E. Clement, first elected to the Atlanta School Board in 1953, re-elected in 1957.

b. Dr. C. A. Bacote and Mr. J. C. Daugherty elected to Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in September 1958.

c. W. C. Ervin elected to the Augusta Board of Education in 1952.

d. Two new positions on the Gainesville Board of Education were created by the city commission in 1954 and Negroes were appointed to fill both places. Appointees were Dr. E. E. Butler and D. S. Lowe, Jr. (June 1954).

2. Negroes running for public office (1957-58):

a. T. M. Alexander for Atlanta Board of Alderman in May, 1957. (His opponent's plurality of only some 6,000 votes forced a run-off, in which Mr. Alexander was defeated.)

b. W. C. Ervin for re-election to Augusta Board of Education in 1957; defeated.

c. Members of the Negro Young Men's Progressive Club petitioned the Muscogee County (Columbus) grand jury to consider B. P. Lawton for membership on the county school board in July 1958.

Three appointments were to be filled from a total of 14 names, all submitted by petition, and Mr. Lawton evidently was not appointed.

d. Four Negroes ran for places on Fulton County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party in 1958. Two were elected, two defeated.

e. C. D. Walker, the first Negro to run for a municipal post in Savannah since Reconstruction, for the aldermanic board in 1958.

f. Eight Negroes qualified as candidates for membership on the Liberty County Democratic Executive Committee in early 1958.

C. Employment

1. Federal and Municipal:

a. The chairman of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, Maxwell Abbell, reported after a meeting with the heads of Atlanta's federal agencies (March, 1956) "a great deal of progress is being made here." "The biggest problem in trying to enforce the President's ruling here is the hostile atmosphere," he said. "Most of the supervisors and directors I have talked to here appear to be doing the best they can, but they cannot overlook the feeling of the citizens they must deal with."

The committee had heard many complaints of discrimination because most of the federal jobs occupied by Negroes in this area are "on the bottom of the ladder," he said.

b. An August 1956 survey of 46 federal establishments and their subdivisions in greater Atlanta area revealed that in 40 no Negroes were employed in clerical, administrative or supervisory capacity. 1958 investigations indicated some increase in Negro employment in non-traditional type positions in Atlanta federal agencies; at least 48-49 such positions held by Negroes in seven of the 46 agencies. However, positions were primarily those which would necessitate contact with exclusively Negro clientele.

c. Negro policemen are employed in:

(1) Atlanta - A total of 31 Negro policemen are presently employed by the Atlantapolice department (April, 1959). 4 of this number are Detectives, 3 are patrolmen serving as turnkeys in police station, 24 are patrolmen.

(2) Macon -

(3) Savannah - In 1954 Savannah had a total of 12 Negro policemen.

(4) Rome -

2. Private:

a. For the first time, Lockheed (Marietta) Aircraft plant hired a Negro professional worker, assigned to its mathematical computing section. (1955) The number has since increased to at least four mathematicians.

NAACP in late 1956 investigated employment conditions at the Lockheed plant. Quotations from NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill's reports follow:

"Of the 450 job classifications established within the plant, Negroes are to be found in no more than 30, most of whom are working in two segregated departments.

"The company employs 1,350 Negroes out of a total work force of 18,000 workers. This limited figure represents an unusually large number of Negro employees in industrial plants in and around Atlanta.

"Lockheed Aircraft Corporation employs 2,400 white women but only seven Negro women, all in custodial menial jobs.

"One has only to walk through the plant to witness the total pattern of racial segregation in every phase of the Company's operation. White and colored signs are to be found throughout the plant, over water fountains, in the plant cafeteria and even in the medical dispensary. One finds isolated groups of Negroes working in separate sub-assembly operations. All of the custodial workers such as janitors, washroom attendants, refuse collectors, etc., are Negroes."

NAACP complaints filed with the President's Committee on Government Contracts against Lockheed Aircraft following the findings reported above resulted in the opening of Company-Union conducted apprentice training programs and some non-traditional job classifications to Negroes.

b. Negro employment is negligible in such major industrial plants as the General Motors and Ford plants in the Atlanta area, according to NAACP reports.

D. Health and Medical Care

1. Georgia's Veteran's Administration hospitals are not segregated.

2. Was announced that desegregated student nurse training program at Macon Hospital was discontinued due to "pressure" coming after the introduction, in the General Assembly, of a bill cutting off state funds to schools with desegregated training programs.(February 1956)

3. The Fulton County Medical Society voted 243 to 117 against a constitutional amendment to admit Negroes without restrictions in October, 1956. "Scientific" (limited) membership remained open to Negro doctors.

4. In Rome the one Negro physician has access to city hospital and meets regularly with the white staff, according to a 1956 report.

5. Georgia Law requires that hospitals are to be divided into "proper and distinct apartments...so that in no case shall Negroes and white persons be together."

6. Three Negroes have served on the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association.

7. According to data made public by Mr. Furman Smith, there are more than 600 white doctors in Atlanta but only about 35 Negro doctors. Atlanta has only 3½ hospital beds per 1,000 of its non-white population, less than half the national standard available for Negroes. (April, 1959)

E. Housing:

1. A 1957 study of low rent housing needs in a northwest Georgia town of almost 8,000 people (an estimated 2,000 of whom were Negroes) indicated that of the 196 Negro renter families residing in the town, 189 families lived in substandard dwelling units. 102 of the units lacked inside flush toilets, 177 lacked hot water, 87 did not have running cold water, 161 had no bathtub or shower, and 153 were classified as "dilapidated."

2. Supreme Court refused to review lower court rulings in litigation initiated by Mrs. Queen Cohen, of Savannah, seeking to end racial discrimination in a public housing project in that city. (January 1959) The U. S. Circuit and District Courts found that Mrs. Cohen had failed to establish having filed application for admission to the project.

3. Police reported an Atlanta Negro family living in a white section received a threatening letter; it contained a newspaper clipping showing the picture of a home damaged by dynamite and the notation in red ink, "take warning from this." The family had rented an apartment in a vacant building between white residences. (March 30, 1956)

   At least three property destroying explosions have occurred in Georgia since 1956, all of them in racially mixed neighborhoods. (see Section M, Violence and Intimidation)

F. Jury Duty

U. S. Justice Department inquiry into jury selection methods in Cobb County closed with an announcement that F.B.I. investigators failed to find evidence that Negroes have been excluded from jury duty in the county since 1954. (February 1956)

G. Law Enforcement

1. Columbus white police officer, Joseph E. Cameron, arrested on charges of murder when a Negro minister died following his release from the city jail. (Arrest came shortly after FBI entered the case.) Although four witnesses, two of them white, testified they saw Cameron beat and kick the Negro, a Muscogee Superior Court Jury declared the policeman innocent after deliberating one hour and thirty-five minutes. (December 1957 - April 1958)

2. Atlanta officials of the NAACP released a statement charging members of the Atlanta police force with "harsh, unfair and brutal treatment of Negro citizens" in September, 1958.

3. A Citizens Committee, composed of a number of prominent Negro Atlantians, formed in September, 1958 following the shooting of a Negro man by Atlanta police. In a public statement, the Committee called for a complete investigation of the incident, and condemned "trigger happy" policemen.

4. Alleged brutalities by law enforcement officers in Dawson (Terrell County) during early 1958 included:

   A Negro, James Brazier, was clubbed to death by policemen because he protested against their beating his father. Brazier's 10-year old son was struck by policemen because he begged them to stop kicking his daddy.

   Another Negro was shot in the buttocks by a police officer.

   Willie Countryman, a third Negro, was shot in the stomach and killed. Police accounts of events leading to his death differed from those of Negro witnesses.

   A Negro mother was jailed when she visited her son, in jail for aiming a make-believe shotgun at a policeman and saying, "bang".

   Washington Post reporter Robert Baker, who reported the above incidents in June, 1958 was told by Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Matthews, "... there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line."

FBI investigations of these charges led the Department of Justice to ask for indictment of county law enforcement officers. A Macon federal grand jury refused to indict in August, 1958.

H. Professional and Fraternal Groups, Organizations:

1. A Negro appointed to policy board of Atlanta Community Chest for first time in January, 1956.

2. For the first time in the deep South, six Negro delegates attended the national convention of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. (Atlanta, 1955) The six had full voting privileges; all business meetings were desegregated.

3. Georgia Motor Club of American Automobile Association opened to Negroes in 1955.

4. In May 1956, the newly formed Georgia Intercollegiate Press Association included editors from both white and Negro colleges.

5. The Atlanta Local of the American Federation of Teachers voted unanimously to dissassociate itself from the national, an act provoked by an AFT ultimatum that the local desegregate its membership. (December 1956)

6. Rome Negro ministers meet regularly with whites in the Ministerial Alliance. The Atlanta Christian Council, composed of ministers of both races, also holds non-segregated meetings, as does the Georgia Council of Churches.

I. Public Accommodations and Facilities

1. Libraries:

The Chairman of AtlantaPublic Library Board agreed to appoint a committee to make recommendations on a petition requesting desegregation of its facilities. (October 1957; no further action had been reported in March, 1959.)

Library officials revelaed in May, 1959, that library employees had been instructed, several days earlier, to serve Negroes on the same basis as whites.

"Limited" service is extended to Negroes at the main branch of the Augusta public library. No other Georgia cities allowed Negroes either limited or full access to white libraries, according to a 1954 survey.

2. Restaurants:

Negro and white eating facilities are rigidly segregated in Georgia. Restaurants are generally in separate buildings, in separate sections of town (as opposed to the practice in some Southern localities of dividing one restaurant into Negro and white sections). Negroes are allowed "take-out service" at some lunch counters; they are rarely allowed to sit down to wait for the food to be prepared. Air line restaurants sometimes offer table service to Negroes (see below); eating facilities in Atlanta Veterans Administration hospital are not segregated. Infrequently, downtown Atlantarestaurants are called upon to serve a racially mixed group. If a private dining room is available, some restaurants will allow its use by such a group. A restaurant serving exclusively Negro clientele was opened on one of the main streets (Marietta) of downtown Atlantarecently. Its central location is a departure from the usual Georgia urban practices.

3. Department Stores:

Members of both races have been allowed to use the same water fountains in Atlanta's major department stores in recent years. Atlanta's largest department store, in 1958, attempted to equalize its separate public facilities for customers. New ladies' lounge for Negroes added and the old lounge redecorated, to compare favorably with the two (larger) white ladies' lounges. Negro cafeteria in the basement enlarged; it remains only eating area for Negroes in the very large store. Whites may eat in four separate restaurants or cafeterias.

Major Atlanta "dime stores" provide separate lunch counters and water fountains for Negroes and whites.

4. State office buildings in Atlanta provide only segregated facilities. Negro applicants for Automobile Operator's Permits must stand in a separate line, apply to a separate "window". Negro and white marriage liscenses are issued in entirely separate offices, on separate floors of a state office building.

5. By vote of 16-13, the Session of Druid Hills Presbyterian Church in Atlanta approved setting aside pews for Negroes at public worship as a "compromise" between two extreme views said to be held by the congregation. (April, 1959)

J. Recreational Facilities

1. Nine Georgia state parks have thus far been leased to private operators, for rentals averaging $2,000 a year, to safeguard segregation. (April 1956)

26 state park areas are available for whites; 4 state parks available to Negroes.

Atlanta Municipal Golf Courses were opened to Negro players after a ruling by the Supreme Court in December, 1955.

Atlanta's annual Arts Festival in municipal Piedmont Park is open to both Negro viewers and exhibitors.

2. Sports

Valdosta State College played a basketball game with an integrated team from Moody Air Force Base for first time in December, 1955.

The Sandersville Wacos, members of the Georgia State League, added Negroes to their roster in 1954.

Three Negroes joined the Columbus baseball team of the South Atlantic League in 1956 and attendance reportedly increased. Another South Atlantic League team, Macon, added Negroes in 1956 also. Augusta, in same league, had a Negro player in 1954.

A mob which at times numbered 2,000 people - mostly students at Georgia Institute of Technology - demonstrated in front of State Capitol and Governor's Mansion in protest of a gubernatorial request that the Board of Regents forbid athletic teams of the University System to engage in contests with racially mixed teams. (December, 1956) The Regents eventually adopted a resolution permitting athletic teams to play out-of-state games according to the customs of the home states, in-state games with all-white teams only.

K. Suffrage:

1. Negro Registration Figures

a. Negro registration 1958: 161,958 (estimated*)
b. Negro percentage of total registration, 1958: 12.4
c. Negro registration 1956: 163,389 (official)

* The decline in all probability can be accounted for by a drop of interest in an off-election year, and by periodic purging of voters' lists. This estimate was compiled as follows:

158,051 - reported by Secretary of State as statewide total exclusive of Gordon, Houston, Long, Spalding, Towns, Treutlen counties.
480 - reported by Houston County Board of Registrars
2,000 - reported by Spalding County Board of Registrars
1,427 - estimated in 1956 for Gordon, Long, Towns and Treutlen counties
161,958

2. Voter Accommodations

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes remain in use in many Georgia counties. A 1956 spot survey revealed:

a. McIntosh, Peach and Walton counties provide separate ballot boxes.

b. In Spaulding County, separate voting places for the races are provided.

c. Dublin required Negro voters to use separate ballot boxes; however, surrounding Laurens County did not.

3. Terrell County Vote Case

Suit was brought against the Board of Registrars of Terrell County and two deputy registrars by Civil Rights Division of the U. S. Department of Justice, September 1958. Government charges: 1) five persons denied registration solely because of race; 2) deliberate procrastination by Registrars in processing applications from Negroes. It was further noted that registration cards of different colors are kept for white and Negro voters.

Superior Court Judge Walter I. Geer reacted to the suit with an announcement that he would jail FBI agents or NAACP workers if they interfered with the functions of his court or its appointees. He subsequently ordered Registrars to withhold records from governmental investigators, then modified the order to one forbidding their release except on a subpoena duces tecum. Trial of the case is expected in June in the Americus division of the Middle Georgia District.

4. Randolph County

Negroes brought a class action against officials of the county in 1955 (U.S. District Court) alleging that their names had been removed from registration lists because of their race. The Court found that plaintiff's names had been removed on grounds of race and enjoined defendants from so removing names.

L. Transportation:

1. Intra-city Transportation

Only one city bus system is known to have abolished the segregated seating requirements for passengers: Atlanta. Desegregation of the Atlanta buses came in January, 1959, following a court order. No major incidents have resulted from the change-over. Taxi cabs remain rigidly segregated by city ordinance in Atlanta (a white taxicab driver was arrested on charges of transporting a Negro passenger in August, 1957), and in Macon. However, segregation policies in the use of taxi facilities vary from city to city in Georgia, as they do throughout the South. In Columbus, for example, white cab driver may carry Negro passengers but Negro drivers may not take white passengers.

2. Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms:

In Atlanta, buses have separate waiting rooms, although signs are down. Railway stations provide two waiting rooms, one general and unmarked, another marked "colored intra-state." There is infrequent use of the desegregated general waiting room by Negro interstate passengers. The Air Terminal offers desegregated waiting room facilities and rest-room (except for Negro employees) and encourages but does not usually require segregation in the restaurant. Sometimes Negroes are seated behind a screen in the latter facility. (A court suit is pending, brought by a Birmingham man who states he was refused desegregated service.)

Columbus bus station
~~XXXXXX~~ waiting rooms are rigidly segregated. Negroes, even interstate passengers, are not allowed to use white waiting room or restaurant. Two waiting rooms are provided in the train station; however, some infrequent use of the general waiting room is allowed. Although the airline waiting room is not segregated, toilets are. (Negroes have used the white rest-room without incident, however.) Negroes asking service at the airline lunch counter have been told that the management disapproved. Negro restaurants are some distance removed from all of these terminals.

In Macon, bus and train station facilities are all separate and non-segregated use is not permitted. The air line waiting room and restaurant are used on an unsegregated basis, however.

M. Violence and Intimidation

1. Bombings and Bombing Attempts

Atlanta: An explosion damaged a home into which a Negro family had moved a few days earlier, and caused minor damage to a neighboring home owned by a white man. Five Negroes in the house escaped injury. (March, 1956)

Atlanta: An explosion heavily damaged Negro-occupied house in predominantly white neighborhood. The Negro couple, who had rented the house shortly before, escaped injury. (July, 1956)

Ringgold: Police said an attempt to dynamite the tenant home of Phillip Huggins, Negro World War I veteran, failed when an 18-inch fuse burned out before reaching the explosive. (November 1957)

Columbus: An explosive - probably dynamite, according to Detective Capt. C. R. Adair - was thrown against a frame dwelling at 12:30 a.m., causing considerable damage. None of five Negro occupants was hurt. House was located on fringe of a white neighborhood. (July, 1958)

Atlanta: Early morning explosion caused heavy damage to the Reform Jewish Temple. No one was injured by the blast, which occurred shortly after 3:30 a. m. Detective Capt. Everett Little said the explosive "appears to have been dynamite" and estimated that from thirty to forty sticks would have been required to cause the extensive damage. (October, 1958) Five white men were arrested and charged with participation in the dynamiting. The first to be tried, George Allen Bright, was acquited after one mistrial due to a locked jury. Others have not been brought to trial.

2. Other Forms of Violence

Rossville: One-room frame shack destroyed by unexplained fire in January 1957. White owner had planned to let Negro man live in shack while working as laborer. Following threat and gathering of a crowd of about 300, owner agreed not to allow the shack to be so used. However, about two hours after crowd dispersed, shack was in flames.

Ringgold: Two Negro tenants, living in separate farm homes, were threatened by a group of robed men in August 1957, and ordered to leave county. Home of one burned two days after threat; seven sticks of unexploded dynamite (with burned out fuse) found under front porch of the second man's home in November of same year, 1957. (see Law Enforcement)

Americus, Ga: An interracial cooperative farm in Americus, Koinonia Farms, Inc., has been the object of violence and intimidation since April, 1956, when one of its white founders, Clarence Jordan, offered to co-sign the applications of two Negro students seeking admittance to an all-white college. Insurance cancellations and an almost unanimous economic boycott by Americus and surrounding Sumter County citizens were first directed against the farm; in June of 1956 a series of more violent attacks began. Since that time explosions destroyed the roadside market, an unused house burned, at least 18 incidents of gunfire aimed at farm property and people were reported during a ten month period. A Sumter County Grand Jury investigation of the incidents resulted in a presentment stating the Jury's belief that the farm might be a front for the Communist party and that the violence was committed by Koinonians themselves. No indictment was made, however. The charges were denied by Koinonia. Acts of violence decreased in 1958-59, but the boycott continues to effectively hamper the farm's operations.

3. Intimidation and Economic Reprisal

In Gray, the local theater manager was threatened with a KKK visit because he allowed Negroes to sit in the balcony on a segregated basis. Later, Klansmen from neighboring Bibb County rode down the main street. They denied any connection between the threats and the night ride, declaring group was only advertising future rally. (July, 1957)

Atlanta: The State Board of Regents stripped Dr. Guy H. Wells of honorary title of President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women because of his racial views. The State Board of Education then asked the Teacher Retirement Board to discontinue Wells' monthly pension; however, retirement officials rejected the action as unconstitutional.

Gwinnett County: The State Board of Education ordered pay of Mrs. Colleen M. Wiggins, teacher at the Bethesda school, withheld pending an investigation of her racial views after about 150 persons signed a petition asking her discharge because of statements on segregation. Mrs. Wiggins had told her high school class she would not object to teaching white and Negro students together if that were the practice. The County Board of Education held that Mrs. Wiggins "probably made unwise or indiscreet expressions" but that evidence did not justify her dismissal. Decision was appealed to the state board but before it could act Mrs. Wiggins resigned because she was expecting a baby. (November, December, 1956)

DeKalb County: A showing of "Island in the Sun," with a white and Negro cast, drew a placard-carrying crowd of objectors when it opened at a DeKalb County Drive-In Theatre. By court order, manager was enjoined from further showings of movie. (October, 1957)

Atlanta: All photographs of a racially mixed meeting of the Georgia Committee of the White House Conference on Education were banned by its chairman, George B. Whitman, Jr. No reasons were given. The group met at the State Dept. of Education to discuss plans for holding two (segregated) conferences on education. (July, 1955)

Shellman, Brooksville: The Rev. Henry A. Buchanan, a Macon-born Baptist minister, sharply critical of segregation, was ousted from the pastorate of three Georgia churches - the Shellman Baptist Church, the Friendship Church, and a church in Brooksville - for expressing his views. The minister's wife, who supported his views, was asked to resign as a teacher in the Shellman school by the Randolph County Board of Education. (December, 1954)

Carroll County States Rights Council attempted to prevent Atlanta Constitution editor, Pulitzer Prize winner, Ralph McGill from speaking at an Honors Day celebration at West Georgia College. However, faculty members and students requested that the invitation not be withdrawn, and McGill was given a warm welcome by the school. (May 9, 1959)

LOUISIANA

TABLE OF CONTENTS | PAGE

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA
- A. Population 1
- B. Median Income 2
- C. Median School Years Completed 3

II. ACTION DESIGNED TO RESIST DESEGREGATION
- A. Statements by Public Office Holders 4
- B. Major Actions of Legislature 5
  - 1. Interposition, Censure 5
  - 2. Schools 5
  - 3. Other 5
  - 4. "Anti-NAACP" Legislation 5,6
- C. Other Official Action 7,8
- D. Organizations Opposing Desegregation 9,10,11

III. ACTION SUPPORTING DESEGREGATION
- A. Electorate and Public Officials 12
- B. Organizations 13,14

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES
- A. Education 15,16
- B. Elections and Appointments 17
- C. Employment 18,19
- D. Health and Medical Care 20
- E. Housing 21
- F. Jury Duty 22
- G. Law Enforcement 22
- H. Membership in Voluntary Organizations 22
- I. Public Accommodations 23
- J. Recreation 24
- K. Suffrage 25
- L. Transportation 26
- M. Violence, Intimidation 27

L O U I S I A N A

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA

A. Population

1958*	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	3,130,173	2,067,740	1,062,433	33.9
Urban Population	1,595,638	1,106,241	489,397	30.6
Rural Population	1,534,535	961,499	573,036	37.4
Urban Population as % of Total	51.0	53.5	46.0	
1950 **	2,683,516	1,796,683	886,833	33.0
Urban Population	1,471,696	1,022,931	448,765	30.5
Rural Population	1,211,820	773,752	438,068	36.1
***Urban Population as % of Total	54.8	56.9	50.6	

* Source - Louisiana State Dept. of Health estimate

** Source - U. S. Census, 1950

*** We have no explanation for rural % increase 1958 over 1950. State estimates for 1958 are straight projection from 1950 census. An examination of figures suggests possibility that state is basing estimates on the old urban definition and not the new, which is the source of above 1950 figures. Straight-line projection may account also for the estimated increase in non-white percentage.

B. Median Income, 1949, persons over 14, U. S. Census

	Total	White	Negro
Louisiana	$1,259	$1,767	$774
United States	1,917	2,053	961

C. Median School Years Completed by Persons Over 25, U. S. Census, 1950

	White	Non-white
Louisiana	8.8	4.6
United States	9.7	6.9

II. ACTION DESIGNED TO RESIST DESEGREGATION

A. Statements by public office-holders:

1. Governor Robert F. Kennon: 1954 court decisions presented "no change in the legal situation of the public schools." He argued that the state was meeting its responsibility through equalization of separate educational facilities.

2. Attorney General Fred LeBlanc: "We are not parties to any of the segregation suits before the Supreme Court." (Following 1954 decision)

3. State Senator William M. Rainach: "Segregation is a natural order - created by God, in his wisdom...We should be ashamed of ourselves if we cannot win our fight. We are by no means broke, we can vote, we still have our own officials, and we can pack the NAACP off where it belongs. Our forefathers won the battle. We can win now." (1954)

4. Governor Earl K. Long: Won election on platform including pledge to close the state's public schools rather than submit to a federal desegregation order. (1956)

B. Major actions of legislature:

1. Interposition, Censure:

a. A May 20th, 1954 legislative resolution censured the Supreme Court for a "usurping of power." Only 4 votes opposed.

b. By unanimous vote adopted interposition resolution, May, 1956 (the sixth Southern state to do so).

2. Schools:

a. "16th Amendment" to state constitution, ratified in 1954, provides that separate schools for white and Negro children shall be maintained under the police power of the state. (Also called "Police Power" amendment.)

b. Other 1954 legislation prohibits State Board of Education approval of any school violating segregation requirements, and provides for pupil assignment to specific schools by local superintendents.

c. 1956 Constitutional Amendment withdraws permission for suits to be brought against "special agencies" of the state without legislative approval. Governing boards of public schools and parks are established as "special agencies."

d. 1958 enactments permit governor to close any school in a district in which one school is ordered integrated; authorized sale of school properties; set up rules for parent "cooperative" private schools; provide state grants for education in cooperative schools; and establish pupil assignment criteria to be employed by district superintendents.

3. Other:

a. Red Cross required to label blood plasma by race. (1958)

b. Joint Legislative Committee created for the purpose of "carrying on and conducting the fight to maintain segregation of the races." (1954)

4. "Anti-NAACP" Legislation:

a. Act 260 (1958)-Provides that associations of persons engaged in social, educational or political activities in the state are prohibited from being affiliated with any foreign or out-of-state association of which any of the officers or directors are members of Communist, Communist-front, or subversive organizations, as cited by the Un-American Activities Committee of the "House of Congress" or the U. S. Attorney-Reports.

b. Title 12, Section 401 - Requires organizations* to file each year with the Secretary of State a list of members and officers and their addresses.

c. Section 402 - Requires each subdivision or subordinate body of each organization* to file each year with the Secretary of State a list of members and officers and their addresses.

d. Section 403 - Prohibits meetings of organizations* and their subdivisions unless membership lists have been filed.

Section 405 - Empowers the Attorney General to dissolve by injunction or otherwise any organization* or subdivision violating the provisions outlined above.

e. Acts No. 248, 249**, 250, 252 of the 1956 Regular Session provide for removal of permanent teachers, school bus operators, and any other employes of public schools and public colleges in the state who are members of or who contribute to any group, organization, movement, or corporation that is prohibited by law or injunction from operating in the state of Louisiana.

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* "fraternal, patriotic, charitable, benevolent, literary, scientific, athletic, military, or social organizations, incorporated or unincorporated."

** Act 249 (pertaining to permanent teachers in the public school system) was held to be unconstitutional by federal district court judges in April, 1957, in connection with a suit attacking certain laws barring Negro students from attending white state colleges.

C. Other Official Action:

1. Joint Legislative Committee (headed by State Senator William M. Rainach)

a. A full page ad placed in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune in order to "carry the cause of the South to the nation." The ad suggested that the North adopt the Southern system of racial separation. (February, 1958)

b. Investigation of 66 LSU faculty signators of an American Civil Liberties Union petition opposing school closing bills. (June, July, 1958)

c. Hearings to find "the causes of racial unrest in the South" and to "paint the other half of the picture being given by the civil rights hearings in Washington."

At hearings held in Baton Rouge (March, 1957) six witnesses, all cooperative, described so-called "Communist infiltration" into intergroup and church centered organizations. "Star" witnesses were professed ex-Communists Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson. Committee Chairman Rainach said after the hearings that Communist agitation is behind the race troubles. Spokesmen for the accused group, none of which were represented during the hearings, called the charges "fantastic", "unjust," "misrepresentations and smears." (March, 1957)

2. Local Agencies

a. The Natchitoches police jury (administrative body of the parish) cancelled its contract with the Natchitoches Enterprise, formerly approved as an official journal, because editor Milton Beckerman signed an A.C.L.U. petition protesting legislation to close schools. (June, 1958)

b. Morehouse Parish School Board voted unanimously to discontinue use of a ninth grade general science textbook that some persons said contained "Un-American ideas on the origin of races." (November, 1955) This passage was among those cited as objectionable: "Living things which belong to recognizable kinds, which are alike in most physical traits, and which breed freely with each other are said to belong to one species. All men on this earth belong to one species--homo sapiens." Persons who object to the book said this is a plain insinuation that races "breed freely with each other" and is a dangerous socialistic trend of thought to instill in the younger generation.

c. Both the Claiborne Parish and the Bossier Parish School Boards placed a ban on three national magazines - Time, Life, and Look - because of what it called their "distorted" view of the segregation issue. Subscriptions were cancelled and back issues ordered removed from library shelves. (May, 1956)

d. Orleans Parish School Superintendent James Redmond ordered all copies of "The Rabbit Brothers" removed from the public schools. The Citizens Council of New Orleans had attacked the Anti-Defamation League booklet as an attempt to "brainwash" school children on the idea of racial integration. (September, 1956)

D. Organizations Opposing Desegregation

1. Church Centered Groups

a. Louisiana Baptist Convention, November 1957, resolved that forced integration "would be unwise and harmful" under prevailing circumstances.

b. Official publication of Louisiana Baptists, the Baptist Message, editorially attacked the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention for its views favoring desegregation. (August, 1957)

c. A Catholic Negro priest, sent to Jesuit Bend, was turned away from the church.

d. Mangum Memorial, one of Shreveport's largest Methodist Churches, adopted a resolution against desegregation in June, 1958. Spokesmen said that if Negroes presented themselves for membership in the church they would be courteously refused.

e. "Association of Catholic Laymen" was formed in 1956 (a few weeks after Archbishop Rummel's condemnation of segregation) with membership appeal directed to "Roman Catholics of the Caucasian race." Emile Wagner was group's founder. A public appeal to Rome for support was not answered, but the group remains active.

2. Other

a. Louisiana Farm Bureau Association went on records as opposing integration at its 1958 convention.

b. Delegates from posts composing Louisiana First District of American Legion adopted resolution condemning use of federal troops in Little Rock as "unlawful, unconstitutional, irresponsible, clumsy, and un-American." (October, 1957)

c. American Legionnaires at Homer pressed for a drive against desegregation in V. A. Hospitals. Arcadia and Minden posts offered support, with Arcadia Legionnaires condemning desegregation of patients as "adding to the dangers of social diseases." (December, 1956)

d. All 5 posts in the 13th district of the VFW signed a resolution opposing integration of white and Negro patients in V. A. Hospitals in Louisiana. (March, 1957)

3. Organized Resistance Groups

a. Ku Klux Klan

Dissolved in the thirties under state statute requiring membership lists to be filed with the secretary of state. Charter for renewed operation issued in May, 1956. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported in April, 1958, that subsequent activity has been sporadic and insignificant.

b. Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana

Headquarters in Homer; State Senator William M. Rainach, formerly president of the south-wide WCC organization, heads the state organization. A 1957 SRC report listed the following prominent Louisianans among officers: J. Stewart Slack of Shreveport (member of the LSU Board of Supervisors); Malcolm Dougherty, Baton Rouge (president, Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation); Dr. Emmett Irvin, New Orleans (past president of the Louisiana Medical Association); C. Carneal Goldman of Waterproff (attorney and farmer); and Harry P. Gamble, Sr., of New Orleans (president of American Association for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity). 1956 membership claim: 75,000 to 100,000 with over 50,000 members in New Orleans. Among recent activities:

(1) Monthly publication of "The Council Newsletter," June, 1958, issue editorialized as follows: "Our attention has recently been called to the current practice of certain large department and clothing stores in New Orleans of using a shadow-graph process to depict white and dark models in their advertisements appearing in the New Orleans newspapers.

"An investigation reveals that the shadow-graph ads are being sent to the stores from New York advertising centers, and in one large department store, the president has stopped using the cuts showing the dark models.

"In the opinion of an alert New Orleans housewife, the ads are being deliberately sent South for the purpose of accustoming our citizens, through the power of association and suggestion, to the idea of race mixing. The Councillor is indebted to this fine New Orleans Citizens Council member for advising us of the situation so that we may pass along the information to our readers, who may, in turn, watch for this type of advertisement and take whatever action they may see fit at stores where such suggestive advertising is used."

(2) Gave notice that through a constitutional provision for challenging the qualifications of registered voters or prospective registrants, "the problem of Negro registration will be solved in a legal way." In October, 1956, WCC units began challenging the qualifications of registrants in 13 parishes. Some 10,000 names were removed from registration lists. (see "Suffrage")

(3) Distributed literature attacking American Telephone and Telegraph Company for featuring Negro performers: "...(we) believe that there should be a stop to the ever-increasing Negroes featured on television, shown in close and intimate relations with white people. It is nothing more than integration of races in the most intimate medium of TV. And unquestionably it is the most effective medium through which to brainwash the youngsters, by not only accustoming them to seeing white and black people mixed, but through the grandiose introductions the Negroes invariably receive on the show and in their advance publicity...." The Council urged its followers to write directly to Southern Bell because Station WDSU, the local outlet, "has openly advocated integration of the races." It also urged whites to either protest the appearance of Negroes on TV shows or turn off their sets. "Everytime you see a Negro featured on TV you should let the sponsor know of your protest."

(4) Candidates for New Orleans City Council were polled by the local Citizens' Council and their answers to questions concerning the continuance of segregation made public. (February, 1958)

c. Other groups in the state include the Federation for Constitutional Government, (James U. Barr, New Orleans); the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., (J. B. Easterly, Baton Rouge); ~~the Ku Klux Klan (Edgar Taylor, Baton Rouge)~~; the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity (Harry P. Gamble, Sr., New Orleans - largely inactive); and the Knights of the White Christians (Alvin A. Cobb, New Orleans - inactive). Free Men Speak, a newspaper devoted largely to third party movements, is published in New Orleans by Kent H. Courtney.

III. ACTION SUPPORTING DESEGREGATION

A. Electorate and Public Officials

1. Louisiana voters defeated, by a 190,410 to 178,833 vote, a proposed constitutional amendment which was designed to hamper voting by Negroes (by requiring two additional administrative steps by voters removed from registration lists before federal court action). (November, 1958)

2. Senator Russell Long said in 1954 that although he disagrees completely with desegregation decision, his oath of office required him to accept it as law. "Every citizen is likewise bound by his oath of allegiance to his country."

3. Camille F. Gravel, Jr., state Democratic National Committeeman, declared that Louisiana would eventually desegregate its schools and backed the 1957 Civil Rights Act "insofar as it protected the right to vote." (A coalition of segregationists, states righters, and supporters of Gov. Long voted in October, 1958, to fire Gravel on grounds that he was unfaithful to the South; however, the national committee sustained his membership claims.)

B. Organizations

1. Church Centered

(a) Louisiana annual conference of the Methodist Church resolved that "segregation, both in and out of the church, is unwise, unconstitutional and unChristian." (May, 1958)

(b) Presbytery of New Orleans (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.) called for a study of the matter of integration by its 39 member churches, and a Christian outlook on the problem. (May, 1955). The same group opposed destruction of public school system, June, 1958.

(c) The Catholic Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South called for desegregation soon after the 1954 School ruling.

(d) New Orleans Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance has advocated compliance with desegregation decisions.

(e) Archbishop of the New Orleans archdiocese of the Catholic Church, Joseph F. Rummel, had "colored only" signs removed from churches (1949), integrated the archdiocesan school board (1950), called for the integration of all archdiocesan organizations (1953). In 1956 he issued a pastoral letter calling segregation "morally wrong and sinful." He reiterated this condemnation in late 1958.

2. Other

(a) New Orleans Council of Social Agencies, a racially integrated body, adopted a resolution asking that the "New Orleans parish school board be informed there should be no more school planning on a segregated basis." (June, 1955)

(b) New Orleans section of the National Council of Jewish Women passed resolution supporting Supreme Court desegregation decree. (November, 1954)

(c) Coordinating Council of Greater New Orleans, composed of representatives of 40 Negro organizations, issued a statement condemning attempts to circumvent Supreme Court desegregation decisions. (April, 1955)

(d) Louisiana Civil Liberties Union petition signed by more than 500 persons branded school closing plans unworkable, warned they would "undo in one day what has taken 100 years and millions of tax dollars to construct." (June, 1958)

IV. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES

A. Education

1. Public schools, elementary and secondary level, desegregated: None. Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright for the second time ordered desegregation of Orleans Parish public schools as soon as necessary arrangements could be made. Appeal was announced by school board attorneys (October, 1958). (Wright's desegregation order was originally rendered in 1956, upheld by appeals court in March, 1957, and appeal from it was denied by the Supreme Court in June, 1957. However, on the basis of a technicality involving late filing of bond, the school board brought new litigation.)
See pg. 15-a

2. Parochial Schools

None desegregated.

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La.

The Orleans Parish School Board was ordered by Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright to present by March 1, 1960, "an overall plan covering the complete desegregation of the public schools in the city." (July 15, 1959.)

3. Desegregated Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959):

Institutions	Legal Control
1. College of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau, La.	Roman Catholic
2. John McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La.	State
3. Louisiana State University Graduate School, Baton Rouge, La.	State
4. Louisiana State University at New Orleans, New Orleans, La.	State
5. Loyola University, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
6. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Southern Baptist
7. Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
8. Southeastern Louisiana Institute, Hammond, La.	State
9. Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, La.	State
10. Xaviar University, New Orleans, La. (Formerly, all Negro)	Roman Catholic

B. Elections and Appointments

1. Negroes serving in public office

a. Gilbert Porterfield, of New Orleans, was named to congressional staff of Congressman F. Edward Hebert, for "liaison in the area of race relations." (December, 1954)

2. Negroes running for office

a. I. M. Augustine, Jr., ran for a post on the New Orleans school board, November, 1956.

b. Alexander P. Tureaud campaigned for election as U. S. Congressman from Louisiana in 1958, but was defeated by almost 6 to 1.

C. Employment

1. Federal

New Orleans. A Negro general foreman is employed in the office of the Superintendent of the Postal Transportation Service.

2. Municipal

a. Negro police are known to be employed in the following cities:

Caddo Parish, La.
Lafayette, La.
Monroe, La.
New Iberia, La.
New Orleans, La.
Shreveport, La.

b. A Negro civic organization, Studs Club, Inc., asked that Negroes employed on the New Orleans police force be assigned to duties in keeping with their qualifications rather than on the basis of their racial origin. The protest followed a Citizens Council objection to the further hiring of Negro policemen and policewomen and their use in directing traffic in the downtown area. (April, 1957)

3. Private

a. A 1956 Urban League survey indicated that the percentage of Negroes employed by companies with 200 or more employees was 21.1 in the New Orleans area, while the Southwide percentage was 10.2.

b. Two Negro employees of the Celotex Corporation, Marrero, asked a federal district court for an injunction to prevent firm and union officials (Local No. 4-179, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International, and OCAW-AFL-CIO) from discrimination against Negro employees through a system of job classification. (August, 1957). A consent decree was approved by the court, under which all parties agreed to eliminate racial discrimination in seniority, and job opportunities. (January, 1958)

c. An Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local voted to request Cit-Con Plant in Lake Charles to eliminate separate lines of progression and an all Negro department. (May, 1956)

d. Esso Standard Oil Company, Baton Rouge: company desegregated all seniority lines and transferred 25 Negroes to mechanical helpers' classification, previously open to whites only.

D. Health and Medical Care

1. New Orleans: "Lack of hospital facilities keeps Negro doctors out of Louisiana," according to John G. Lewis, Jr., "The only hospital in which a Negro doctor can secure hospital service for his patient is the all-Negro...Flint-Goodridge hospital." (June, 1956)

2. Director of New Orleans' Charity Hospital urged private hospitals in the area to provide care for Negroes not eligible for admission to the state supported hospital. (April, 1957)

E. Housing

1. New Orleans' residential pattern, particularly in the poorer districts, has always been mixed, sometimes to the extent that a white family will occupy one side of a duplex and Negroes the other..

F. Jury Duty

1. The Supreme Court, in setting aside the conviction and death sentence of a Negro accused of murder, held that Negroes were systematically excluded from the New Orleans grand jury which returned the indictment. The court's opinion noted that only one Negro has been picked for grand jury duty within memory, and that this exception apparently resulted from the mistaken impression that the juror was white. (May, 1958)

2. For the first time in over 60 years a Negro, Lionel J. Trouppier, acted as foreman of a New Orleans petty jury by which a white man was tried. (March, 1958)

G. Law Enforcement

H. Membership in Voluntary Organizations

1. New Orleans Council of Social Agencies is not segregated.

I. Public Accommodations

1. Limited service at Main Public Library is extended to Negroes in:

East Baton Rouge Parish
Jefferson Parish
Lafayette Parish
Lake Charles
New Orleans
Tangipahoa Parish

No main libraries are known to offer full service.

2. Act 579, 1956 legislative session, prohibits interracial social functions or sports contests, and requires separate seating and facilities for whites and Negroes at approved social functions and sports contests.

J. Recreation

1. Segregation barriers at New Orleans City Park were dropped in December, 1958, following receipt of a mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court. Park general manager Ellis Laborde said the action "means Negroes are now permitted to use all park facilities - the tennis courts, the baseball fields, the golf courses, the amusement rides...all facilities. The swimming pool is closed at this time. I won't be able to say anything about it." Laborde said he had "no intent of violating the order of the United States Supreme Court." (The park integration issue has been in the courts since 1949)

2. A resolution opposing the desegregation of recreation facilities was adopted by state directors of public recreation expressing the belief that if integration were attempted it would result in the destruction of the facilities.

3. Act 14 of the 1956 legislature orders complete separation of races in all public recreational facilities, to be enforced by the state's "police power" to promote "the public health, morals and the peace and good order."

4. U. S. Supreme Court declared a 1956 law banning racially mixed sports to be unconstitutional (May, 1959).

K. Suffrage

1. U. S. Civil Rights Commission postponed a decision on whether to hold hearings on voting complaints from Louisiana. 71 complaints had been received; however, state law permits records to be viewed only by qualified voters of the state and to be made generally public only upon petition of 25 Louisiana voters. (April, 1959)

2. Webster Parish registrar Mrs. Winnice Clement was object of White Citizens Council criticism in January, 1956 because she failed to require registrants to read and interpret state or federal constitutions. Mrs. Clement then applied the requirement and disqualified 24 white registrants. Shortly after that the police jury (parish governing body) asked the board of registrars to fire her, and that action was taken in May, 1956. Mrs. Clement then brought suit, seeking to restrain the police jury from naming a successor. However, incoming Governor Earl Long, who took office the day after Mrs. Clement was fired, stayed the dismissal.

3. East Feliciana Parish Police Jury voted an investigation of the registrar of voters after hearing complaints about a letter on integration attributed to him. The registrar, Charles Kilbourne, had written the Commercial Appeal saying integration is making deep strides in the South and that pro-segregation groups are fighting a "delaying action." (October, 1956)

4. U. S. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney reported in early 1957 that FBI investigation of voter registration in 10 Louisiana parishes revealed that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956. Over 3000 of some 4000 Negroes registered, to vote in Ouachita Parish were denied ballots. "...Investigations in Bienville, Caldwell, DeSota, Jackson, LaSalle and Ouachita Parishes disclosed that the registrar in those parishes did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits (by challenged registrant; necessary for reinstatement) ...and generally refused to accept them when offered," Olney stated.

5. See pg. 25-a

Suffrage 2

5. United States District Judge Gen C. Dawkins granted a temporary restraining order preventing the United States Civil Rights Commission from holding a scheduled hearing on complaints that Negroes were denied voting rights in north Louisiana. He ordered a three-judge court to rule on the constitutionality of the commission. (July 12, 1959)

L. Transportation

1. City buses were desegregated in New Orleans in 1958.

2. Special limousine service is provided for Negro transients travelling to and from the New Orleans airport.

3. Five Shreveport Negro ministers rode in white section of bus in protest of segregated seating, June, 1957. No arrests were made, but police chief said other Negroes following the ministers' lead would be arrested.

4. Shreveport bus and train stations continue to maintain and enforce use of segregated waiting rooms and facilities. Policemen are reportedly "posted to direct Negro passengers to Negro waiting room" in the train terminal. (Summer, 1958). Air line waiting room is desegregated, although separate restroom and restaurant facilities are provided.

5. Following a 1955 ICC directive to eliminate segregated waiting room facilities, then Governor Robert F. Kennon ordered all state, parish and municipal officials to continue rigid enforcement of state laws requiring separate facilities for the races at such stations. (January, 1956)

M. Violence, Intimidation

1. Bishop of the Lafayette Diocese Jules Jeanmard excommunicated two women who struck a teacher in a racially integrated cathechism class at Our Lady of Lourdes Church in Erath. Cathechism classes have been desegregated since 1946 in that church.

2. Two days of incidents - milling about, name calling, and the painting of insulting signs - followed initial attendance of Negroes at the New Orleans branch of Louisiana State University. One Negro was expelled, other expulsions were threatened by administrators, and the disorder ended. (September, 1958)

3. A Catholic priest, the Rev. Eugene McManus, received an anonymous threatening telephone call after speaking at a meeting on integration. The caller used "unprintable language" and threatened "to get" the priest. (March, 1956)

4. A cross was burned on the lawn of U. S. District Court Judge J. Skelly Wright, hours after the New Orleans bus desegregation order, which he had signed, went into effect. (May, 1958)

NORTH CAROLINA

TABLE OF CONTENTS | PAGE

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA
- A. Population 1
- B. Median Income 2
- c. Median School Years Completed 3

II. REACTIONS AND ACTIONS OF STATE POLICY-MAKERS
- A. Statements of Public Office Holders 4,5
- B. Official Action 6

III. FORCES OPPOSING DESEGREGATION
- A. Organized Resistance Groups 7,8
- B. Influential Bodies 8

IV. FORCES SUPPORTING DESEGREGATION
- A. Educators and Administrators 9
- B. Religious Bodies 10
- C. Newspapers 11
- D. Intergroup Organizations 12

V. SEGREGATION-DESEGREGATION PRACTICES
- A. Education 13,14,15
- B. Elections and Appointments 16,17,18
- C. Employment 19,20
- D. Health and Medical Care 21,22
- E. Housing 23
- F. Law Enforcement 24
- G. Membership on Professional, Fraternal, Religious Bodies 25,26
- H. Public Accommodations and Facilities 27,28
- I. Recreation 29
- J. Suffrage 30
- K. Transportation 31
- L. Violence and Intimidation 32,33

NORTH CAROLINA

I. BASIC STATISTICAL DATA

A. Population

1958*	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	4,466,435	3,325,900	1,140,535	25.5

1950**	Total	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of Total
Population	4,061,929	2,983,121	1,078,808	26.6
Urban Population**	1,368,101	1,005,744	362,357	26.5
Rural Population non-farm**	1,317,268	1,042,381	274,887	20.9
Rural Population farm**	1,376,560	934,996	441,564	32.1
Urban as % of Total	33.6	33.7	33.6	

* Source - North Carolina Public Health Statistics Section, 1/7/58

** Source - U. S. Census, 1950

B. Median Income, 1949, persons over 14, U. S. Census

	Total	White	Negro
North Carolina	$1,293.	$1,567.	$714.
United States	1,917.	2,053.	952.

C. Median School Years Completed by Persons Over 25, U. S. Census, 1950

	White	Non-white
North Carolina	8.6	5.9
United States	9.7	6.9

II. REACTIONS AND ACTIONS OF STATE POLICY-MAKERS

A. Statements of Public Office Holders

1. Governor Luther H. Hodges: In 1955, proposed voluntary segregation as best means of insuring a continuation of North Carolina public schools. Told Negro listeners "the N.A.A.C.P. would destroy your identity as a race." "If your answer (to problem of securing best education for children) is integration by force of law with the attendant risks, nobody knows how much education the children of either race will get.... The white citizens of the state will resist integration strenuously, resourcefully, and with growing bitterness." Hodges made no statement of opinion when three cities desegregated schools in 1957, but emphasized that violence would not be tolerated.

2. State Education Board Member Oscar L. Richardson: "North Carolina is not going to secede again, but we will protect and defend the rights of our people in the matter." (1955)

3. Former Governor William B. Umstead (Governor in 1954): Was "terribly disappointed" by 1954 Supreme Court Ruling.

4. Atty. General Malcolm Seawell: Shortly after his appointment urged citizens to recognize the Supreme Court's rulings as law of the land. "When moderation is required on the part of white citizens, it is required equally from Negro citizens..." (April, 1959).

5. North Carolina U. S. Representatives were generally moderate in their reaction to 1954 school decision, a "...far reaching decision which will vitally affect the school systems in our state and in the nation" (Representative Hugh Alexander, Kannapolis). "They made the decision. There's not much we can say about it" (Representative Carl Durham, Chapel Hill). "This decision presents grave problems for the states and the people of the South, but I believe they have enough character and intelligence to solve them" (Representative Charles Raper Jonas, Lincolton).

6. State General Assembly approved in 1955 a resolution stating, "Mixing of the races in the public schools throughout the state cannot be accomplished."

7. Southern Manifesto was signed by both U. S. Senators and all but three Congressmen from the state. Two of the non-signers, Thurmond Chatham and C. B. Deane, were defeated in 1956 elections; the third, Rep. Harold Cooley was elected after surviving what the Charlotte News termed "a determined attempt to tag him as a 'race mixer.'"

B. Official Action

1. Pearsall Committee

Established in 1954 (with three Negroes among a total of 19 members) to study problems presented by Supreme Court decision. Reported and was abolished in 1955. A new seven-member all-white group was then created.

2. School Legislation

a. Local option plan permits segregated or integrated schools, with the decision made on the community level. (Constitutional Amendment, 1956)

b. Pupil assignment law confers complete enrollment and assignment authority on local city and county school boards.

c. Tuition grants provide means for students to attend private schools if public facilities are closed or if parent objects to attendance at a desegregated school.

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

a. Secretary of State required N.A.A.C.P. to register in accordance with two state laws calling for: (1) registration of groups seeking to influence public opinion in the state, and (2) registration of foreign corporations doing business in the state.

b. Bills to open N.A.A.C.P. financial records and to make barratry a crime were defeated in the 1957 legislature.

4. Dynamite Laws

No new legislation. Reports in writing are kept by dealers on purchase of explosives, use planned, date sold. It is a felony to use explosives to injure another person or a building. Maximum sentence: 5 to 30 years.

III. FORCES OPPOSING DESEGREGATION

A. Organized Resistance Groups

1. The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc.
Chartered in 1955. "All in all few North Carolina corporations can boast a more impressive list of charter members"(Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel). Among Patriot activities reported in press: (a) Mecklenburg chapter launched direct mail campaign to parents of Central High School (Charlotte) students urging transfer of children to all-white schools; (b) Raleigh School Board and Negro parent Joseph Holt received letters containing veiled threats signed "Executive Committee Wake County Patriots of North Carolina" while Holt's son's application for admittance to white school was being considered by board.

2. The Defenders of States' Rights, Inc.
Have taken Patriots' place as leader of the pro-segregation movement, according to Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, January 1959. Patriots are said to have become almost entirely inactive, with large portion of former membership now enrolled in Defenders. The Rev. James Parker Dees (Trinity Episcopal Church, Statesville) heads latter group. He is also president of the Statesville Area Ministerial Association. (That group voted, 16 to 2, to censure the Rev. Dees for his alternate role with the Defenders, Feb., 1959.)

3. White Citizens Councils
Attempts at W.C.C. organization have had little success. Eight Negroes attended and heckled an organizational meeting held in Mecklenburg County in 1957. W.C.C. organizer John Kasper visited Charlotte, Greensboro and Winston-Salem during late summer, 1957, in an unsuccessful effort to organize strong W.C.C.'s in desegregated communities. His first public appearance in North Carolina was in Winston-Salem, where a racially mixed group reportedly "booed him down."

4. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

F.B.I. state crackdown and mass arrests effectively broke up North Carolina's Klan in 1952. "Anti-Klan" law was enacted by 1953 Legislature. Cities with anti-mask, anti-crossburning ordinances include:

Winston-Salem,	anti-mask,	anti-crossburning
Charlotte,	anti-mask	
Raleigh,	"	
Tarboro,	"	
Whiteville,	"	
Greensboro,	"	
Wilmington,	"	and anti-crossburning
Reidsville,	"	
Hickory,	"	
Fayetteville,	"	
Hendersonville,	"	

Revival of Klan activity was reported in 1956-57 in thickly populated central portion of state as well as southeasternmost area. Rival organizations became active, but most successful group was U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with leadership in Georgia (Eldon Edwards, Wizard). State officials and law enforcement officers warned they would tolerate no revival of violence; citizens groups, religious leaders, newspapers denounced Klan activities. "Cells" were broken up in Charlotte and arrests made (for distribution of "hate" literature, 1956; for conspiring to bomb a school, 1958) and other cities. A 1958 report termed the North Carolina Klan "in its death throes, brought on by its excesses of violence" (Anti-Defamation League.)

B. Influential Bodies

North Carolina Democratic Convention adopted platform asserting belief in "the right of separation of the races" in schools and other areas of society, 1956.

IV. FORCES SUPPORTING DESEGREGATION

A. Educators and School Administrators

1. North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, Inc.: "(The solution to school segregation) does not lie in closing our public schools or even in making such a thing possible," (July 1956).

2. Greensboro was first city in South to take official action toward desegregation when its school board voted 6 - 1 to study ways and means of implementing the school decision, May 18, 1954. Asheville City School Board adopted a formal policy of making an "honest effort" to comply with desegregation (1955). Study of local problems was undertaken in Raleigh, Charlotte, Burlington, Elkin, 1954-56.

3. School boards in Greensboro, Charlotte, and Winston-Salem voted in 1957 to transfer a limited number of Negro students to previously all-white schools.

B. Religious Bodies

1. The Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church by an overwhelming vote of approval adopted a statement condemning racial segregation in public schools and racial discrimination in America. (September 1954)

2. The North Carolina Council of Churches sent a representative to General Assembly in 1956 to ask the state to make a transition to an "all-inclusive system" of public schools.

3. Public support of school desegregation in North Carolina has been announced by the North Carolina Association of Rabbis.

C. Newspapers supporting desegregation of schools in Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Greensboro included:

1. Greensboro Daily News,
2. Greensboro Record,
3. Charlotte Observer,
4. Charlotte News,
5. Winston-Salem Journal,
6. Winston-Salem Sentinel.

c. A group of white parents forwarded a letter to the Chapel Hill School Board expressing their "entire willingness to welcome" a Negro child to white Glenwood Elementary School. (Aug. 1959.)

d. Durham's school board admitted 8 (— actually attended) Negro students to previously white schools — 225 similar applications were received — in Sept. of 1959.

e. High Point admitted 2 Negro students to previously white schools, fall, 1959.

f. 17 Negroes were accepted in a previously white school in Havelock (Craven Co.), serving children of servicemen at Cherry Point Marine Air Station. (1959)

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3. Institutions of Higher Education

a. It is the stated policy of the following six state colleges and nine private colleges to admit all students, regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of actual desegregation in these schools is not available.

	Institutions	Legal Control
(1.)	Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N.C.	State
(2)	Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, N. C.	Roman Catholic
(3)	Bennett College, Greensboro, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Methodist
(4)	Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, N.C.	Private
(5)	Gaston Technical Institute, Gastonia, N.C.	State
(6)	Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Presbyterian
(7)	Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Methodist
(8)	North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N.C.	State
(9)	Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, N.C.	Methodist
(10)	Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont, N.C.	Roman Catholic
(11)	Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C. (Previously all Negro)	Baptist
(12)	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.	State
(13)	University of N.C. Woman's College, Greensboro, N.C.	State
(14)	Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa, N.C.	Presbyterian
(15)	Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, N.C.	State

b. Board of Trustees of Duke University declined to act on a petition, signed by 185 of the divinity school's 225 students, calling for racial integration in that school. (March 1959)

4. Community Action

Negro leaders asked the Durham city school board to voluntarily "make a prompt and reasonable and good faith start next September (1959) in desegregation." (April 1959)

3. N.C.
1. Wake Forest College (Winston-Salem) admitted a Negro for the first time, summer, 1959, for a special course.

4. 23 of 27 Negro students seeking admission to Burnsville's white schools indicated, through their attorney, that they would not accept transfers to schools in other counties or to a new segregated school, if one should be built. They presently attend schools 40 miles away, in Asheville. (Aug. 1959)

5. Chapel Hill ~~School Board~~ Board of Education member Dr. Henry P. Brandis resigned from his position because the board took action he called "both legally and morally indefensible" in refusing to admit a Negro to a white school in the city. Earlier, the Board adopted a policy which could lead to gradual desegregation, beginning in 1960 in the 1st grade. (Aug. 1959)

6. Twenty-seven Yancey Co. Negro children brought suit in U.S. District Court asking admission to 3 white public schools in the county. Nov. 1959.

N.C.

City Council

Kinston - Mrs. J. J. Hannibal, elected, 1959.

Greensboro - Waldo C. Falkener, elected, 1959.

Southern Pines - Feldon J. Capel, elected, 1959.

Winston-Salem - The Rev. Kenneth Williams is city council member, according to a 1959 report.

N.C.

School Board

Chapel Hill - Rev. J. R. Manley, elected, 1959.

Durham - Rencher N. Harris is a school board member, according to a 1959 report.

Raleigh - F. J. Carnage is a school board member. 1959.

(over)

Southern Pines — P. T. York is a member of the board of education, 1959.

B. Elections and appointments

1. Negroes serving in public office since 1950

a. State: Dr. Harold L. Trigg was reappointed to State Board of Education, April, 1957.

Three Negroes were appointed to North Carolina Citizens Committee for Better Schools, March, 1957.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, already on the State Board of Education, was appointed Coordinator of Negro Activities in State Prison System.

Dr. Murray B. Davis is a member of State Prisons Commission (appointive office).

b. City Councilmen, Aldermen:

Chapel Hill: Hubert Robinson reelected to Board of Aldermen, 1957.

Greensboro: In 1955 it was reported that Dr. William M. Hampton, having served two terms on the City Council, did not seek reelection.

Fayetteville: The second Negro to serve as a city council member in recent years, Harry Groves, was elected in 1955. The first served from 1949 to 1953.

Southern Pines: T. T. Morse in 1955 became first Negro to be elected to City Council, reelected in 1957.

Wilson: Dr. G. K. Butterfield reelected to City Council in 1955.

Winston-Salem: The Rev. William Crawford reelected to Board of Aldermen in 1955.

c. School Board Members:

Durham: R. N. Harris elected in 1958.

Greensboro: City Council reappointed Dr. William M. Hampton in March 1958. Dr. David D. Jones was, in 1955, a member of School Board.

Rocky Mount: Dr. Joseph W. Parker elected unanimously by city Board of Alderman, January 1957.

Chapel Hill: Rev. J. R. Manley

d. Other office holders:

Gastonia: Nathaniel Barber, first elected city treasurer in 1953, reelected in 1955 and again in 1957. Did not run, 1959, due to poor health.

Mecklenburg County: At least 4 Negro voting registrars serve in Mecklenburg County, in predominantly Negro precincts.

Lumberton: A Negro was appointed registrar of a voting ward and two Negro elections' managers for same ward were named by city council in 1959. (Registrar: Rev. Eugene B. Turner; Elections' Managers: Mrs. Bessie Powell, James Graves.)

Wilson: A Negro contractor was named chairman of Wilson Housing Authority Board in February 1955.

Winston-Salem: Leander Hill was appointed a member of the Forsyth County Draft Board in 1955.

Princeville, an all-Negro town, has, of course, only Negro public office holders.

2. Negroes running for public office, 1957-58:

Chadburn: The Rev. I. B. Horton was one of six candidates for the five positions of the town board of commissioners in early 1959. During his campaign he received at least two telephone calls, made by someone who identified himself as a member of the Ku Klux Klan, threatening death to Horton's wife and children if he stayed in the race. (April 1959)

Durham: Two Negroes sought 4-year terms on the City Council in 1957.

Elizabeth City: Raymond E. Stephens was candidate for City Council post in Spring, 1959. Dr. Clifford Jones ran for election in spring of 1957.

Greensboro: Waldo C. Falkner ran for City Council, Spring, 1959.

Lumberton: Reverend Eugene Burns Turner ran for City School Board, the first Negro to file for public office in Lumberton, winning 494 out of 2,455 votes in the May, 1958, election.

Raleigh: L. T. Lightner and Dr. Catherine G. Middleton were candidates for the 7-man city council in April 1957. Dr. Nelson H. Harris campaigned for election to State House of Representatives from Wake County during spring 1958. Harris filed for election to Raleigh city council in 1959, later withdrew.

Statesville: (Iredell County) Reverend A. M. Gibson announced his candidacy for nomination to County Board of Education in April, 1958.

Weldon: Dr. SalterJ. Cochran was only Negro among ten candidates seeking election to the Halifax County Board of Education in 1958. Cochran also ran in 1956.

Wilson: There was a Negro candidate for municipal office, evidently city council, in 1957.

C. Employment

1. Private

a. According to 1957 N.A.A.C.P. report, among the 400,000 textile workers in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, there is apparently not a single Negro employed as a weaver, spinner or loom fixer.

b. Winston-Salem's Food Fair stores have recently begun hiring Negro women as cashiers. (See I. N. & S., ~~copy from~~ pg. 74-75)

2. Federal

a. The income tax division of the Internal Revenue Service for the first time hired a Negro as a field tax collector in July 1954.

b. A 1958 Survey of employment in Federal Agencies in Greensboro indicated: Of the approximately 20 Federal agencies, only 2 employ Negroes in jobs other than janitorial or labor services.

(1) The Post Office Department has approximately 25 Negro clerks and carriers. The Postal Transportation Service has roughly 100 as mail handlers. There are two in supervisory capacities.

(2) The Internal Revenue Service has six Negro employees, out of approximately 400: three clerks, three tax agents.

c. There are no Negroes among the state's 11,345 National Guardsmen, who receive virtually all their Guard salaries from the fed. gov't. - Oct. 1959.

3. Municipal

a. In 1955 Negro policemen were reported to be employed in at least 43 North Carolina cities. A 1954 Survey indicated that among the N. C. cities and counties employing Negro policemen were:

Ahoskie	Guilford County
Asheville	High Point
Burlington	Kinston
Carrboro	Lenoir
Chapel Hill	Morganton
Charlotte	Raleigh
Clinton	Reidsville
Durham	Rockingham
Fayetteville	Rocky Mount
Gastonia	Salisbury
Goldsboro	Wilson
Greensboro	Winston-Salem
Greenville	

b. Two Negro applicants for police examinations were barred from taking rural police civil service tests by Mecklenburg Civil Service Board in February 1956. County officials said 1935 legislation confined police force membership and civil service examinations to whites only.

c. A Negro lieutenant was made commanding officer of an all-Negro fire station in Winston-Salem, N. C., in 1955. Durham, Princeton and Warrington are among other N. C. cities employing Negro firemen, (according to a 1952 survey).

4. State

N.C.

Charges of discrimination in employment were leveled at state officials by the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, in a June 1959 presentation before the State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. ~~in from~~

The Committee stated →

~~Hunter declared~~ that Negroes are systematically excluded from skilled and white collar jobs in major industries. It said this discrimination was aided and abetted by the North Carolina Employment Security Commission which does not furnish its segregated Negro divisions information about skilled, semi-skilled, and white-collar jobs that are available.

IT SAID THE only openings referred to the Negro division are for unskilled labor and other so-called "Negro jobs" such as janitors, maids, etc.

THE DURHAM group also accused North Carolina officials of using Federal money allocated for establishing vocational training programs in all high schools, to support training programs in electronics, machine shop skills, electricity, radio and other skilled crafts in the white high schools of the state to which only white pupils are assigned.

D. Health and Medical Care

1. All Veterans Administration Hospitals and their public facilities are used on a desegregated basis. Nine of North Carolina's 12 members of the U. S. House of Representatives signed a southern sponsored petition requesting the V. A. to end this policy. (March 1957)

2. Disabled Negro and white children live together in the same wards and are taught in the same classes in the Charlotte Rehabilitation and Spastics Hospitals. Nurses of both races serve on the staff. (September 1957)

3. Greensboro Cerebral Palsy School, supported by community contributions and public school funds, is not segregated, nor is the Central Carolina Convalescent Hospital, which serves victims of polio and whose school accommodations are financed by city school funds.

4. Mercy Hospital (Catholic, in Charlotte) began admitting Negro patients in 1954, and permits Negro surgeons and doctors to attend their patients.

5. The University of North Carolina Hospital employed both white and Negro nurses to attend patients of either race in 1955. A North Carolina hospital hired a Negro histological technician for the first time in July 1954.

6. The Carolina Times, the North Carolina A. & T. Register, and the Afro-American reported the following incident in December 1950 and January 1951: (from "The Untouchables - The Meaning of Segregation in Hospitals," 1952)
"On December 6, 1950, Matthew Avery, a 24-year-old World War II veteran attending North Carolina A. & T. College, was critically injured in an automobile accident near Mebane, North Carolina. He was brought to Alamance General Hospital, where it was learned he had sustained fractures of the skull, cheekbone, jaw, leg, and arm.
"But every one of Alamance's five Negro beds was full so he was shunted on to Duke Hospital at Durham. Here, according to the account of the superintendent, 'our regular facilities were filled' (i.e., the Negro ward was filled) and the question whether Avery would stand the best chance 'from treatment in our emergency room or by transfer to Lincoln Hospital' (a Negro institution) was debated.

"The latter course of action was decided upon and Avery was sent to Linsoln where he died an hour after admission. Despite Duke's apparent solicitude, the driver's request that someone phone ahead to Lincoln went unheeded. Attaches there reported no such call had been received and they had been unable to make any preparations for the patient's arrival."

7. Three Negro doctors brought suit against James Walker Memorial Hospital in Wilmington in an effort to open its doors to practice by Negro physicians. Fourth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that private hospital was not subject to constitutional rulings on desegregation. On appeal, U. S. Supreme Court refused to review. (1959)

E. Housing

1. A Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Martin L. White, moved into their newly purchased home in Kenwood, a previously all-white Southern Pines, N. C. subdivision, in September 1955. No incidents were reported, although several threatening telephone calls and a community statement of protest followed purchase of the home. A news report some months after the White's move indicated there had been no further protest or intimidation by the white community.

F. Law Enforcement

1. North Carolina Negro~~s~~ Law Enforcement Officers Association in 1955 called for more careful consideration of cases involving Negroes being tried in the state's courts. Also, the Association pointed out that Morrison Training School is only corrective institution in state for Negroes and that facilities are not adequate.

2. Mecklenburg County police foiled the dynamiting of a Charlotte elementary school for Negroes in February 1958, when they arrested two men who drove up to the school with dynamite, ready for blasting, in their possession. Evidence presented by a police undercover agent implicated three other men and the five admitted Ku Klux Klansmen were charged with conspiring to bomb the school and for violating a Reconstruction-era Secret Societies law. Three of the K.K.K. members were sentenced and two acquitted as a result.

G. Membership on Professional, Fraternal, Religious Bodies

1. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Ministerial Association voted to join with its Negro counterpart in January 1956. Similar groups in Asheville merged later in 1956. Negro and white ministerial associations in Moore County, Salisbury, and Greensboro voted for merger in 1955.

2. Four Jacksonville, N. C. Negroes are members of Knights of Columbus.

3. Interracial school principals' meetings have been held in Charlotte "for a dozen years," according to 1956 report. Harnett County held its first non-segregated teachers' meeting in September 1954.

4. The North Carolina Medical Society ratified a constitutional amendment providing for scientific, or limited, membership for Negro physicians (May 1957). An all Negro group, the Old North State Medical Society, condemned the proffered restricted membership shortly afterward as "second class."

5. A spokesman for the all Negro Old North State Dental Society said his organization would go to the courts, if necessary, to gain full membership in North Carolina Dental Society, an all white group which refuses to admit Negro dentists. (June 1958)

6. A 1956 bid from an all Negro Legionnaire group for an end to racial segregation in the North Carolina American Legion was not voted on when presented to 1956 convention of that group. Similar bid received no action in June 1958.

7. Leagues of Women Voters admitted Negroes to three North Carolina chapters for the first time, 1954-56.

8. International Chemical Workers Union of America has held several integrated, week-long summer institutes for representatives from Southern states at Junaluska, N. C.

9. A Catholic Boy Scout troop in Havelock withdrew from scouting activity after being informed that the one Negro boy in the otherwise white group would not be welcome at a regional outing. (April 1959)

10. Since 1938, the Brookford Baptist Church, about a mile from Hickory, has had a mixed congregation. Although attendance is predominately white, Negroes attend Sunday School and Church and take part in other church activities.

~~Organizations~~ ~~Page~~ -

G.- 11

N. C.

The Durham Committee on Negro Affairs charged state officials with a

misuse of Federal funds allotted for the promotion of 4-H club work on the basis of total 4-H club membership.

charges were made before the State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June, 1959. The Durham Committee

POINTED out that of the 150,000 members of the group, about 50,000 are Negroes. But, it alleges, only a small portion of the Federal money sent to North Carolina for 4-H club work is spent in Negro programs.

In fact, ~~it accuses~~ state officials in charge of the program ~~of denying~~ Negro members the right to participate in the affairs of the National 4-H Congress, the ~~Durham~~ group charged.

H. Public Accommodations and Facilities

1. Asheville: the Board of Trustees of the Public Library in October 1957 informed a Negro petitioner that "its hands are tied" in the matter of desegregating the city owned facility, due to stipulations of the deed for the building.

2. Charlotte's Memorial Stadium, Coliseum and David Owens Auditorium are leased by the city to whatever group or attraction is using them. The lessee fixes policies regarding segregation for each event. (November 1955)

3. Durham: Seven Negroes received $10 fines for "trespassing" on the "white side" of an ice-cream parlor in Durham in 1957. (The State Supreme Court upheld the fines in an opinion delivered in January 1958). In April of that year some 150 Negroes were refused admission to desegregated seats in the City Stadium for a Carolina League baseball game. Petitions were addressed to the city council requesting an end to segregation in the Durham Public Library and the Carolina Theatre (a city-owned facility leased to a private company), also in 1957.

4. Greensboro: Public libraries opened to both races in July 1957.

5. Forest City: December 1957 meeting of the Rutherford County Library Board of Trustees voted to desegregate all facilities, including branches.

6. Raleigh: About 50 requests by Negroes for service in a cafeteria housed in a state-owned building were reportedly made during the five years the privately owned establishment was in operation. In 1957 cafeteria was closed and the space it had occupied turned over to State Highway Department. State officials indicated that a behind-the-scenes factor was question of whether Negroes might not have to be served.

7. <u>Winston-Salem</u>: The following places of public accommodations have been desegregated without court cases, petitions, or incidents of any importance:

a. New coliseum opened on desegregated basis.

b. Baseball park and stadium

c. "White" and "colored" water fountain and other Jim Crow signs removed from all public buildings.

d. Sears-Roebuck removed water fountain signs.

I. Recreation

1. Negro member of Carolina Cosmopolitan Club, composed mostly of foreign students, was denied use of white Umstead State Park. Club transferred picnic it was holding elsewhere. (April 1957)

2. Group of 375 Southern white college students, attending annual conference, pledged themselves not to swim in Lake Junaluska swimming accommodations "until those in authority remove the restrictions" which prevent Negro delegates to the Methodist Summer Assembly from using the facilities. (June 1955)

3. Announced by tournament officials that there would be no segregation for players or audiences during 1958 National Collegiate Athletic Association regional basketball tournament, to be held in Charlotte. All players were to be allowed to stay in same motel, eat in same restaurant, and participate together in prearranged entertainment, a Charlotte Chamber of Commerce official announced.

4. Golf Courses

   a. City golf courses desegregated in following North Carolina cities: Charlotte (January 1957); Asheville (January 1956); Asheboro; High Point (February 1956); Winston-Salem (1956); Thomasville (1956); Gastonia (1954); (Court orders preceded desegregation of golfing facilities in Charlotte and Asheville.)

   b. Greensboro's Gillespie Park Golf Course was leased to avoid desegregation, then closed when U.S. District Court ruled that city could not legally avoid integration by leasing public lands to a private enterprise.

5. Swimming Pools

   a. An Asheville swimming pool, which was closed after Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in publicly-owned recreation areas, was sold for $8,500. The original cost had been $106,700. (October 1957)

   b. In Greensboro, two of the city's swimming pools, one white and one Negro, were offered for sale after request for desegregation. The white pool was sold for $85,000 to the Greensboro Pool Corporation. (Summer, 1958.) Fed. Judge Edwin M. Stanley upheld ~~at~~ the action of city officials when the sale was contested in court by a group of Negroes. (Aug. 1959.)

J. Suffrage

1. Negro Registration Figures

a. Negro registration in 1958: 150,000 (estimated)

b. Negro percentage of total registration, 1958: 7.5

c. Negro registration in 1956: 135,000 (estimated)

2. Discriminatory Tactics

a. The Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel (6-30-57) reported the following examples of subtle discrimination against would-be Negro registrants, all from cases taken into court in North Carolina:

> "The registrar who disqualified the principal of Ashe County's Negro schools on the ground he could not spell 'penitentiary' or 'sour-Kraut' to the registrar's satisfaction.
>
> "The registrar in Littleton, N. C. last year gave an eight question examination to a Negro seeking to register. Among the questions were, "On what date each year does Congress convene?" and "What would be the total vote of two-thirds of the House and Senate?"
>
> "In May, 1956 a North Carolina registrar turned down a Negro because he could not recite a section of the state Constitution from memory.
>
> "Then there was the registrar who disqualified a Negro because he could not take down in writing a section of the Constitution as fast as the registrar dictated."

b. U. S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the state's literacy test for voter registrants in 1959. It had been challenged on the ground that registrars could give more difficult tests to Negroes than to whites since "no standards whatsoever" were provided.

K. Transportation

1. Intra-city Conveyances: The following city bus lines have instituted desegregated seating policy since 1954: Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem. All taxi-cabs are allowed to carry both Negro and white passengers in Raleigh; air line limousines also carry Negroes without segregation in that city and in Greensboro. Charlotte, and Greensboro, and Winston-Salem taxi-cabs carry all passengers, regardless of race.

2. Inter-state and Intra-state Conveyance Waiting Rooms:

a. Charlotte:

Buses maintain separate waiting room; trains have one general waiting room, one marked "Colored Waiting Room, Intra-State Passengers." When they are provided, eating facilities are separate.

Air line waiting rooms are not segregated, nor is restaurant connected with air line terminal.

b. Raleigh:

Bus and train stations provide separate waiting rooms: Negro inter-state passengers are allowed to sit in white waiting room in the train station. Toilets are segregated, as are eating facilities. Air line terminal, on the other hand, is completely desegregated in all its facilities.

c. Greensboro:

Although separate waiting rooms are provided in bus and train stations, both interstate and intra-state Negro passengers are allowed to use the "white" waiting rooms. Toilets are not segregated, and although separate eating facilities are provided for members of both races in bus stations, eating facilities are not segregated in train stations. All air line facilities are non-segregated.

L. Violence and Intimidation

1. Overt Violence

Seven bombings or attempted bombings occurred in North Carolina during 1957-58: homes in Greensboro, Charlotte, and Durham were destroyed or damaged; the marquee of a Charlotte drive-in theatre which admits white and Negro patrons was bombed. Attempted bombings included Jewish temples in Charlotte and Gastonia, and a Negro school in Charlotte (~~seli~~ see Law Enforcement).

Other forms of violence have been directed against individuals: a five-pound rock was thrown through the window of Greensboro's Superintendent of Schools after the desegregation of schools in that city; a man who had attempted to enroll five Negro children in an elementary school in Old Fort was knocked into the city fountain by a white railroad employee; the first and only Negro student to enroll in Charlotte's white Harding High School was spat upon, taunted and made target for shoves and objects thrown by white students (until her eventual withdrawal from the school); eggs were thrown at the only Negro student in Greensboro High School, who was also the victim of taunts and obscene remarks.

2. Threats, Economic Reprisal

The furniture business of a Greensboro couple signing a petition advocating compliance with the Supreme Court school ruling was boycotted (1955). One of 34 Guilford County petitioners for school desegregation lost his job as a result of inclusion of his name on the petition; another signer resigned because of protests received by his employer (1955).

An elderly Negro woman was ejected from a Franklin County white Baptist church during a Sunday worship service and told that she would "get hurt" if she ever returned (1955). One of the plaintiffs in a suit against the Montgomery County Board of Education received a threat against the lives of her children; she subsequently withdrew from the suit (1955).

3. Other

Two Negro boys, one eight and one nine years old, were committed for indefinite terms to reform schools after being accused of "forcing" a white girl to kiss one of them while they were playing. The boys were detained from November 1958 to February 1959, then released and returned to their families.

Information 9/26/56

INTERGROUP ORGANIZATIONS

American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

The Union seeks through court action to preserve and extend the guarantees of freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly, and equal protection under law for all. In race relations it carries legal attacks on race restrictive housing covenants, lynching, discrimination in education and employment, etc.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

The League acts upon problems of anti-Semitism and racial and religious bigotry; combats the activities of organized un-American elements; and carries out a program of democratic action through all the channels of public information and education.

American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia 17, Pa.

The Committee provides aid to refugee aliens and Japanese Americans in the United States; operates volunteer work camps for rehabilitation of devastated areas; sponsors projects for persons interested in the improvement of social, industrial and racial conditions; arranges exchange professorships between Negro and white colleges; places Negro and other minority group workers in employment opportunities not traditionally open to them; sponsors institutes of international relations to provoke discussion and action on the causes of war and the problems of peace; has worked toward school desegregation in many communities; assists persons deprived of jobs because of their beliefs on civil rights and civil liberties.

American Jewish Committee
396 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

The Committee seeks to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews; in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto; to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and education opportunity; to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews, wherever they may occur. It also works for elimination of discrimination against all groups.

American Jewish Congress
1834 Broadway
New York 23, New York

It seeks to protect the political, religious, civil and economic rights of Jews throughout the world; to combat anti-Semitism and racism in all its forms; to held extend and promote American democracy; to assure equal rights for all groups.

Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches
289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

The Council seeks to help the churches make the Christian gospel more effective in society, national and worldwide, through research, education and action in race, industrial, rural and international relations. The Council also works to eliminate segregation in the church and community. Its work extends beyond the member churches.

Institute of International Education
New York, New York

It promotes student and teacher exchange among various countries of the world, and facilitates travel in order to improve international relations.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, New York

It secures the civil, legal, economic and political rights of Negroes. It investigates violations of civil rights and liberties; institutes legal procedures to defend these rights and liberties; supports legislative and court action against lynching, disfranchisement and violations of rights in education, transportation and many other areas; stimulates organized expression of public opinion to influence action on important issues; works for improved practices in the labor movement; and conducts special studies.

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO)
Box 246, Madison Square Station
New York 10, New York

It seeks to facilitate more effective exchange of information and experience on racial and cultural relations among official and citizens' agencies, especially those operating at the state and local levels; to establish continuing relationships with federal official agencies and national private organizations concerned with race relations and minority group problems in order to bring about more effective state and local utilization of their resources to enable the national organization to become better informed of the state and local problems and activities and to utilize the resources of state and local organizations more effectively; to improve standards or work in the field of race relations and minority group problems.

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

It seeks to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews; to facilitate cooperation for improved race relations; and to promote better human relations through educational, religious and community organizations.

National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
297 Fourth Avenue,
New York 10, New York

National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

The League seeks to eliminate racial discrimination in public or private employment, housing, education, health and welfare services, and to lend its full support to those agencies and institutions whose purposes are consistent with these aims.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

The Council serves as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions; through careful study, collects the facts about the South's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and other public services; makes these facts and their implications widely available through pamphlets, newspapers, radio, television, and speakers. It seeks to counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate groups. There are affiliates in twelve Southern states.

Young Men's Christian Association
347 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

It seeks to advance social education, leadership and citizenship training, and the welfare of the community; to promote health and physical fitness; to assist men and boys in finding and organizing clean and refreshing social life and recreation; to encourage the study of religion and the application of Christian ideals to the rebuilding of a better society; and to promote racial and religious tolerance and world peace.

Young Women's Christian Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

It seeks to build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realizing in their common lives those ideals of personal and social living to which they are committed by their faith as Christians; and to advance the physical, social and intellectual, moral and spiritual interst of young women.

1956-57 Figures

		Number of Negroes in ~~school~~ whites with	Total
Arkansas -	Hoxie	12	
	Charleston	11	
	Fayetteville	9	
	Bentonville	2	34
Tennessee -	Clinton	6	
Texas -	data from S. S.		6-15-57

Grade-a-Year
Nashville
Knoxville
New Orleans
Houston

1957-58 Figures

Arkansas -	Bentonville	2	
	Charleston	11	
	Fayetteville	33	
	Ft. Smith	1	
	Hoxie	11	
	Little Rock	9	
	Van Buren	24	91

North Carolina - data from S.S., 4th Print.

Tennessee - "

Texas - "

1958-59 Figures

Arkansas -	Bentonville	2	
	Charleston	11	
	Fayetteville	36	
	Ft. Smith	2	
	Hoxie	9	
	Van Buren	13	73

North Carolina - Data from S. S., 6th Print.

Tennessee - "

Texas - "

Virginia - " (Warren County not included)

1959-60 Figures

Arkansas -	Bentonville	2	
	Charleston	8	
	Fayetteville	31	
	Fort Smith	4	
	Hoxie	8	
	Van Buren	23	
	Little Rock	8	
	Pulaski	10	94
Florida -	Orchard Villa - 468 (9 white) source: SSN, Jan. 1960		
	Homestead	22	490
North Carolina - SS, 7th Print.			
Tennessee - ditto			
Virginia -	Alexandria	14	
	Arlington	23	
	Charlottesville	11	
	Norfolk	21	
	Warren	20	
	Floyd	13	~~102~~ 105

Data from Washington Post

Other Lists:

Southern States in which there are:

Dec., 1958

I. A Governor's Committee on Race or Human Relations.
   1. Maryland - Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations.
   2. Florida - Race Relations Advisory Committee (the nature or effectiveness of this organization is not known to us).

II. An interracial state council on human relations.

1. Alabama	5. Kentucky	9. Tennessee
2. Arkansas	6. Louisiana	10. Virginia
3. Florida	7. North Carolina	11. Mississippi
4. Georgia	8. South Carolina	12. Texas

III. An interracial state association of clergymen or ministers.
   1. Alabama (an unofficial body. Write Bob Hughes for specific information.)
   2. Arkansas (Arkansas Council of Churches)
   3. Florida (Florida Council of Churches)
   4. Georgia (Georgia Council of Churches)
   5. Kentucky (Kentucky Council of Churches)
   6. North Carolina (North Carolina Council of Churches)
   7. Tennessee (Tennessee Council of Churches)
   8. Texas (Texas Council of Churches)
   9. West Virginia (West Virginia Council of Churches)
   10. Virginia (Virginia Council of Churches)

IV. An interracial state association of church women:
   Mrs. Dorothy Tilly provides the following information:
   There are no interracial state associations of church women.
   The Fellowship of the Concerned is not open to general membership, ~~its membership is appointed by various church bodies.~~

V. A Negro employed as a State Highway Patrolman.
   Newsclips, 1954 through 1958, do not indicate the employment of Negro Highway Patrolmen in any of the Southern states.

VI. A city in which a Negro serves on the City Library Board.
   We are unable to provide this information.

VII. A city in which there is a Mayor's Committee on Race Relations.
   Maryland (Baltimore)
   Florida (~~semi~~ quasi-official) - (Dade County Council - moving toward an official, professionally staffed body.)
   Alabama (One of sorts - Mobile)
   North Carolina (Durham - We do not know in this office whether it functions effectively.)
   (Georgia - There has recently been a move in Atlanta toward the formation of such a body, but no appointments have been made.)

Master Copy

Bus Desegregation Gains

Transp.

News Release

January 12, 1959

At least 34 Southern cities besides Atlanta have desegregated their city bus systems with only Montogomery experiencing any noteworthy incidents.

In most of these cases, desegregation took place without court action—usually by a change of policy on the part of the transit company. In only three—Montgomery, Ala., Columbia, S. C., and New Orleans, La.—did the action come by court order.

The number 34 represents a gain of 13 cities which have desegregated their bus systems since the Southern Regional Council conducted a spot survey in January, 1957. At that time, the survey revealed at least 21 Southern cities with desegregated seating on buses.

SRC found at that time that most of the cases of desegregation on Southern city buses dated back to April, 1956, when the Supreme Court dismissed an appeal from the U. S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals holding the Columbia, S. C., bus segregation ordinance unconstitutional (S. C. Electric & Gas Co. vs. Sarah Mae Flemming). Although this ruling applied only to Columbia, a number of city transit companies voluntarily desegregated buses.

As in the 1957 survey, SRC found that in most of the cities checked many passengers continued to follow the customary pattern of separate seating. However, passengers are free to sit where they wish, and some degree of desegregated seating is found in each of the cities reported.

These cities are: Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia area, and Montgomery, Alabama; Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and Hot Springs, Arkansas; Miami, Miami Beach, Daytona Beach, and Tampa, Florida; New Orleans, Louisiana; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, and Raleigh, North Carolina; Spartanburg, Columbia, and Charleston, South Carolina; Knoxville, Nashville, and Chattanooga, Tennessee; San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Dallas, Texas; Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Virginia.

+ Galveston
+ El Paso, Texas
+ Fairfax, Va.
+ Atlanta, Ga.
+ Memphis, Tenn.

Total: 37

★ Latest

Highlights From Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

Becker, Gary S. THE ECONOMICS OF DISCRIMINATION. University of Chicago Press, 1957. 137 pages, $3.50.

In this study the author develops a pioneer theory of discrimination in the market place, in order to supplement the psychologists' and sociologists' analysis of causes with an analysis of the economic consequences of discrimination. It is demonstrated, through the use of the techniques and analytical models of economists, that discrimination reduces the incomes of both majority and minority groups (although the majority group is affected to a lesser degree). The author states that the major contribution of the book is to develop a theory of non-pecuniary motivation and to apply it quantitatively to discrimination in the market place.

• • •

Braden, Anne. THE WALL BETWEEN. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1958. 306 pages, $5.00.

Although the main line of action of this factual story centers around an attempt to initiate residential desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky, it is deep in perception and broad in scope. The actions of those on both sides of the "wall" are considerably illuminated by the insight of the author, "one who might well have been on either side of the conflict."

• • •

Cable, George W. THE NEGRO QUESTION. Edited by Arlin Turner, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1958. 286 pages, $3.95.

A selection of essays, letters, and speeches written between 1875 and 1890 by a Southern novelist-social critic (once a Confederate soldier), "The Negro Question" analyzes the major problems and conflicts with which the South is confronted today. On the basis of religious, political, moral, and social considerations, the author concludes that the treatment of the Negro has been immoral, unjust, and impractical, thereby soundly arguing the case for extending unrestricted civil rights to all people.

• • •

Harlan, Louis R. SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL (Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915).

REVISED - OCTOBER 7, 1959

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND TENNESSEE

VIRGINIA	1958-59	1959-60	[illegible]
Alexandria	[illegible]	9	[illegible]
Arlington	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
Charlottesville	[illegible]	-	[illegible]
Norfolk	[illegible]	17	[illegible]
Warren County	[illegible]	21	[illegible]
	-	51	[illegible]

TENNESSEE			
Nashville	[illegible] (14 registered) [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
State Total (includes [illegible])		62	[illegible]

NORTH CAROLINA			
Charlotte	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
Durham (Durham County)	[illegible]	-	[illegible]
Greensboro	[illegible]	5	[illegible]
Goldsboro (Wayne County)	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
High Point-Guilford	[illegible]	-	[illegible]
Havelock (Cherry Point) Craven County	[illegible]	-	[illegible]
Winston Salem	1	4	7
Total	12	14	54

* One withdrew after harassment.

Total, 3 areas **	[illegible] (registered)	148 (registered)	[illegible] (registered)

** Total includes Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., although they are not listed in the breakdown.

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

1955-56

1.	Louisiana	281.6[illegible]
2.	Texas	265.[illegible]3
3.	Florida	*257.60
4.	Oklahoma	[illegible].35
5.	Virginia	[illegible].50
6.	West Virginia	[illegible]7.18
7.	Georgia	[illegible].03
8.	Tennessee	188.95
9.	North Carolina	188.69
10.	South Carolina	188.09
11.	Alabama	187.64
12.	Kentucky	168.26
13.	Arkansas	160.47
14.	Mississippi	157.47

NATIONAL - $294.22

*Includes Community Colleges

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

[illegible]

[illegible]ION

VIRGINIA, [illegible]A, AND TENNESSEE

VIRGINIA	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-
Alexandria	-	9	9	25
Arlington	-	4	23	
Charlottesville	-	-	12	
Fairfax	-	-	-	2
Floyd				3
Norfolk	-	17	22	7
Grayson Co. - Galax	-	-	-	7
Warren County	-	21	20	7
Pulaski Co.	-	-	-	3
Richmond	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	2
Roanoke	-	-	-	9
Total		51	86	208
TENNESSEE				
Nashville	19 registered 11 completed	34 registered 28 completed	41 registered 16	187
State Total (includes Clinton, Oak Ridge)		82	121	
NORTH CAROLINA				
Charlotte	4 *	4	1	2
Chapel Hill	-	-	-	3
Durham (Durham County)	-	-	7	12
Greensboro	5	5	5	5
Goldsboro (Wayne County)	-	1	3	17
High Point-Guilford	-	-	2	3
Yancey Co	-	-	-	1
Havelock (Cherry Point, Craven County)	-	-	9	25
Winston Salem	1	4	7	9
Raleigh	-	-	-	1
Total	11	14	34	82

* One withdrew after harassment.

Total, 3 areas **	30 (registered)	147 (registered)	261 (registered)

** Total includes Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., although they are not listed in the breakdown.

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1. Atlanta Public School System Administrative Set-up:

Source: Atlanta Pub. Schools Administrative Office

The 9 member school board is a publicly elected body; members serve four year terms. (In the most recent election, May, 1957, a Negro, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, was re-elected to his second term in office. Dr. Clement is the only member of his race on the Atlanta School Board.) The Board elects the Superintendent of Schools, while other members of the administrative branch of the Atlanta Public School System are both recommended by the Superintendent and elected by the board.

2. State Aid to Atlanta Public Schools:

Source Above

The amount of State Aid called for in the Atlanta Public School System's 1958 Budget (calendar year) was $6,157,000.00. (This is not the actual amount received.) The budget request for 1959 cannot be given out, since it has not yet been approved; however, it is in excess of the six million figure, due to growth of the school system. (Note: In November of 1957 School Superintendent Miss Ira Jarrell reported that the more than six million dollars the system receives each year from the state was 28 per cent of the total budget.)

Source: Atl. Jnl. 11/7/57

3. Enrollment, 1958-59:

Atl. Pub. Schools

Atlanta Public Schools:	White:	63,507
	Nonwhite:	42,543
	Total:	106,050

Ga. Dept. of Ed. Claude Purcell's Office

Georgia:	White:	606,949
	Nonwhite:	293,119
	Total:	900,068

4. Per Capita Expenditure:

Atl. Pub. Schools

Atlanta: For the 1957-58 school year, the most recent year for which the figure is available (as reported in June, 1958), the Atlanta system's per capita expenditure was $251.00. for the year 1957-58

Ga. Dept. of Ed. Statisticians Office

Georgia: As computed in June of 1958, the state-wide per capita expenditure was $204.67. The most recent national figures available from the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare are for the year 1955-56. For that year, the Georgia per capita expenditure was $194.03; the national expenditure was $294.22 for each pupil; and Georgia occupied 7th place in a listing of 14 Southern and border states expending the lowest amount in the nation per capita on its school children.

Dept. of Health, Ed. + Welfare

Budget, 1959 - $24,974,457.60

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

5. Statistics on New School Construction

Since 1950, a total of $6,652,458 has been channelled through the State School Building Authority for construction of Schools within the Atlanta Public School System. The Authority's Mr. Baxter states that although a racial breakdown can be made, it would take several days, since records were kept according to school, not race.

Source: State School Building Authority

6- Number of Schools in Atla. Public School System - Total - 133

Negro 43

White 90

Atlanta Board of Education:

President: A.C. (Pete) Latimer

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT (Continued)
Events of April 1 - April 21, 1960

A. In Locations Where Demonstrations Occurred Before April

Galveston (Tex.). Lunch counters in most downtown stores desegregated April 5. As in San Antonio, conferences which led to new policy initiated by church and civic leaders.

Greensboro (N.C.). Mayor's committee reported April 1 that its recommended settlement rejected by merchants; later, some Negro student leaders denied they had agreed to plan. Proposal was that those stores catering to all customers integrate about two-thirds of their lunch facilities, reserving rest for whites. Merchants' position was (and, presumably, is) that same "rules" should apply to their facilities as to restaurants. Greensboro Daily News commented editorially: "Why have the variety stores rejected this moderate change? They say they do not want to be singled out from any other establishments which sell food. Yet their policy of catering to mixed clientele already sets them apart from establishments which serve food only. Their vulnerability to change lies in the policy of serving to all at nine counters but denying service at the tenth." Sit-ins were resumed and the Woolworth counter - where the movement began February 1 - was closed again April 5. Kress remains open.

Nashville (Tenn.). Here also Mayor's committee had its recommendations rejected. Committee had proposed 90 day trial of plan whereby every store catering to Negro customers would integrate a portion of one of its eating facilities; committee also recommended that, if plan acceptable to all, prosecution of 150-odd persons arrested during the demonstrations be dropped. Negro students on April 9 rejected proposal which, they said, "involves the same stigma;" opinion of merchants seemed equally unfavorable. On April 19, home of Z. A. Looby, Negro member of City Council, largely destroyed by bomb, which also damaged adjacent buildings. Over 2000 people marched that day to City Hall, where written denunciation of Mayor's performance was read to him; he vigorously defended himself. When asked if he would recommend desegregated counters to merchants, he replied, "yes."

High Point, (N.C.). Mayor's committee recommended 60 day trial of desegregated service rejected by merchants. In McClellan's variety store, stools removed on April 4 and desegregated service offered.

Richmond (Va.). Four drug stores in predominantly Negro section near downtown desegregated April 7. Also, Baltimore's two leading department stores desegregated all eating facilities on March 29 and April 16. And in Las Vegas (Nev.), the ban was dropped on Negro guests at hotels and casinos.

Sit-ins for the first time occurred in Charleston (S.C.), on April 1 at variety store.

A South-wide group of student leaders met in Raleigh (N.C.) the week-end of April 16 with the Rev. M. L. King, Jr. and other officials of Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Fighting occurred in Nashville, Raleigh, and Savannah (Ga.).

Attempts at boycott were under way in a number of places not mentioned in April 1st report: included were Montgomery (Ala.); Little Rock (Ark.); Tallahassee (Fla.); Atlanta (Ga.); Jackson (Miss.); Charlotte and Greensboro (N.C.); Chattanooga, Memphis, and Nashville (Tenn.); Marshall (Tex.); Hampton, Petersburg, and Richmond (Va.). In at least two cities (Little Rock and Savannah), there was strong opposition within the Negro community to boycotting, and in several places (e.g. Jackson and Marshall) there was talk of undefined retaliatory boycotts by whites. How effective the boycotts were and are is disputed. According to the Savannah Press (April 14), the boycott in Savannah has taken a "heavy toll." In Pine Bluff (Ark.), NAACP announced on April 2 results of a nine hour check at three stores, two of which are being boycotted: 34 Negro customers in Woolworth's, 72 in Newberry's, and 2085 in Kress' which is not being boycotted because it has no lunch counter. CORE officials in New York sought support for nation-wide boycott of Woolworth.

Picketing has occurred in additional cities: Little Rock; Baton Rouge, and New Orleans (La.); Chapel Hill (N.C.); Chattanooga; Marshall; and Lynchburg (Va.). In a few places (e.g. Greensboro and Norfolk), white segregationist pickets appeared.

Public prayer meetings, rallies, etc. reported for first time in Baton Rouge, Oklahoma City, Chattanooga, Nashville; Houston (Tex.); and Petersburg (Va.).

Tennessee's state Board of Education notified all state colleges that students involved in public disorders must be expelled; the Alabama state Board ordered a weeding out of all faculty members of Alabama State College not "loyal" to the state, and noted that it had reason to suspect eleven. Montgomery revoked liquor license of Negro restaurant which had served touring Northern college group. In Little Rock, four students, two of whom had been earlier arrested after sit-in demonstrations, attended a white church on Easter Sunday. Picketing in New Orleans protested employment discrimination, not seating arrangements. On April 19, the Miami City Commission promised to survey business opinion and report findings within 30 days. Kentucky has established by law a state advisory commission on human relations. Governor Edmondson of Oklahoma undertook organization of a state-wide committee to advise on racial relations; in Virginia, a legislative resolution to create a study commission died in Committee.

B. In New Locations

March 22 - Oak Ridge (Tenn.): newspaper ad, listing grievances.
April 2 - Danville (Va.): sit-in at public library.
April 2 - Frankfort (Ky.): sit-ins at about 20 stores; served at three.
April 5 - Pensacola (Fla.): sit-in at variety store.
April 9 - Augusta (Ga.): sit-in at bus terminal by Negro soldier from nearby Fort Gordon; arrested.
April 17 - Biloxi (Miss.): physician and party swam at public beach, and physician arrested for disorderly conduct. Negroes had earlier petitioned for use of beach.

STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT (continued)
Events of April 21 - May 10, 1960

A. In Locations Where Earlier Demonstrations Have Occurred

Nashville (Tenn.): Lunch counters of six downtown stores began desegregated service May 10.

Negroes served at previously white lunch counters or rooms in Austin and Houston (Tex.). In Austin, an ultimatum to merchants (April 21) was followed by mile-long march by interracial group of University of Texas students on April 29. Two days later, three downtown variety stores began serving groups of up to 3 or 4 on desegregated basis. Negroes were told counters would be closed if larger groups appeared. About 15 Negro students served in white cafeteria at Houston's Greyhound Bus Station on April 25.

Raleigh (N. C.): Charges against 43 students arrested in February for trespass on sidewalks of shopping center were dismissed April 22 in state court; the court decided under a 1946 precedent of U. S. Supreme Court that a sidewalk used generally by the public was open to the public. In Atlanta, no suits have yet been filed against Negroes who demonstrated in public buildings and bus and train terminals; only against those who did so in privately owned cafeterias in office buildings occupied exclusively by federal government agencies. Also in Atlanta, a student brought suit against segregated facilities in city court-room.

Sit-ins with interesting implications occurred in:
Montgomery (Ala.), where Negroes occupied municipal library reading room; in San Antonio (Tex.), where sit-ins as well as picketing were employed against department store which had desegregated its basement cafeteria but not its upstairs restaurants; in Augusta (Ga.), where Negroes sat in white section of city bus: all arrested.

Fighting occurred in Biloxi (Miss.) and Durham (N. C.).

Frankfort (Ky.): Dismissal of two faculty members and expulsion of 12 students reported by (predominantly Negro) Kentucky State College officials to be result of rule infractions in on-campus protest of college practices; a dismissed teacher charged the real reason was CORE activity by some of those expelled. A $100,000 fire in college gymnasium, which inspectors said appeared to be arson, and mass withdrawal of students followed the expulsions.

B. In New Locations

April 20 - Beaumont (Tex.): Sit-in by Lamar Tech students at downtown lunch counters.
April 22 - Starkville (Miss.): Seven Arkansas Negroes driving across Mississippi arrested on charges of entering white filling station restroom and seeking service at adjoining white cafe. Negroes pled guilty and were fined.
April 26 - Dallas (Tex.): Negro minister served at three previously all-white lunch rooms or counters.
April 28 - Hopewell (Va.): Requests for desegregation ignored by merchants; picket-line training planned by Hopewell Improvement Association.
April 29 - Charlottesville, (Va.): Negroes played tennis on previously white court; police indicated action would be taken only in event of disturbance. No city ordinance applies.
May - Lawrenceville (Va.): Saint Paul's College student body unanimously voted "recess" from segregated movie house.

Jim Mierly
will come back in August

~~Master Copy~~

September 26, 1960

Working copy — With names of members

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES

ARKANSAS: Pine Bluff (has not been called off.)

FLORIDA: State-wide Commission; 6 members--4 white, 2 Negro

White- Cody Fowler, chairman, Tampa; former president ABA
" L. Grant (Jack) Peeples, state beverage director (replaced Don Genung, who resigned)
" Mrs. C. D. Johnson, Quincy, chairman Florida Children's Commission
" John B. Turner, Miami, businessman
Negro- Perry C. Harvey, Sr., Tampa, International Longshoremen's official
" The Rev. E. C. Tillman, Daytona Beach

Committee announced advisory committee on religious affairs in May; it is composed of five white and one Negro members:

Canon William Hargrave, Orlando
Dr. Irving Lehrman, Miami
The Rev. Wittal Hunter, Crestview
The Rev. Cyrus A. Weaver, Jacksonville (Negro)
Msgr. George T. Rocket, Miami Beach
The Venerable Harry B. Douglas, Jr., Tallahassee

Auburndale: Five-member committee appointed Sept. 2, 1960.

Coral Gables: Five-member commission formed and had met twice (9/14).

Daytona Beach: 20-member committee has not met because of tough tough quorum rule (9/14).

Delray Beach*: Ten members; not very active.

Eustis
~~Ft. Lauderdale~~: Commission appointed.

Ft. Pierce
Miami: Large committee appointed with Nestor Morales as chairman; no longer active (9/14).

Jacksonville: Ministers met twice to establish committee. Recently developed new group of citizens high in power structure and established a bi-racial committee.

Orlando:* Members of Commission were actice in desegregating all lunch counters. Has outstanding Negro Chamber of Commerce and Housing Development.

St. Petersburg: Five-member committee (3 whites, 2 Negroes)
Dr. Earl B. Edington, chairman, pastor First Baptist Church (W)
Robert M. King, president-treasurer Rutland's Dept. Store "
Adrian S. Bacon, attorney (w)
William M. Lattimore, employee Sears & Roebuck (N)
Louis D. Brown, principal Wildwood Elementary School (N)

* Committees in operation prior to appointment of state Commission.

FLORIDA, continued:

Tallahassee: 15-member committee formed by Ministerial Alliance and representing power structure.

Tampa*: Outstanding committee in the state.

West Palm Beach*: Long-standing committee.

Winter Park*: Five-member committee in educative lines.

Communities reasonably close to establishing committees: (9/14)

~~Ft. Pierce~~
Plant City
Homestead
Winter Haven
Haines City
Pensacola
Clearwater
Palatka
Panama City
Key West
Manatee County
Vero Beach
Maitland
Sanford
Lakeland
Gainesville

GEORGIA

Savannah: Mayor W. Lee Mingledorff's biracial committee of 14 members (7 white, 7 Negro) became inactive April 15, 1950 because neither Negroes or whites in the community would cooperate with the committee.

Ky. Lexington: appointed by Mayor, interracial June 1961

La. New Orleans 9/2/61 a committee of 15 New Orleans Negroes met at Dillard University to formulate plans for a City biracial organization. To be presented to City Council next week.

Asheville Area Council on Human Relations formed 4-9-60. Rev. Frank Patzell, pres. Asheville-Buncombe County Ministerial Asso., acting chm. Exec. Comm: 14 {Ruben J. Dailey, John W. White, Jesse Ray, Clarence Morgan, the Rev. W. Perry Clauch, the Rev. Embree H. Blackard, Mrs. Glen R. Pratt, George Abbott, Mr. Patzell, John Jervis, Ray Whitmore, Jim Burnell, John Erle, Gene Schwartz Jr. and Com. Greene.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte: Interracial negotiating committee called "Friendly Relations Committee" appointed in April by Mayor--15 members: (Only Presbyterian members listed, obtained from Presby.Outlook)

original purpose: lunch counters

John R. Cunningham, exec. of Presby. Foundation, former president Davidson College
Philip F. Howerton, business man
W. E. Price " "
Mrs. Ernest Hunter, housewife
Dr. Monroe T. Gilmore
Harold S. Smook

Fayetteville ~~Durham~~ Chapel Hill: The Rev. Warren Carr, chm.

Gastonia ~~Greensboro~~: Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations (8 white, 1 Negro)

E. R. Zane, chairman, city councilman	(w)	(3 of unidentified are from Chamber of Commerce; 3 are members of Merchants Asso.)
Bland W. Worley	"	
David Schneck, city councilman	"	
Arnold Schiffman	"	
O. L. Fryman	"	
Howard Holderness	"	
James A. Doggett	"	
W. M. York	"	
Waldo Falkener, city councilman	(N)	

April 14 Greensboro Mens Club, group of Negro dentists, doctors, business men and teachers requested "larger representation of Negro persons and also include women".

High Point: Human Relations Committee appointed by Mayor Jesse Washburn (shortly after Feb. 11 student protest).
The Rev. Wm. P. Price, Episcopal clergyman, chairman

Laurinburg ~~Raleigh~~ Kinston: ~~(15 members)~~ 7, according to Harry Jones

Dr. Harold J. Dudley, chairman	
Rev. Arthur J. Calloway	Dr. W. C. Pressly
Dr. Wilmoth Carter	Dr. Howard P. Powell
R. Lee Covington	J. J. Sanson, Jr.
Dr. W. L. Green	Dan E. Stewart
Earl Johnson	M. B. Thomas
James C. Little, Jr.	The Rev. C. W. Ware
Howard E. Manning	Paul H. Johnson

Asheville
Gastonia
Kinston
Chapel Hill
Laurinburg (Chamber of Commerce Committee) Glenn F. Everett, sec.
summer of 1960 - called "Community Betterment Association", chm. Dr. Albert Wells (Interracial)

NORTH CAROLINA, continued

Winston-Salem: Goodwill Committee (10 Negroes, 10 whites)

Gordon Hanes, president Hanes Hosiery Mills (w)
Joe S. Rice, president of Dr. Pepper Bottling Co. "
J. Ernest Yarbrough, secretary Retail Merchants Asso. and member of City-County Planning Board (w)
James G. Hanes, formerly head of Hanes Hosiery Mills and formerly a county commissioner for three decades (w)
Dr. Clarence H. Patrick, Chairman Department of Sociology, Wake Forest College (w)
Paul Essex, asst. superintendent of public relations, Western Electris (w)
Irving Carlyle, member legal firm of Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge, and Rice, city attorney, and former state senator (w)
James A. Gray, publisher of Journal & Sentinel (w)
E. S. Heefner, Jr., Judge of Forsyth County Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court (w)
Dr. Mark Deppk, pastor Centenary Methodist Church
The Rev. Kenneth Williams, professor at Winston-Salem Teachers College and former city alderman (N)
Curtis Todd, attorney (N)
The Rev. Jerry Drayton, pastor New Bethel Baptist Church (N)
The Rev. David R. Hedgley, pastor First Baptist Church (N)
A. H. Anderson, principal of Atkins High School (N)
Sam Harvey, executive director Winston-Salem Urban League (N)
Edward E. Hill, president Winston Mutual Life Ins. Co. (N)
C. I. Sawyer, teacher at Paisley Junior High School (N)
Dr. E. L. Davis, chief of medical staff at Kate Bitting Reynolds Memorial Hospital (N)
The Rev. H. W. Wiley, pastor of Second Mount Zion Baptist Church (N)

S.C. - Florence, S.C.

TENNESSEE

Athens, 2-23-61 City Council approved (4-1) request from local ministerial alliance to establish interracial committee to handle any racial or minority group problems.

Knoxville: Mayor John Duncan "summoned" a committee after the Chattanooga rioting.

Chattanooga

Nashville: The Mayor's Biracial Committee (5 white, 2 Negro)

Dr. C. Madison Sarratt, chairman (w)
George E. Barrett (w)
Lipscomb Davis "
W. S. Davis, president Tenn. A. & I. (N)
Stephen J. WRight, Secretary (President Fisk University) (N)
E. B. Gullett (w)
Donald Hart "

Knoxville, incomplete:

white: Chas. Heard, exec. sec. CC
Dr. Chas. Trentham, Baptist
Dr. Joseph Copeland, Second Presby.
Aubrey Couch, Downtown Knoxville Asso.
HughSanford, " " "

Negro: Rev. W. T. Crutcher
Dr. James W. Colston, pres. Knoxville College
Rev. R. E. James
Rev. Carroll Felton
Mrs. Perry (MartinHill Pk)
Ralph Martin
Rev. Frank Gordon
L. A. Lee, Cansler YMCA
O. B. Taylor, M.D.

Oak Ridge

Corpus Christi (local NAACP took initiative, conferring with store managers)

TEXAS

Galveston: 11-members, all white (informal)

3 lawyers
owner of radio-television station
clothing merchant
wife of cotton broker
owner of furniture store
4 ministers, representing the Protestant, Catholic,& Jewish faiths.

Dallas -

Houston: Citizens Relations Committee - 41 members (at least 26 whites and at least 11 Negroes; race of 4 appointed later unknown)

~~Note: June 10--Chairman Hamblen announced that committee would hold no more meetings; committee disbanded.~~
Still active

Executive Committee (13)

J. P. Hamblen, chairman, board chm. Sou. Electric Supply Co. (w)
David C. Bintliff, pres. real estate, insurance and investment agency (w)
N. E. Coward, executive secretary of Houston Labor and Trades Council (w)
Palmer Hutcheson, attorney (w)
Leon Jaworsky, attorney and president Houston Chamber of Commerce (w)
Felix Tijerina, restaurant operator (w)
Jack Valenti, public relations "
W. J. Wallace, secretary-manager Retail Merchants Asso. (w)
W. M. Wheless, oil operator (w)
Charles Lee, student Texas Southern University (N)
Hobard Taylor, president Negro taxi company (N)
A. E. Warner, president Houston Negro Chamber of Commerce (N)
Aloysius M. Wickliff, attorney and president Harris County Council of organizations

San Antonio: Group of white religious leaders acted as mediating committee, with store managers and student leaders; later, an interracial commission was set up.

Dallas: (7 whites, 7 Negroes) informal

VIRGINIA Arlington

Lynchburg: (4 white, 4 Negro) City Manager Robert D. Morrison will serve as executive secretary of the group. Lynchburg Interracial Council

Henry E. McWane, co-chairman (w)
Fred L. Showalter "
Harry G. Green "
Clarence K. Garrard "
William E. Gordon, co-chairman (N)
M. C. Allen "
M. W. Thornhill, Jr. "
Henry P. Weeden "

Montgomery County: 6 members, established by County Council; meeting called July 23, 1960 by Rockville Mayor Mason A. Butcher, acting County Manager.

this is Maryland

Joseph E. McDowell, Washington lawyer (appointed by Urban League)
Rabbi Samuel Scalnic (app. by Washington Bd. of Rabbis)
J. Fendell Coughlin, Silver Springs lawyer (app. by Washington Archdiocese)
Chas. E. Bowen, Wheaton lawyer (app. by County's 6 Chambers of Commerce)
Rev. Kenneth Wentzel, Rockville (app. by 4 Montgomery Ministerial Associations)
Ann Brown (app. by county's Democratic central committee)
(county Republicans refused to name member, saying commission should be non-partisan)

Richmond: Mayor Claude Woodward appointed 12-member biracial committee (8/5/60) (first test: lunch counters)

Thos. C. Boushall, bd. chm. Bank of Virginia, chairman (w)
L. Dudley George II, business man (w)
W. Sterling King, former mayor (w)
Roy E. McDaniel (w)
Ed P. Phillips (w)
Henry T. Wickham, attorney (w)
Dr. F. J. Brown, physician (N)
Thos. H. Henderson, pres. Va. Union University (N)
David E. Langley, insurance exec. (N)
Winfred Mudle " " "
J. R. Picott, exec. sec. Va. Teachers Asso. (N)
H. C. Terry, president taxicab company (N)

Roanoke: unofficial Citizens Biracial Committee (set to desegregate lunch counters & now actively studying other problems)

Williamsburg: 100 white and Negro citizens has functioned as an informal racial relations committee.

Arlington (unconfirmed report)

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA:

On March 30, 1960 Gov. J. Howard Edmondson appointed a state-wide Governor's Committee on Human Relations

WASHINGTON, D. C.:

District Dommissioners' Human Relations Council formed three years ago. On Aug. 3, 1960 a new chairman was named, Aaron Goldman, member for three years. Leon Chatelain Jr., architect and former chairman was appointed with Barrington D. Parker, lawyer, and Dr. R. Frank Jones for three-year terms.

West Va. - Gov. W. W. Barron appointed 9 members of W. Va.'s Human Rights Commission July 12, 1961. It was authorized by the legislature in February to "encourage & endeavor to bring about mutual understanding and respect among all racial, religious, & ethnic groups within the state."

9. Organizations Supporting the continuance of public schools, despite desegregation (Spring, 1959):

(a) Miami Beach Junior Chamber of Commerce

(b) Seventy-four St. Petersburg ministers

(c) South Florida Diocese of the Episcopal Church (resolution passed by 1,000 delegates to Diocesan meeting, with no dissenting vote)

(d) Florida Education Association

(e) Real Estate Industry Council of Dade County (5,000 members)

(f) Florida Council of Independent Schools (40 private schools throughout the state)

(g) State Junior Chamber of Commerce

(h) A meeting of community leaders, at suggestion of Miami Mayor Robert King High, in April 1959, was considering organization of a "March on Tallahassee" to protest school closing plans.

~~Under C. Supporting Orgs.~~ ~~Florida~~

10. The Florida Methodist Conference approved a resolution saying "each church shall give prayerful consideration to the role it should take on racial reconciliation in the community." (June, 1959)

3/22/62

Hotels with Some Degree of Desegregation
(Also see New South, September, 1960)

ARKANSAS

Little Rock

African students have stayed in the hotels, but the situation is under consideration at the present time.

FLORIDA

Miami

Limited basis

Miami Beach

Most are accepting non-white guests

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Air Port Hotel

KENTUCKY

Louisville

All hotels

NORTH CAROLINA

Greenville

Holiday Inn

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City

All hotels

Tulsa

All hotels

TENNESSEE

Nashville

Holiday Inn

TEXAS

Dallas

Hilton

Houston

Shamrock
Rice (for special meetings)

VIRGINIA

Richmond

Some are accepting non-white guests

DESEGREGATION ON INTER AND INTRA STATE BUSES AND TERMINALA (SEPT., 1961)

GREYHOUND BUS LINES:
Columbia, S.C.
Montgomery, ALA.
Baton Rouge, La. (signs removed in waiting room)

Directive from main office of Greyhound about equal treatment of customers can be found in Freedom Riders, Montgomery, ALa. file. (clip is Chattanooga Times, June 2, 1961.)

X UNKNOWN BUS STATIONS: - no name given in report, only "bus terminal"

Savannah	interstate	waiting	rooms	
Jacksonville	"	"	"	"
Atlanta	"	"	"	"
Lynchberg	"	"	"	"
Norfolk	"	"	"	"
Greensboro	"	"	"	"
Louisville	"	"	"	"
Nashville	"	"	"	"
Little Rock (#3 & #2)			"	"
* Richmond	unsegregated waiting rooms, seg. dining rooms			
Portsmouth				

* Richmond: Trailways has no segregation, Greyhound does.

DESEGREGATED BY FREEDOM RIDERS (only reports have been that known Freedom Riders, ate, etc. but no one did before)

Atlanta
Greyhound: dining room closed for repairs, used rest-rooms & waiting rooms
Trailways: ate

Montgomery
Trailways: still signs but people have been served
Greyhound: no signs

Richmond, VA.
Augusta (Trailways)
Athens
Wilmington
Sumter-
used snack bar, did not use dining room
Knoxville ? - may have been desg. before
Charlottesville
Roanoake

11/61

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director James M. Dabbs, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
Phone: ALpine 2-2722 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Norman Jimerson
Chairman: Father Albert Foley

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
Phone: FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Chairman: Rev. Charles C. Walker

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida
Phone: CAnal 1-8521 (305)
Exec. Dir.: William K. Williams
Chairman: Mrs. Mabel Reese

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 Exchange Place, S.E., Rm. 309
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: 525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Chairman: Rev. Charles Demere

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chairman: The Rev. A. D. Pinckney
Plymouth Congregational Church
1626 West Chestnut Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky
Phone: JAckson 3-5265 (502)

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
Phone: FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
Exec. Dir.: Harry S. Jones
Chairman: Rev. Henry Ruark

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Phone: ALpine 6-8808
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chairman: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
Phone: CYpress 1-7544 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Miss Katherine Jones
Chairman: George Barrett

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond 19, Virginia
Phone: MIlton 9-0872 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chairman: Dr. Thomas Henderson

***TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

Chairman: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas
Phone: JAckson 4-5084 (713)
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. George Dumbauld
Chairman: Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw

*Cooperating but not financially assisted

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

3/12/62

File

Stand-ins have occurred in:

Knoxville
Nashville } Tenn
Chattanooga
Hampton, Va.

Charlotte
Greensboro
Chapel Hill
Fayetteville N.C.
Durham
Winston-Salem
High Point

San Antonio
Austin
Houston Texas
Amarillo
Dallas

Tallahasse?

Louisville, Ky.

There may be more.

Of these, only some theatres in Chapel Hill and Austin are deseg.

JM
Return to MM

VCHR INFORMATION SHEET - March 20, 1962

LYNCHBURG: The manager of Howard Johnson's stated flatly that it was out of the question for him to desegregate his Restuarant. He made this statement to a group of local councils members who approached him offering their full support to bring about desegregation in this establishment. He gave as his reasons the fact that he was working under another man who also directs the Lynchburg Holiday Inn as well as another one near Washington.

RICHMOND: Hot Shoppes have recently desegregated two of their three establishments here, and gave as their reason for not doing the same at the third that it was too closely placed to the S & W Cafeteria which is not desegregated.

The Richmond Council has worked up a twelve months program for local council meetings beginning with April 1962 and going through April 1963. Most important fields of concern are to be covered with Dr. Ralph Bunch of the United Nations scheduled as one speaker. Richmond membership now totals over five hundred.

ROANOKE: The Executive Director spoke at the Annual Meeting on Monday Evening, March 12. New Officers were elected and installed. This Council is planning a work-shop for early Fall, perhaps in conjunction with Blacksburg and Lynchburg.

BLACKSBURG: The Panel of Young Americans directed by Dr. J. Kenneth Morland of Lynchburg presented the program on March 8. Perhaps the largest attendance ever was on hand, including the President of the Blacksburg Chamber of Commerce. The Executive Director visited with Officers and Executive Committee on March 9.

Bluefield: The Executive Director spoke to this council on Thursday Evening, March 8. He also visited and sppke at Bluefield State College while in Bluefield.

WILLIAMSBURG: This Council sees no problems in affiliating with VCHR at their next regularly scheduled meeting in March.

FAIRFAX COUNTY: The Annual Meeting will be held on Thursday, March 22, with Mr. Harold Fleming, former Executive Director of SRC, as speaker. Upon authorization of the Board of Directors, the council has sent a letter to all members of the Fairfax County School Board opposing its policy of re-districting for High School attendance.

ALEXANDRIA: This council has recently sent an open letter to Alexandrians objectively showing the plight of Negro Citizens in that city in Recreation, Jobs, Schools, Homes and admission to Professional and Civic Groups.

NOTES IN GENERAL: The Georgia, Tennessee and Arkansas State Councils have Associate Directors, and have received Foundation Grants to support these.

VCHR has the lowest per capita giving from membership than any state in SRC.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY BRIEFS: House Resolution # 55 never cleared Committee, although a letter was sent the State Board of Education asking for the same thing the Bill called for -Encouraging the placing of Carlton Putnam's Book-RACE AND REASON in all schools. Senate Bills 184 and 185 making it unlawful to pickett or boycott passed both the House and Senate with three opposing votes in Senate and six in the House. An amendment by John Webb of Fairfax County to the appropriation Bill to appropriate money specifically to re-open schools in Prince Edward County was voted down by voice vote.

Why not call the National Civil Liberties Clearing House-Washington, DUpont 7-6300 and attend their 14th. Annual Conference on March 29-30?

Southern groups
SNCC AJC
SCLC NAACP

SRC, 5/9/62

Human Relations and Intergroup Organizations
Throughout the South

ALABAMA

~~Alabama Council On Human Relations~~ (private)
Montgomery Improvement Association "
~~Southern Christian Leadership Conference~~ "
Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights"

FLORIDA

State-wide Commission (The following names are cities that have established branches of the state-wide commission, which is official)
Auburndale
Coral Gables
Daytona Beach
Delray Beach
Eustis
Ft. Lauderdale
Ft. Pierce
Miami (there is some question as to the activity of this committee)
Jacksonville
Orlando
St. Petersburg
Tallahassee
Tampa
West Palm Beach
Winter Park

Florida Council for Racial Cooperation (private)
Committee On Raceial Equality "

GEORGIA

Savannah - a Mayor's Committee that became inactive, but might be functioning now
~~Southern Regional Council~~ (private)
~~Georgia Council on Human Relations and its affiliates - Atlanta, Macon, Cobb County, Augusta, Columbus (private)~~
~~[illegible]~~
Jewish Community Relations Council

KENTUCKY

Lexington - a mayor's committee
Louisville Committee On Human Rights (official)

LOUISIANA

Co-Ordinating Council of Greater New Orleans (mainly concerned with voting)
Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South
Southern Field Office of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson Non-Violent Movement
Meridian
McComb
Clarksdale

NORTH CAROLINA

~~Asheville Area Council On Human Relations~~
Buncombe County Ministerial Association
~~Interracial~~ Friendly Relations Committee ,Charlotte (official)
Chapel Hill
Fayetteville
Durham
Gastonia
Greensboro Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations
Human Relations Committee, High Point (official)
Kinston
Raleigh
Asheville
Gastonia
Kinston
Chapel Hill
Laurinburg (Chamber of Commerce Committee, Community Betterment Association)
Winston-Salem Goodwill Committee

From Houston Council

JM
JS
Please return to MM

PROGRESSIVE YOUTH ASSOCIATION ACHIEVEMENTS

Houston

Lunch Counters.....(75)

Negro Bus Drivers.....(7)

Bus Station Desegregated

Jeppesen Stadium

Buff Stadium

Negro Warrant Officers.....(4)

Telephone Company Employees.....(2.Secretaries)

Salesladies at Weingartens.....(17)

Henke-Pillet.....(4)

Weiner's Department Stores.....(5)

Danburg's Department Stores.....(5)

Minimax Supermarket.....(5 Clerks)

Ralston Drugstore Chain.....(2 Managers)
14 Clerks)

Total Desegregation of rest rooms facilities at Public Places

City Hall Cafeteria

Managers At U-tote-Em Stores.....(5)

Foley Newsome Service Stations.....(4 Managers)

Desegregation of Playland Park

Frank's Variety Stores

Askew Pharmacy.....(1 Negro Pharmacist)

Police Station Cafeteria

Raised wages of employees at negro theaters from 48 cents per hour to $1.00 per hour, one day off per week, and one weeks vacation with pay.

Countless Corner-Store Cashiers and Clerks

Alabama

III. FORCES SUPPORTING CIVIL RIGHTS, DESEGREGATION

A. Anti-KKK, Anti-violence Laws:

1. Dynamite Laws: Control over sale of explosives is vested in state fire marshal. In early 1958, explosive dealers were ordered by Fire Marshall J. V. Kitchens to keep a record for five years of all volatile substances purchased.

2. State has anti-mask law; city of Auburn has local anti-mask ordinance. Mobile and Birmingham have ordinances prohibiting cross-burning within city limits.

B. Organizations

1. Intergroup organizations

a. Private: Alabama Council on Human Relations
Montgomery Improvement Association
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

b. Municipal:

Wadley: Council on Human Relations, composed of 11 whites and 3 Negroes, formed in June, 1955. Mayor W. B. Fackler was named head. (Whether it continues to function is unknown.)

Mobile: A Mayor's Committee on race relations exists. (evaluated by a human relations professional as an organization "of sorts").

2. Clergymen, church organizations:

a. An unofficial body of religious leaders of both races functions.

b. A white minister of a Negro church, Robert Graetz, was among the leaders of the 1956 Montgomery protest movement and on the executive committee of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

c. Thirty-two white Mobile ministers have publicly supported the petition of 37 Negro ministers for repeal of city bus segregation ordinances.

d. Montgomery Ministerial Association, an all-white group, adopted a resolution disapproving "undisciplined and intolerant remarks and acts at public meetings at which different groups of our citizenry, including religious groups, are slanderously set upon as targets for hatred and violence." (October, 1956)

C. Supporting Organizations

1. The Bishop of South Florida's Episcopal Church has publicly stated his approval of desegregation.

2. United Church Women of Florida declared in a resolution that desegregation in public schools should be carried out in a spirit of love, justice, and good will.

3. Miami Baptist Association voted to uphold Florida Supreme Court and U. S. Supreme Court decisions on desegregation of public schools. (Oct., 1955)

4. General State Baptist Convention (all Negro) adopted resolution decrying attempts to block integration. (April, 1956)

   (Other religious denominations or individual member churches have supported desegregation through their actions. See pg. 23, H. Membership and Participation in Organizations)

5. Florida Education Association convention passed a resolution stating their belief that "A strong public school system is fundamental to the well being of the state and the people. No issue, however critical, should prevent our wholehearted support and maintenance of free public schools." (April, 1956)

6. South Florida's First National Forensic League Student Conference - composed of high school students - proposed a plan for gradual desegregation of Dade County schools. The plan called for integration on the first grade level each year, resulting in complete integration in 12 years. (Oct., 1956)

7. Pinellas County G.O.P. Chairman Edward A. Turville voiced strong support for Pres. Eisenhower's action in the Little Rock school desegregation squabble. (Oct., 1957)

8. Intergroup Organizations

   a. Florida Council on Human Relations and its local subsidiaries in Dade County, St. Petersburg

   b. Florida Council for Racial Cooperation

   c. NAACP

   d. American Jewish Committee

   e. American Jewish Congress

   f. Anti-Defamation League

   g. Committee on Racial Equality

D. Intergroup Organizations include:

1. North Carolina Council on Human Relations, Charlotte;

2. American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Office, High Point;

3. N.A.A.C.P. (Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte heads the state body);

4. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations;

5. A municipal commission on human relations has been appointed in Durham.

6. Durham Committee on Negro Affairs

B. Intergroup Organizations

1. The Southern Regional Council. (Although South-wide in its range of activity, the Council's headquarters are located in Atlanta.)

2. The Georgia Council on Human Relations, and its affiliates in the following cities and counties: Atlanta, Macon, Cobb County, Augusta, Columbus,

3. Regional Office of the NAACP is in Atlanta,

4. Local chapters of the NAACP

5. Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office, Atlanta

6. Citizens Bi-Racial Committee (The formation of such a committee was undertaken by a 1958 Fulton County (Atlanta) Grand Jury, acting as a private group. The Committee is not yet functioning.) (March 1959)

7. Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta. (Headed by Martin Luther King, Sr. in Georgia; affiliated with SCLC's in other states, formed by Martin Luther King, Jr.)

8. American Jewish Committee, Southeast Regional Office

9. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Regional Office

10. Jewish Community Relations Council

11. Urban League (Regional Office and local league)

12. Georgia Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission includes: Sylvan Meyer (temporary chairman), Gainesville newspaper editor; L. D. Milton (acting secretary), Atlanta banker; the Rt. Rev. T. James McNamara, Savannah; Dr. F. D. Funderburg, physician from Monticello; Mrs. H. B. Trimble, Atlanta, member of the National Board of Missions of the Methodist Church; Howard See, Atlanta and Fairburn, retired vice-president of the Armco Drainage and Metal Products Company and member of the personnel board of the City of Atlanta.

3. Intergroup Organizations

a. NAACP

b. Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South

c. Southern Conference Educational Fund

d. Louisiana Council on Human Relations (not functioning at present)

e. Co-ordinating Council of Greater New Orleans (voting)

f. Southern Field Office of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

ALABAMA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Autauga	4,042	73
Baldwin	4,493	625
Barbour	7,158	220
Bibb	2,801	235
Blount	429	*
Bullock	5,425	6
Butler	6,024	805
Calhoun	8,304	1,800
Chambers	7,175	649
Cherokee	736	250
Chilten	2,027	350
Choctaw	4,822	112
Clarke	6,434	700
Clay	1,010	~~0~~ 140
Cleburne	380	60
Coffee	3,114	600
Colbert	4,519	921
Conecuh	4,435	960
Coosa	1,828	450
Covington	3,157	175
Crenshaw	2,801	600
Cullman	249	81
Dale	2,454	380
Dallas	18,145	275
De Kalb	443	*
Elmore	5,543	226
Escambia	5,425	1,606
Etowah	7,672	2,000
Fayette	1,497	326
Franklin	700	200
Geneva	1,686	300
Green	6,628	157
Hale	7,041	130
Henry	~~3,929~~ 4029	600
Houston	7,211	1,700
Jackson	1,242	~~0~~ 625
Jefferson	121,667	7,000
Lamar	1,204	100
Lauderdale	4,022	495
Lawrence	3,010	408
Lee	8,954	500
Limestone	4,013	800
Lowndes	6,512	0 **
Macon	14,539	1,100
Madison	10,333	1,500

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Marengo	10,226	170
Marion	384	200
Marshall	604	~~0~~ 20
Mobile	45,493	6,400
Monroe	5,914	140
Montgomery	34,079	2,176
Morgan	4,641	~~0~~ 1,500 ***
Perry	6,351	300
Pickens	5,547	600
Pike	6,866	720
Randolph	2,728	1,171
Russell	10,135	560
St. Clair	2,363	750
Shelby	3,356	375
Sumter	8,700	295
Talladega	9,318	1,134
Tallapoosa	5,083	~~0~~ 559
Tuscaloosa	14,157	5,500
Walker	3,850	2,800
Washington	2,835	600
Wilcox	8,218	0 **
Winston	63	~~0~~ 7

* Information could not be secured.

** No Negro registrants known to our sources of information.

*** Estimated figure given by Morgan Co. probate judge.

ARKANSAS

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955
Arkansas	2934	995	Lee	7572	1610
Ashley	5062	1361	Lincoln	4808	1391
Baxter	3	0	Little River	2107	782
Benton	43	5	Logan	209	183
Boone	0	0	Lonoke	3267	805
Bradley	2744	1210	Madison	9	5
Calhoun	1277	844	Marion	0	0
Carroll	13	2	Miller	5000	1840
Chicot	6924	2588	Mississippi	11975	3915
Clark	3228	1067	Monroe	4930	1031
Clay	6	0	Montgomery	24	15
Cleburne	2	0	Nevada	2578	825
Cleveland	1061	371	Newton	1	0
Columbia	5603	957	Ouachita	7020	2500
Conway	2196	1527	Perry	133	65
Craighead	~~6244~~ 998	292	Phillips	15226	3561
Crawford	414	21	Pike	294	86
Crittenden	16495	1352	Poinsett	1754	195
Cross	4041	723	Polk	9	0
Dallas	2504	1033	Pope	426	150
Desha	6511	2518	Prarie	1192	900
Drew	3118	1038	Pulaski	28881	8364
Faulkner	1480	430	Randolph	102	57
Franklin	91	23	St. Francis	10734	2300
Fulton	5	0	Saline	974	413
Garland	3751	2520	Scott	94	45
Grant	370	231	Searcy	3	0
Greene	40	5	Sebastian	2678	661
Hempstead	5244	1452	Sevier	610	235
Hot Springs	1575	717	Sharp	5	3
Howard	1406	460	Stone	3	0
Independence	407	100	Union	8434	2570
Izard	62	27	Van Buren	59	31
Jackson	2067	1215	Washington	309	40
Jefferson	21174	5774	White	726	288
Johnson	144	18	Woodruff	3549	954
Lafayette	3004	1033	Yell	335	55
Lawrence	164	67			

FLORIDA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alachua	9,430	3,153	Okaloosa	1,177	606
Baker	818	361	Okeechobee	406	348
Bay	4,028	2,012	Orange	14,321	3,137
Bradford	1,408	859	Osceola	958	358
Brevard	3,544	2,160	Palm Beach	22,253	6,520
Broward	12,234	6,958	Pasco	1,713	624
Calhoun	594	231	Pinellas	12,118	3,477
Charlotte	469	268	Polk	15,492	4,989
Citrus	879	580	Putnam	5,199	1,770
Clay	1,230	1,193	St. Johns	5,053	2,051
Collier	1,402	741	St. Lucie	3,732	1,813
Columbia	3,357	1,645	Santa Rosa	928	730
Dade	42,682	19,048	Sarasota	2,896	783
De Soto	1,229	807	Seminole	6,881	2,242
Dixie	387	181	Sumter	1,703	790
Duval	55,832	27,368	Swannee	2,606	565
Escambia	14,521	6,733	Taylor	1,945	91
Flagler	872	64	Union	2,453	6
Franklin	904	521	Volusia	10,415	5,761
Gadsden	10,930	5	Wakulla	833	345
Gilchrist	203	29	Walton	1,051	954
Glades	584	262	Washington	1,056	743
Gulf	1,129	481			
Hamilton	1,983	507			
Hardee	404	375			
Hendry	1,034	135			
Hernando	869	622			
Highlands	2,054	1,243			
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856			
Holmes	326	130			
Indian River	1,764	427			
Jackson	5,843	3,430			
Jefferson	3,272	183			
Lafayette	176	0			
Lake	5,110	1,363			
Lee	3,017	1,818			
Leon	11,213	4,046			
Levy	2,107	603			
Liberty	333	1			
Madison	3,153	1,010			
Manatee	4,425	1,686			
Marion	8,387	4,324			
Martin	1,374	706			
Monroe	2,043	1,652			
Nassau	2,123	1,223			

GEORGIA

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Appling	1356	1068	Echols	379	15
Atkinson	897	408	Effingham	1838	211
Bacon	558	8	Elbert	3371	986
Baker	1819	0	Emanuel	3597	1657
Baldwin	8461	2487	Evans	1340	494
Banks	229	32	Fannin	47	63
Barrow	1235	413	Fayette	1261	11
Bartow	2404	702	Floyd	6046	2730
Ben Hill	2659	918	Forsyth	25	20*
Berrien	1107	738	Franklin	970	300
Bibb	25993	5140	Fulton	99347	24441
Bleckley	1588	39	Gilmer	14	6
Brantley	451	175	Glascock	470	21
Brooks	4693	707	Glynn	6069	2185
Bryan	1269	885	Gordon	641	348
Bulloch	4755	1795	Grady	3442	527
Burke	8797	399	Greene	3548	2586
Butts	2168	1414	Gwinnett	1751	1000
Calhoun	3232	126	Habersham	381	300
Camden	2062	1556	Hall	2357	1421
Candler	1494	1174	Hancock	4094	1850
Carroll	3578	939	Haralson	721	319
Catoosa	183	129	Harris	3380	275
Charlton	772	12	Hart	1803	327*
Chatham	38272	9720	Heard	867	388
Chattahoochee	1510	8	Henry	3657	1529
Chattooga	1030	1020	Houston	3835	443
Cherokee	473	320	Irwin	2171	800
Clarke	6249	2866	Jackson	1571	436
Clay	2148	97	Jasper	2327	570
Clayton	2070	275	Jeff Davis	1034	42*
Clinch	1222	422	Jefferson	5588	237
Cobb	3935	1948	Jenkins	2899	891
Coffee	3133	980	Johnson	1717	416
Colquitt	4409	1047	Jones	2223	536
Columbia	2451	487	Lamar	2230	673
Cook	1861	750	Lanier	926	473
Coweta	5788	1348	Laurens	7298	3537
Crawford	1806	125	Lee	2456	29
Crisp	4390	835	Liberty	2825	2453
Dade	72	45	Lincoln	1617	3
Dawson	0	0	Long	695	1061
Decatur	6231	895	Lowndes	8350	2767
Dekalb	8694	2650	Lumpkin	82	73
Dodge	2863	2068	Macon	2914	141
Dooly	3887	1008	Madison	2056	126
Dougherty	11773	2130	Marion	4821	54
Douglas	1020	730	McDuffie	1158	356
Early	4790	226	McIntosh	1879	1197
			Meriwether	5727	1207
			Miller	1372	6

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Mitchell	5955	345
Monroe	2885	737
Montgomery	1613	887
Morgan	3264	738*
Murray	96	28
Muscogee	20031	9987
Newton	3860	1539*
Oconee	932	446
Oglethorpe	2201	229
Paulding	602	418
Peach	4270	640
Pickens	255	80
Pierce	1295	425
Pike	1915	372
Polk	2795	1390@
Pulaski	2371	248
Putnam	2295	531
Quitman	1005	45**
Rabun	71	17
Randolph	4971	473
Richmond	23694	5372
Rockdale	1322	563
Schley	1184	134
Screven	5146	729
Seminole	1631	22
Spalding	5075	1151***
Stephens	1268	514
Stewart	3463	68*
Sumter	7441	485
Talbot	2757	210
Taliaferro	1575	888
Tattnall	2384	1681
Taylor	2233	325
Telfair	2375	101***
Terrell	5054	105
Thomas	8246	1700
Tift	3576	913
Toombs	2631	155
Towns	3	0
Treutlen	1041	18
Troup	9423	2036
Turner	2009	418
Twiggs	2593	354
Union	0	0
Upson	3822	542
Walker	1389	1136
Walton	3236	598
Ware	4979	1998
Warren	2836	200
Washington	6387	1363
Wayne	1644	1448
Webster	1313	0
Wheeler	1101	476
White	192	189
Whitfield	859	951
Wilcox	1841	258
Wilkes	3748	263
Wilkinson	2621	327
Worth	4837	322

*1954 data or 1956 totals divided on a basis of 1954 Negro-white ratio (some counties do not report racial breakdown for 1956).

**1952 Negro-white ratio applied to 1956 total.

*** 1954 data

@Estimate. Polk did not report a racial breakdown.

These are cities of 25,000 or over where there is either an Urban League, NAACP chapter or a Council on Human Relations

SOUTHERN CONTROL CITIES
AND CONTACT NAMES

ALABAMA

Birmingham	Ala. Council on Human Relations Room 1224, Comer Building Birmingham 3, Ala. Exec. Dir., Norman Jimerson
	Emory Jackson Managing Editor, Birmingham World Birmingham, Ala.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock	Little Rock Urban League Mr. Herbert L. Tyson Executive Secretary 914 Gaines Street Little Rock, Ark.
	Arkansas Council on Human Relations 1220 West Capitol Little Rock, Ark. Exec. Dir: Nathanial Griswold

FLORIDA

Tampa	Tampa Urban League Arthur D. Allen Executive Secy. 1615 Lamar Ave. Tampa 2, Fla.
Jacksonville	Jacksonville Urban League Junius A. Bowman Exec. Secy. 109 East Union Street, Room 1 Jacksonville 2, Fla.
Miami	Greater Miami Urban League H. Daniel Lang Exec. Dir. 395 N.W. First St. Miami 36, Fla.
	Florida Council on Human Relations 4241 S.W. 109th Court Miami 55, Fla. Exec. Dir. William K. Williams

GEORGIA

Atlanta	Atlanta Urban League Robt. A. Thompson, Exec. Dir. 239 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Georgia (cont'd)

Atlanta (cont'd)	Georgia Council on Human Relations 41 Exchange Place, S.E. Rm. 309 Atlanta 3, Ga. Mrs. Frances Pauley, Exec. Dir.
	Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations 41 Exchange Pl., S.E. Atlanta 3, Ga. Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Savannah	NAACP Mr. W. W. Law, President 2009 Florence St. Savannah, Ga.

KENTUCKY

Louisville	Louisville Urban League Charles T. Steele, Exec. Dir. 608 Walnut St. Louisville, Ky.
	Kentucky Council on Human Relations Plymouth Congregational Church 1626 W. Chestnut St. Louisville, Ky. Chairman: The Rev. A. D. Pinckney

LOUISIANA

New Orleans	Urban League of Greater N.O. J. Harvey Kerns Exec. Dir. 504 Carondelet St. New Orleans 12, La.
Baton Rouge	

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson	NAACP Mr. Stephen Catchings 5626 Montgomery St. Jackson, Miss.

MISSOURI

MISSOURI

St. Louis	Attorney Margaret B. Wilson 4332-A Easton Ave. St. Louis, Mo.

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh	Mr. Ralph Campbell 804 E. Edenton St. Raleigh, N.C.
Durham	Attorney F. B. McKissick 209½ W. Main St. Durham, N.C.
Charlotte	Mrs. U. S. Brooks 305 Beatties Ford Rd. Charlotte, N.C.
Winston-Salem	W. S. Urban League S. D. Harvey Exec. Sec. 610 Coliseum Dr. Winston-Salem, N.C.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City	Oklahoma City Urban League William E. Douthit Exec. Dir. 215 N. Walnut Oklahoma City 4, Okla.
Tulsa	Tulsa Urban League Marion M. Taylor, Exec. Secy. 107½ N. Greenwood Ave. Tulsa, Okla.
	Mr. Victor H. Hodge 1606 N. Norfolk St. Tulsa, Okla.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia	NAACP Rev. I. DeQuincy Newman Victory Savings Bank 919½ Washington St. Columbia, S.C.
	S.C. Council on Human Relations 1330 Laurel St. Columbia, S.C. Mrs. Alice Spearman, Exec. Dir.

TENNESSEE

Memphis	Memphis Urban League W. A. McDaniel, Exec. Dir. 546 Beale Ave. Memphis, Tenn.
Chattanooga	Mr. James R. Mapp 1413 Carroll St. Chattanooga, Tenn.
Nashville	Mrs. C. M. Hayes 2519 Herman St. Nashville, Tenn.
	Tennessee Council on Human Relations 2011 Grand Avenue Nashville 12, Tenn. Exec. Dir.: Miss Katherine Jones

TEXAS

Dallas	Mrs. M. A. Flanagan 1331 E. 18th St. Dallas, Tex.
Houston	Rev. Earle R. Boone 318 Andrews St. Houston, Tex.
	Houston Council on Human Relations 3605 Fannin St. Houston, Tex. Exec. Secy.: Mrs. George Dumbauld
	Texas Council on Human Relations Chairman: Mrs. James S. Crate 8510 Ferris St. Houston 35, Tex.

VIRGINIA

Norfolk	Mr. R. D. Robertson 920 Lexington St. Norfolk, Va.
Richmond	Virginia Council on Human Relations 3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Bld.g Richmond 19, Va. Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

LOCAL CITIZENS COUNCILS

Virginia: Peninsula Citizens Council (Newport News)

North Carolina: Guilford County Defenders of States Rights
Caswell County Defenders of States Rights

Mississippi: (January 1959--66 county citizens councils, according to Citizens Council; the following are the ones we know of)

Jackson Citizens Council
Amite County Citizens Council
Adams County Citizens Council
Forest Citizens Council (Scott County ?)
Tchula Citizens Council
Yazoo City Citizens Council
Grenada County Citizens Council
Ruleville Citizens Council
Columbus Citizens Council
Marion County Citizens Council
Jefferson Davis County Citizens Council
Lowndes County Citizens Council
Moss Point Citizens Council
Greenwood Citizens Council
Bentonia Citizens Council
Tate County Citizens Council
Rankin County Citizens Council
District 4 Citizens Council (Madison County)
Warren County Citizens Council
Edwards Citizens Council

Texas: Oak Cliff Citizens Council (Dallas County)

South Carolina: Manning Citizens Council
Florence Citizens Council
Grass Roots League, Inc. (Charleston)
Sumter County Citizens Council
Darlington Citizens Council
Kershaw Citizens Council
Hartsville Citizens Council

Georgia: Cobb County White Citizens for Segregation
Chatham Citizens Council (Savannah)
Flint River Citizens Council

Florida: Seminole County Citizens Council
Lake County Citizens Council
Panama City Citizens Council

Alabama: Montgomery Citizens Council
Wilcox County Citizens Council
Dallas County Citizens Council

Arkansas: Capital Citizens Council (Little Rock)
Dollarway District Citizens Council

Louisiana: Citizens Council of Greater New Orleans
South Louisiana Citizens Couhcil
Metairie Citizens Council
Shrevepost Citizens Council
St. Bernard Citizens Council
Kenner Citizens Council
Slidell Citizens Council
New Orleans City Park Citizens Council

VIII. A city in which a Negro serves on the police force.

1. Alabama (Mobile)
2. Arkansas (Little Rock)
3. Florida (Miami)
4. Georgia (Atlanta)
5. Kentucky (Louisville)
6. Louisiana (New Orleans)
7. Maryland (Baltimore)
8. Mississippi (Gulfport)
9. North Carolina (Charlotte)
10. South Carolina (Columbia)
11. Tennessee (Memphis)
12. Texas (Houston)
13. Virginia (Norfolk)
14. W. Va., presumably. We do not have documentation

IX. A city in which a Negro serves as a member of the City Fire Department.

1. Alabama (Mobile)
2. Kentucky (Louisville)
3. Maryland (Baltimore)
4. North Carolina (Winston-Salem)
5. South Carolina (Charleston)
6. Tennessee (Memphis)
7. Texas (Houston)
8. Virginia (Richmond)

We do not have complete information on this area of employment. We merely do not have newsclips indicating the employment of Negro firemen in other Southern States.

BUS DESEGREGATION

As in the 1957 survey, SRC found that in most of the cities checked many passengers continued to follow the customary pattern of separate seating. However, passengers are free to sit where they wish, and some degree of desegregated seating is found in each of the cities reported.

These cities are:

ALABAMA: Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia area, Montgomery

ARKANSAS: Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, Hot Springs

FLORIDA: Miami, Miami Beach, Daytona Beach, Tampa

LOUISIANA: New Orleans

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, Raleigh

SOUTH CAROLINA: Spartanburg, Columbia, Charleston

TEXAS: San Antonio, Corpus Christi, Dallas

TENNESSEE: Knoxville, Nashville, Chattanooga

VIRGINIA: Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, Roanoke, Virginia

Added: Galveston and El Paso, Texas

Fairfax, Virginia

* Atlanta, Georgia

* Memphis, Tennessee

*Latest

3) In Virginia, Louisiana, Texas and Kentucky the Negro library associations have the right to membership in other library associations, at least, it is said that they do. In Louisiana the library associations voted not to meet anywhere that Negroes and whites could not convene together. In Texas library association members ~~they~~ voted to meet only in places where they could convene together. In Kentucky, Negro and white groups meet in Louisville, convene and eat together, but Negroes must use a separate elevator in most of the public buildings. There are individual variations in each place.

4) The following organizations hold meetings in the South involving both races. It was not learned what kind of programs, banquets, etc. were held.

Library Associations: Negro speakers are frequently present. Sometimes there are Negroes on the various committees and the groups have luncheon together.
American Association of Schools of Social Work
American Association of Social Workers - do not have meals together.
Southern Sociological Society
Child Welfare League of America
National Association of Housing Officials
National Conference of Social Work
American Red Cross
Family Welfare Association
American Psychological Association
National Tuberculosis Association.

UC Berkeley?

** To Negroes over 16 yrs. old or who have 7th grade or higher public school stand-

MAJOR ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT

1. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   20 West 40th Street
   New York 18, New York

   "Local and state units of the NAACP have supplied legal aid, other counsel and guidance, and have posted bond and paid fines. The Association's national office has helped focus public attention on their campaign and stands prepared to supplement the aid of the local branches and to take the students' cases to the highest court, if necessary."
   From: "The Day They Changed Their Minds," publication of NAACP

2. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
   197½ Auburn Avenue, N.E.
   Atlanta 3, Georgia

   "The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was established on April 17, 1960, at the close of the Raleigh Conference held at Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C.. The Raleigh Conference, a meeting of Southern student protest leaders and Northern supporters, was sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

   "The Coordinating Committee is composed of representatives from the Southern States and the District of Columbia. Its purpose is to coordinate activities, analyze the status of the movement, and map plans for the future. It is self-directing, but welcomes the participation and assistance of supporting observor groups."
   From: The Student Voice, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1960, newsletter of the SNCC.

3. Congress of Racial Equality
   38 Park Row
   New York 38, New York

   National Student Association Southern Project Newsletter reports CORE's role as: "Giving moral support and active encouragement; on-the-scene support; negotiations with national chain stores on behalf of the studnets."

4. Southern Christian Leadership Conference
   41 Exchange Place
   Atlanta, Georgia

   Role is one of identification with the movement, encouragement, advice, and interpretation through Martin Luther King, Jr.

5. U.S. National Student Association
   3457 Chestnut Street
   Philadelphia 4, Pa.

   "Directs national student concern to the areas of protest; issues press releases and bulletins; fund raising."

   From: Southern Project, USNSA, Newsletter.

6. In many communities in which there have been demonstrations, local organizations have evolved for the purpose of determining strategy and directing activity. In Atlanta, for example, there is a student-composed Committee on the Appeal for Human Rights, as well as a Student-Adult Liason Committee.

Student organizations engaged in fund raising (as reported in Southern Project USNSA Newsletter):

U.S. National Student Association - Has established a "National Student Scholarship and Defense Fund." Make checks payable to USNSA, but earmarked for the fund, and mail to: USNSA, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

National Student Christian Federation - Is receiving and accountable for funds for the aid of students expelled or arrested in non-violent sit-ins and other non-violent protests. Make checks payable to NSCF, but earmarked for the fund, and mail to: NSCF, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

MEMORANDUM DEVELOPING TWO OF THE SEVERAL POSSIBLE SUPREME COURT DECISIONS WHICH THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT MIGHT ANNOUNCE IN THE FIVE COMMON SCHOOL SEGREGATION SUITS.

(Morris Abram, Atlanta, Ga.)

Two of the possible conclusions the United States Supreme Court might reach in the five common school segregation cases seem important enough to require special treatment. One possibility is important because, amongst other reasons, it was suggested in the brief for the United States as Amicus curiae previously filed. The other is important because it would relieve the federal courts of the possibility (also suggested in the United States Amicus brief) of a broad scale administration of future equitable decrees involving de-segregation of the common schools in the several states.

1. The Court might treat each case narrowly, limiting the decision to the consideration of errors below . This treatment of the five cases would provide the legal framework for a gradual de-segregation of the public schools beginning in the essentially non southern and border states and carried southward by the erosion of the public attitude and increasing cost to the taxpayer from the maintenance of two equal but separate school systems.

This conclusion of the court would be consistent with its policy announced in previous parallel cases because it "will decide constitutional questions only when necessary to the disposition of the case at hand, and that such decisions will be drawn as narrowly as possible." (Sweatt v. Painter 339 U.S. 629) On this view the Supreme Court, as a court of appeal, is an organ for the correction of errors in the inferior judiciary rather than an exponent of constitutional law.

However, such a treatment of the five cases would restrict the rigid application made of Plessy v. Ferguson in the Kansas District Court and in the Supreme Court of Delaware. These opinions were based on findings of fact that "(In Topeka, Kansas) segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children" and that in the "Delaware society, state imposed segregation in education itself results in the Negro children, as a class, receiving educational opportunities which are substantially inferior to those available to white children otherwise similarly situated." Yet, the Kansas District Court and the Delaware Supreme Court felt bound to ignore these fact findings because of the supposed ruling of law in Plessy v. Ferguson.[1]

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1. The Kansas case illustrates the rigidity with which the inferior courts have applied Plessy v. Ferguson. The statute attached in the Kansas case contained a bald legislative recognition of the discrimination involved in the maintenance of two separate school systems for white and Negroes. The statute reads in part as follows: "...no discrimination on account of color shall be made in high schools except as provided herein . . . "Yet, this finding and purpose was ignored on the supposed authority of the United States Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson. (emphasis to the statute ours)

The United States Supreme Court could very reasonably announce that in the presence of fact finding that segregation per se is discriminatory, the inferior judiciary should not consider Plessy v. Ferguson a bar to relief. This type of decisions would unshackle judiciaries in those localities where such facts are found to exist and the findings supported by the evidence. The effect of Plessy v. Ferguson in the Kansas and Delaware cases would thus be overruled and the court could proceed to treat the three remaining cases on their own facts.

In the Virginia case, the court could note that the plaintiffs sought to have constitutional and statutory provisions requireing teaching of white and colored at separate schools declared invalid, and, in the alternative, to have white and colored schools made equal. The defendants acknowledged that the Negro schools were inferior to those for whites but obtained $840,000.00, acquired land and perfected plans for facilities that will be equal. These facilities will be available at the opening of the current term of school. The court could hold that while the lower court erred in not affording to the plaintiffs immediate relief, the alternative plea of the plaintiffs has been granted.

In the South Carolina case, the record as originally presented to the United States Supreme Court contained impressive findings of physical inequality. The case was remanded for further findings of fact on the progress towards physical equalizations. Then, in March 1953, the lower court found the progress advanced sufficiently to forecast physical equality in the Negro schools by September of 1952. The Supreme Court could presumably still dispose of the appeal without the necessity of ruling on the legal question in Plessy v. Ferguson by adopting one of the several following techniques or a combination of them:

(1) The Court could hold that the district court erred in not granting immediate personal relief to the plaintiffs in 1951 upon finding the facilities were then unequal. (But this is somewhat inconsistent with the court's remanding of the case for further findings in 1952.)

(2) The court could refuse to note judicially the expected progress since the last finding in 1952 and order the requested relief because as late as March 1952 the facilities were admittedly unequal. (This course is also somewhat inconsistent with the presumed purpose for which the case was remanded.)

(3) The court having restricted Plessy v. Feguson in the Kansas and Delaware cases as previously suggested, could remand the case to the district court for an explicit finding as to whether segregation in Clarendon County, South Carolina is in fact discriminatory.[2]

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2. The lower court in its original opinion in the South Carolina case (98 Fed. Sup. 529) noted the conflict in the testimony concerning the effect of segregation on South Carolina Negro school children. The court resolved this conflict not by weighing the testimony but by applying Plessy v. Ferguson. The court said "We conclude, therefore, that if the equal facilities are offered, segregation of the races in the public schools as provided by the Constitution and laws of South Carolina is not of itself violative of the Fourteenth Amendment. We think that this conclusion is supported by overwhelming authority which we are not at liberty to disregard on the basis of theories advanced by a few educators and sociologists." (emphasis added)

The Washington, D.C. case can be decided on one of several grounds without involving the Plessy doctrine, including a holding that the relevant acts of Congress do not require separate educational facilities to be maintained in the District of Columbia.

In the Kansas case, in addition to the holding already suggested as possible, the Court could also, or in the alternative, overrule the District Court on the grounds that the findings of physical facts in the record below demonstrated to the court that the schools provided for Negro children are in fact inferior. They could show that Negro children are required to assemble at points to be taken in school buses because of the great distances, and do not have schools conveniently located near their homes. It could be inferred from the finding that in the afternoon they do not have the usual opportunity for extra-curricular activities because of the necessity of catching the school bus on its returning schedule.[3] That no free school transportation is provided for white children would not necessarily render the schools of Topeka, Kansas "separate but equal"; it could be held to demonstrate only that local school authorities practice a system of double discrimination.

It is sometimes overlooked or ignored that in the Gong Lum case, Mr. Chief Justice Taft said:

> "Had the petition alleged specifically that there was no colored school in Martha Lum's neighborhood to which she could conveniently go, a different question would have been presented, and this, without regard to the State Supreme Court's construction of the State Constitution as limiting the white schools provided for the education of children of the white or Caucasian race."

What is the future in the narrow piecemeal approach involved in these possible decision in the five cases? While these decisions would not overrule Plessy v. Ferguson, they would further constrict the equal but separate doctrine. These decisions could have the effect also of ruling that the plaintiff in this type of case is entitled to immediate entrance into a white school if equal physical facilities are not available when the decree is entered.

In addition these rulings would de-segregate schools in white areas of the country where the court finds segregation per se discriminatory as a matter of fact.

Eventually the United States Supreme Court may wish to overrule Plessy v. Ferguson as a matter of law. Nothing in these possible rulings would preclude this.[4]

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3. Transportation was held to be an element in assessing physical equality in Corbin v. County School Board of Pulaski County 177 Fed. 2d 924.

4. There have been other instances in judicial history of the court's eventual substitution of precise legal standards as a rule of conduct for previous case to case ad hoc rules. In Holmes' The Common Law the author demonstrates the evolution of the law of negligence: "It is equally clear that the

2. The Court could order the immediate end of school segregation in the cases at bar, but could at the same time point out the Congressional power under Section V of the Fourteenth Amendment ot provide the administrative and technical machinery for accomplishing the purposes of Section I of the Amendment.

This would be an alternative to the suggestions on pages 27-31 of the United states Amicus brief and would be one practical response to questions 4(b) and 5 which the court entered in this case on June 9, 1953.

4. continued: featureless generality, that the defendant was bound to use such care as a prudent man would do under the circumstances, ought to be continually giving place to the specific one, that he was bound to use this or that precaution under those those circumstances. The standard which the defendant was bound to come up to was a standard of specific acts or omissions, with reference to the specific circumstances in which he found himself. If in the whole department of unintentional wrongs the courts arrived at no further utterance than the question of negligence, and left every case, (to be treated as a question of fact) without rudder or compass, to the jury, they would simply confess their inability to state a very large part of the law which they required the defendant to know, and would assert, by implication, that nothing could be learned by experience. But neither courts nor legislatures have ever stopped at that point." (From the Holmes argument it is, however, unnecessary, that the specific ule of law should be immediatoly formulated by the court. On the basis of formulating specific rules of law the courts may accord latitude over a period of time to jury findings of fact. The judicial history of the segregation cases is still relatively short and the United States Supreme Court would not be acting unusually if it should wait for the experience in the lower judiciary to develop.)

As Holmes further said: "From the time of Alfred to the present day, statutes and decisions have busied themselves with defining the precautions to be taken in certain familiar cases; that is with substituting for the vague test of the care exercised by a prudent man, a precise on of specific acts or omissions."

Holmes indicates that the questions of public policy enter into the judicial framings of standards of conduct; "It is undoubtedly possible that those who have the making of the law should deem it wise to put the mark higher in some cases that the point established by common practice at which blame-worthiness begins."

These are the cases in which public policy is involved.

The crux of the whole problem of evolution of a standard of conduct from the point where it is judged factually from case to case to the point where a judicial standard is imposed is illustrated in the following striking passage of Holmes:

"When a case arises in which the standard of conduct, pure and simple, is submitted to the jury, the explanation is plain. It is that the court, not entertaining any clear views of public policy applicable to the matter, derives the rule to be applied from daily experience, as it has been agreed the great body of the law of tort has been derived. But the court further feels that it is not itself possessed of sufficient practical experience to lay down the rule intelligently. It conceives that twelve men taken from the practical part of the community can aid its judgment. (See Detroit & Milwaukee R.R. Co. v. Van Steinburg, 17 Mich. 99, 120.) Therefore it aids its conscience by taking the opinion of the jury.

The intensity of feeling in some of the southern states on the questions posed by the cases at bar has been acknowledged in the United States brief and is implied in several of the questions posed by the Court on June 9th. The difficulty in the "special master" type of decree in which the court would retain jurisdiction of the case by the gradual working out of the relief directed is that it involves the Court intimately in the administration of a hotly controversial program. Some members of the Court who are particularly sensitive to the political question idea might be quick to disavow a judicial power in this controversial field. This would be particularly true if it is decided that judicial power can be widely employed to de-segregate the schools only by adopting the "special master" type of decree.

There is, however, a middle ground which would not so inextricably involve the court as the receiver, in effect, of the south's educational system!

The immediate de-segregation of schools in two southern cases would not be nearly so climatic if the decision pointed out that there is still an area for Congressional implementation of Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment by appropriate legislation under Section V. Such legislation, if enacted promptly could establish the framework and the administrative apparatus

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4. continued:

"But supposing a state of facts often repeated in practice, is to be imagined that the court is to go on leaving the standard to the jury forever? Is it not manifest, on the contrary, that if the jury is, on the whole, as far a tribunal as it is represented to be, the lesson which can be got from that source will be learned? Either the court will find that the fair teaching of experience is that the conduct complained of usually is or is not blameworthy and therefore, unless explained, is or is not a ground of liability; or it will find the jury oscillating to and fro, and will see the necessity of making up its mind for itself. There is no reason why any other such question should not be settled, as well as that of liability for stairs with smooth strips of brass upon their edges. The exceptions would mainly be found where the standard was rapidly changing, as, for instance, in some questions of medical treatment. (In the small-pox case, Minor v. Sharon, 112 Mass. 477, while the court ruled with regard to the defendant's conduct as has been mentioned, it held that whether the plaintiff was guilty of contributory negligence in not having vaccinated his children was 'a question of fact and was properly left to the jury, 'p. 488.) If this be the proper conclusion in plain cases, further consequences ensue. Facts do not often exactly repeat themselves in practice; but cases with comparatively small variations from each other do. A judge who has long sat at nisi prius ought gradually to acquire a fund of experience which enables him to represent the common sense of the community in ordinary instances far better than an average jury. He should be able to lead and to instruct them in detail, even where he thinks it desirable, on the whole, to take their opinion. Furthermore, the sphere in which he is able to rule without taking their opinion at all should be continually growing." Quotations immediately above are from pages 110-125 of The Common Law by Oliver Wendell Holmes, 38th Printing, Little, Brown and Company 1945.

to accomplish a program "most likely to achieve orderly and expeditious transition to a non-segregated system." [5]

It will be widely recognized that the development and execution of a program such as outlined in pages 21-31 of the United States Amicus brief involves far more legislative and administrative than judicial techniques. The Court's function in these cases should be judicial only, namely to grant such relief to the plaintiffs as they are entitled under the Constitution. The development of a program to produce compliance with Constitutional requirements is clearly the province of the Legislature and administrative organs created by it. This approach would have the following merits: (a) It would reduce the possibility that the Court, fearing an avalanche of cases and enforcement problems resulting therefrom, would shy away from granting the relief requested. If an avalanche of cases later results it will be directly attributable to the failure of legislative action; (b) The Court would not be yielding to the argument that as Congress has not legislated in the field previously, the Fourteenth Amendment could not possibly be violated by the continued operation of segregated schools. Such a decision as suggested would hold that the Fourteenth Amendment as so applied contains two relevant principles and neither exclusive of the other: Section I prohibits the states from engaging in discrimination in education, and Section V confers on Congress the power to prevent such discrimination. On Congress' failure to do so the Court is not less bound to grant the relief. In other words, inaction by Congress in a permissible field for legislation cannot deprive an individual of rights secured under Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment; (c) The onus of a decision ordering immediate ending of segregation would partially rest upon a Congressional failure to have acted in the past. The Court could retain the judicial aloofness as a tribunal for the enforcement of individual rights and would not become involved in essentially non-judicial matters; (d) It would open the possibility of federal aid especially economic in providing reasonable school districts and adequate facilities in each district.

---

5. The language in quotes is taken from the United States Amicus brief.

December 14, 1960

Mr. Walter Spearman
Department of Journalism
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Spearman:

In order to complete the Nomination Form for submitting Racial Crisis and the Press for the 1961 Signa Delta Chi Awards, we need a small photograph of each author. May we have yours? And is there anything you would like added to the biographical sketch you gave us in the Spring--anything you have done since that should be included?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

The Daily Times
Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

Jan. 5, 1961

Mrs. Ed A. Albright
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Monty,

Thanks for your letter of Dec. 14. Sorry to be such a laggard, but with photographers and Christmas!

The photo is enclosed. Seems like with all the time they had, they could have made me better looking!

Cordially,

Sylvan Meyer
Editor

No new dope for the biog.

NOMINATION FORM

1961 Sigma Delta Chi Awards

Using typewriter or print, please fill out carefully and completely. Send before February 1, 1961, to:

SIGMA DELTA CHI AWARDS IN JOURNALISM
35 East Wacker Drive, Suite 856 • Chicago 1, Illinois

Name of Category: **Research About Journalism** Category No. **15**

Nominee: Walter Spearman and — **Sylvan Meyer**
(In Public Service Entries give name of Newspaper, Magazine, Radio or TV Station.)

Nominee's occupation-title: Professor of Journalism, Univ. of North Carolina, Editor, The Daily Iron Chapel Hill **Editor, The Daily News**
(In Public Service Entries give name of publisher, president, etc.)

Nominee's address: **Gainesville, Georgia**

Submitted by: **Southern Regional Council**

Address: **5 Forsyth St. N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia**

City and State:

Exhibit material consists of the following:

PRESS	☐ Clippings	☐ Photos	☐ Photostats	RADIO	☐ Recordings	☐ Tape (clearly labeled)	☐ Script
	(Quantity)	(Quantity)	(Quantity)		(Quantity)	(Quantity)	(Quantity)
RESEARCH	☒ Book	☐ Manuscript	☐ Proofs	TELEVISION	☐ Film (16mm)	☐ Kinescope (clearly labeled)	☐ Script
	8 copies (Quantity)	(Quantity)	(Quantity)		(Quantity)	(Quantity)	(Quantity)

THIS NOMINATION FORM MUST ACCOMPANY EXHIBIT MATERIAL CHECKED ABOVE.

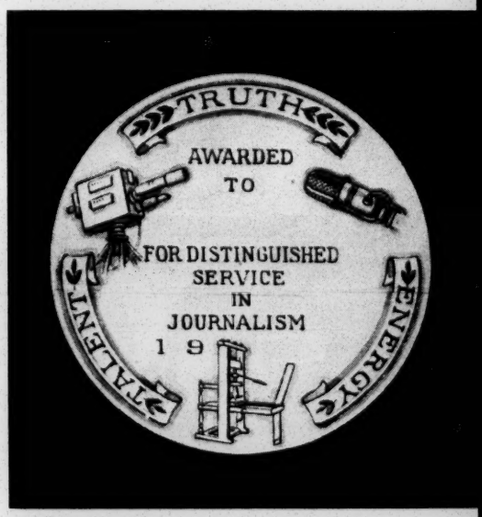
Do Not Send Separately!
Use space below for a brief biography of Nominee and attach photo (except Public Service categories) unless included in exhibit material.

Sylvan Meyer is Editor of the Gainesville, Georgia, Daily Times. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1950-51, and won the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Award for Editorial Writing in 1957. He is Chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

If additional forms are needed for additional nominations, this form may be duplicated by any method.

Sigma Delta Chi Awards

For distinguished service in Journalism...



1961 AWARDS ANNOUNCEMENT

General Information

AWARDS

The Sigma Delta Chi Awards for Distinguished Service in Journalism have been awarded annually since 1932 for outstanding achievements in journalism during a calendar year and winners are usually announced in April.

The awards proper consist of bronze medallions and accompanying plaques.

NOMINATIONS

Nominations may be made by the author or any other party. Awards are open to both members and non-members of Sigma Delta Chi and may be either men or women. They must, however, be Americans.

DEADLINE

February 1, 1961, is the deadline for nominations. Entries postmarked on that date will be accepted. Mail entries to:

Sigma Delta Chi Awards in Journalism
35 East Wacker Drive — Suite 856
Chicago 1, Illinois

GENERAL RULES

All awards are offered for specific work done during the calendar year 1960.

Exhibits cannot be returned and become the property of Sigma Delta Chi.

Each nomination must be accompanied by an exhibit and nomination form filled out by typewriter or printed. Additional forms are available or may be duplicated by any method.

A brief biography and photograph of nominee must accompany each nomination for categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, and 15. The awards are made to individuals. Also for 11 and 13 if nomination is for an individual.

A nomination intended for more than one category requires a separate exhibit and nomination form for each.

Each nomination form must be clearly marked to show category name and number in space provided. Tapes and films must be clearly labeled with title, category name and number.

Nomination forms must be attached firmly to outside of exhibit scrapbook or notebook. For category 5, attach form firmly to back upper left hand corner of mounting.

CATEGORY RULES

Categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 — in scrapbook or notebook form, measuring not larger than 15 inches by 20 inches. Bulk and weight kept to minimum. Full page displays folded in half.

Category 5 — mounted no larger than 16 inches by 20 inches. Nomination form attached firmly to back upper left hand corner of mounting. Series counting as one entry tied together.

Category 10 — limited to typescripts.

Categories 11 and 13 — consist of recordings, tapes or film, and a typewritten summary.

Category 12 — consist of recordings or tapes with typewritten summary.

Category 14 — consist of film (if available) and/or typewritten summary.

Category 15—consist of manuscript, printed book or galley proofs. Four to eight copies (if available).

NOMINATIONS NOT MEETING THE ABOVE SPECIFICATIONS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR JUDGING.

JUDGING

The material submitted for consideration for the awards will be judged by a jury of veteran and distinguished journalists. All decisions will be final. Any award may be withheld in case the judges decide that none of the material submitted is worthy of special recognition.

Awards Categories

PRESS (Newspapers)

1. General Reporting: For a distinguished example of a reporter's work, either a single story, or a series on a related subject, published during the year, the test being readability, accuracy and completeness, interest, enterprise and resourcefulness of the reporter in overcoming obstacles.

2. Editorial Writing: For a distinguished example of an editor's work, either a single editorial or a series relating to the same subject, published during the year; editorials by any one writer being limited to three, a series on a single topic counting as one entry.

3. Washington Correspondence: For a distinguished example of a Washington, D. C., correspondent's work, either a single article or dispatch, or a series of articles on the same or related subject matter, published during the year.

4. Foreign Correspondence: For a distinguished example of a foreign correspondent's work, either a single dispatch or a series related to the same subject matter, published during the year.

5. News Photography: For an outstanding example of a news photographer's work, either a single picture, or sequence or series of pictures, published during the year; photographs by any one person being limited to six, a series on a single topic counting as one entry.

6. Editorial Cartoon: For a distinguished example of a cartoonist's work, a single cartoon published during the year, the determining qualities being craftsmanship, interest, forcefulness and general worth; cartoons by any one person being limited to six.

7. Public Service in Newspaper Journalism: For an outstanding public service rendered by a newspaper in which exceptional courage or initiative is displayed in face of opposition from anti-social forces, political, or other discouraging or hampering forces. Nominations are to be accompanied by a complete file of clippings together with a statement of facts concerning the circumstances which prompted the newspaper in its undertaking and the results obtained. Those who want to enter full pages, to show display, should fold them in half.

PRESS (Magazines)

8. Magazine Reporting: For a distinguished example of current events reporting by a magazine writer, either a single article or series related to the same subject, published in a magazine of general circulation during the year.

9. Public Service in Magazine Journalism: For an exceptionally noteworthy example of public service rendered editorially or pictorially by a magazine of general circulation, special consideration being given to leadership or service achieved in the face of anti-social, political or other hampering forces, other tests being extent of good accomplished, enterprise, initiative, and effectiveness of presentation through pictures, articles, editorials and other graphic means; nominations being accompanied by a complete file of clippings together with a statement of facts concerning the circumstances which prompted the magazine in its undertaking and the results obtained.

RADIO OR TELEVISION

10. Radio or Television Newswriting: For a distinguished example of newswriting or commentary for radio or television; nominations consisting of either a partial or complete script, broadcast or telecast during the year.

RADIO

11. Radio Reporting: For the most distinguished example of spot news reporting of a single news event, scheduled or unscheduled, broadcast by radio as it happened or soon after it happened; exhibits consisting of a typewritten summary and recordings or tapes, running time not longer than thirty minutes. This award may go to an individual, a station, or a network.

12. Public Service in Radio Journalism: For an outstanding example of public service by an individual radio station or network through radio journalism, the test being the worth of the public service, the effectiveness of the presentation by the station or network, and the unselfish or public-spirited motives, bearing in mind that the broadcasts must be journalistic in nature, not entertainment; commercially sponsored radio programs not being eligible unless produced and controlled by the broadcasting station; exhibits consisting of a typewritten summary, disc recordings or tapes not to exceed thirty minutes.

TELEVISION

13. Television Reporting: For the most distinguished example of spot news reporting of a single news event, scheduled or unscheduled; broadcast by television as it happened or soon after it happened; exhibits consisting of typewritten summary and if available, a segment or summary of 16 mm film or kinescope, not longer than thirty minutes. This award may go to an individual, station, or a network.

14. Public Service in Television Journalism: For an outstanding example of public service by an individual television station or network through television journalism, the test being the worth of the public service, the effectiveness of the presentation by the station or network, and the unselfish or public-spirited motives, bearing in mind that the broadcasts must be journalistic in nature and not entertainment; commercially sponsored programs not being eligible unless produced and controlled by the broadcasting station; entries consisting of a typewritten summary and if available, a segment or summary of 16 mm film or kinescope, not longer than thirty minutes.

RESEARCH

15. Research About Journalism: For an outstanding investigative study about some phase of journalism based upon original research, either published or unpublished, and completed during the year.

PREVIOUS WINNERS SIGMA DELTA CHI DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

Dates given here indicate year during which the work was done

RESEARCH ABOUT JOURNALISM:

1935 Oscar W. Riegel
1936 Ralph O. Nafziger
1937 Alfred McClung Lee
1938 Frank Luther Mott
1939 Norval Neil Luxon
1940 Paul F. Lazarsfeld
1944 Earl English
1945 Frank Thayer
1946 Ralph D. Case, Bruce Lannes Smith and Harold D. Lasswell
1947 James E. Pollard
1948 J. Edward Gerald
1949 Edwin Emery
1950 Robert S. Harper
1952 Curtis D. MacDougall
1953 Harold L. Cross
1954 Edwin Emery and Henry Ladd Smith
1956 Theodore B. Peterson
1957 Frank Luther Mott
1958 L. John Martin
1959 Warren C. Price

GENERAL REPORTING:

1939 Meigs O. Frost
1940 Basil Brewer
1942 Jack Vincent
1943 Julius M. Klein and Ralph S. O'Leary
1944 Edward J. Doherty
1945 James P. McGuire and John J. McPhaul
1946 John M. McCullough
1947 George Goodwin
1948 Richard C. Looman
1949 Bob Considine
1950 Edward B. Simmons
1951 Victor Cohn
1952 Chalmer M. Roberts
1953 Carl T. Rowan
1954 Richard Hyer and William P. Walsh
1955 Victor Cohn
1956 Alfred Kuettner
1957 Pierre J. Huss
1958 Victor Cohn
1959 Saul Pett

EDITORIAL WRITING:

1939 W. W. Waymack
1940 Allen Drury
1942 Alexander Kendrick
1943 Milton Lehman
1944 Felix R. McKnight
1945 Francis P. Locke
1946 John W. Hillman
1947 Alan Barth
1948 Virginius Dabney
1949 John Crider
1950 Bradley L. Morison
1951 Robert M. White II
1952 Virginius Dabney
1953 John N. Reddin
1954 Robert Estabrook
1955 James Jackson Kilpatrick
1956 Sylvan Meyer
1957 Vermont Royster
1958 J. D. Maurice
1959 Cecil Prince

EDITORIAL CARTOONING:

1942 Jacob Burck
1943 Charles Werner
1944 Henry Barrow
1945 Reuben L. Goldberg
1946 Dorman H. Smith
1947 Bruce Russell
1948 Herbert Block
1949 Herbert Block
1950 Bruce Russell
1951 Herbert Block and Bruce Russell
1952 Cecil Jensen
1953 John Fischetti
1954 Calvin Alley
1955 John Fischetti
1956 Herbert Block
1957 Scott Long
1958 Clifford H. Baldowski
1959 Charles Gordon Brooks

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE:

1939 Kenneth T. Downs
1940 Leland Stowe
1942 Keith Wheeler
1943 Frederick Kuh
1944 Frederick Kuh
1945 Arnaldo Cortesi
1946 Charles Gratke
1947 Daniel DeLuce
1948 Nat Barrows
1949 Kingsbury Smith
1950 Keyes Beech
Don Whitehead
1951 Ferdinand Kuhn
1952 Ernest S. Pisko
1953 Alexander Campbell
1954 Carl T. Rowan
1955 Carl T. Rowan
1956 Russell Jones
1957 Harrison E. Salisbury
1958 John Strohm
1959 William H. Stringer

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE:

1942 Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen
1943 Sam O'Neal
1944 Marquis W. Childs
1945 Peter Edson
1946 Wallace R. Deuel
1947 Bert Andrews
1948 W. McNeil Lowry
1949 Jack Steele
1950 William K. Hutchinson
1951 John Hightower
1952 Clark R. Mollenhoff
1953 Richard L. Wilson
1954 Clark R. Mollenhoff
1955 Joseph and Stewart Alsop
1956 Bem Price
1957 Robert T. Hartmann
1958 James Reston
1959 Vance Trimble

RADIO OR TV NEWSWRITING:

1939 Albert Warner
1940 Cecil Brown
1942 Fulton Lewis, Jr.
1946 Harry M. Cochran
1947 Alex Dreier
1948 Merrill Mueller
1949 Elmer Davis
1950 Leo O'Brien and Howard Maschmeier
1951 William E. Griffith, Jr.
1952 Clifton Utley
1953 Charles J. Chatfield
1954 Reuben Frank
1955 Charles Shaw
1956 Howard K. Smith
1957 Jerry Rosholt
1958 Harold R. Meier
1959 Gene Marine

RADIO REPORTING:

1946 Allen Stout
1947 James C. McNamara
1948 George J. O'Connor
1949 Sid Pletzsch
1950 Jack E. Krueger
1951 Jim Monroe
1953 Gordon Gammack
1954 Richard Chapman
1955 John Chancellor
1956 Edward J. Green
1957 Dave Muhlstein
1958 Winston Burdett
1959 Donald H. Weston

TELEVISION REPORTING:

1952 Charles and Eugene Jones
1954 Spencer Allen
1955 Paul Alexander and Gael Boden
1956 Ernest Leiser — Jerry Schwartzkoff and Julian B. Hoshal — Dick Hance
1957 Jim Bennett
1958 *WBBM-TV* News Department
1959 *WGN-TV* News Department

NEWS PHOTOGRAPHY:

1946 Frank Q. Brown
1947 Paul Calvert
1948 Frank Jurkoski
1949 Chicago *Daily News*
1950 David Douglas Duncan
1951 Edward DeLuga and Roger Wrenn
1952 Robert I. Wendlinger
1953 Bill Wilson
1954 Leslie Dodds
1955 Richard B. Yager
1956 Dan Tompkins
1957 Eldred C. Reaney
1958 Andrew St. George
1959 Andrew Lopez

MAGAZINE REPORTING:

1949 Lester Velie
1950 Gordon Schendel
1951 Bill Davidson
1952 Bill Davidson
1953 James P. O'Donnell
1954 Marshall MacDuffie
1955 Fletcher Knebel
1956 John Bartlow Martin
1957 Harold H. Martin
1958 John L. Cobbs
1959 John Robert Coughlan

PUBLIC SERVICE IN NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM:

1949 *Star-Gazette*, Moose Lake, Minnesota
1950 Atlanta (Ga.) *Journal*
1951 Chicago *Sun-Times*
1952 *Wall Street Journal*
1953 Chicago *Daily News*
Houston *Post*
1954 Cleveland *Plain Dealer*
1955 *The Register-Pajaronian* Watsonville, California
1956 *The Oregonian*, Portland, Oregon
1957 *Des Moines (Ia.) Register and Tribune*
Minneapolis (Minn.) Star and Tribune
1958 Tampa (Fla.) *Tribune*
1959 Atlanta (Ga.) *Constitution*

PUBLIC SERVICE IN RADIO JOURNALISM:

1949 Station *WTTS*, Bloomington, Indiana
1950 Station *WAVZ*, New Haven, Connecticut
1951 Station *WMAQ*, Chicago, Illinois
1952 Station *WMT*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
1953 *CBS* Radio Network
1954 *CBS* Radio Network
1955 Station *WMAQ*, Chicago, Illinois
1956 *CBS* Radio Network
1957 Station *KNX*, Los Angeles, Calif.
1958 *CBS* Radio Network
1959 *WIP* Radio, Philadelphia, Pa.

PUBLIC SERVICE IN TELEVISION JOURNALISM:

1952 *WBNS-TV*, Columbus, Ohio
1953 *WHAS-TV*, Louisville, Kentucky
1954 *Dumont Television Network*
American Broadcasting Company
1955 Station *KAKE-TV*, Wichita, Kansas
1956 Station *KPIX*, San Francisco, Calif.
1957 Station *WBZ-TV*, Boston, Mass.
1958 Station *KNXT*, Hollywood, Calif.
1959 Station *WBZ-TV*, Boston, Mass.

PUBLIC SERVICE IN MAGAZINE JOURNALISM:

1949 *Collier's*
1950 *Collier's*
1951 *McCall's*
1952 *LOOK*
1953 *LOOK*
1954 *Saturday Evening Post*
1955 *LOOK*
1956 *Life*
1957 *The Reporter*
1958 *Life*
1959 *Saturday Evening Post*

(Following award categories discontinued):

COURAGE IN JOURNALISM:

1939 New Orleans (La.) *States*
1942 Guthrie County *Vedette*, Panora, Iowa
1943 Lowell (Mass.) *Sunday Telegram*
1944 Milwaukee *Journal*
1945 New Orleans (La.) *States*
1946 Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*
1947 Memphis *Press-Scimitar*
1948 Philadelphia *Inquirer*

NEWSPAPER CARTOONING:

1948 Ed Dodd
1950 Milton Caniff

SPECIAL AWARDS:

1943 Raymond Clapper (Posthumous) "William Allen White Memorial Award"

WAR CORRESPONDENCE:

1943 Ernie Pyle (Raymond Clapper Memorial Award)
1944 Ernie Pyle (Human Interest)
Henry T. Gorrell (Spot News)
1945 John Graham Dowling

GOLD KEY
AWARDS OF 1932
Paul Scott Mowrer
Philip Hale
Franklin P. Adams
Alexander Dana Noyes
Jay N. (Ding) Darling
Casper S. Yost

March 25, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 McRall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

It was good to talk with you and I hope that most of your questions got answered. I am enclosing the state population figures which you requested; also the corrections for ten South Carolina counties. For whatever interest they may have to you, as guides, I am sending you therma-fax copies of some census bureau estimates. The one marked "A" is from Current Population Reports, Population Estimates, dated October 5, 1956; the one marked "B" is from the same source, dated December 9, 1957. The computations for the Virginia cities will be along just as soon as I can collar our graduate student and get the work from him.

I am also enclosing the Durham voting study which I mentioned to you. As I said, I don't believe the university people would release anything here for publication. But you may get some interesting impressions from it. I am enclosing also the therma-fax of an affidavit filed with the Civil Rights Commission of Tennessee. This is not to be publicised. You may, however, if you deem it interesting, make some reference to it in your writing - which may or may not get edited out, depending on the circumstances at the time of printing.

Best wishes. We all hope your husband gets along well in the hospital.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

5/4/60

Les -

In general, this seems to me a good job. Any public use should eliminate some of the more confidential details.

Suggest we:

1. Send in raw form, marked confidential, to Silverman, Rose, + maybe to chain store nat'l execs?

2. Get out quickly a special report - an edited + shortened version of this.

3. Proceed separately to summarize other success stories.

I've forgotten the 3-point plan you mentioned. It may be better. If you think so, let's discuss.

PS - Suggest we play down the sweetness + light just a little.

HCF

file

April 11, 1960

Professor Ken Moreland
Randolph Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Moreland:

When I came back to the office today I learned with pleasure that you had agreed with Paul Rilling to undertake a job for us. As I understand it, you will go to Galveston and San Antonio next week and will stay approximately a week or as long as you think desirable to get adequate information. Paul has worked up a list of nine questions which are being used in some other communities where mayor's committees are functioning. I am enclosing a copy for your guidance. Certainly question number eight should be stressed, perhaps given as much attention as all the others combined.

We propose that your honorarium be $40 per day while in the field, plus expenses. I assume that you will write the report after your return to Lynchburg.

Before you leave, we shall get to you a packet of clippings on San Antonio and Galveston.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

May 2, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This report took much longer than I had thought it would. Even so, it is not as polished or as carefully proof-read as I would like. However, I felt that you would want it as soon as possible in order to put it to whatever use the Council might have for it. You will be interested to know that the agreement worked out between the Galveston merchants and the Negroes has interested the local Negro group here attempting to secure lunch-counter desegregation.

Please write me if there is lack of clarity in the report. I have not included the actual names of the persons with whom I talked, although I have those names if they are needed.

My expense account is inclosed. Altogether I spent six days travelling and in Texas. In my next letter I want to include a list of names of persons in the three towns who should be on the SRC's mailing list.

Sincerely,

Ken Morland

J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman

April 16

Dear Les:

RECEIVED APR 17 1959

It seems to me Dean Brazeal has done an excellent job and I think it will be the highlight of the voting report. There are a few things which I think should be qualified somewhat, if only to keep him and SRC safe from the laws of libel, but he may change these when he revises. But, if he doesn't, I'm sure the minor changes can be made later, for I've always found him very reasonable and easy to work with. Please tell him--and Harold--I think he's done a bang-up job.

Glad to hear ~~the~~ of the possibility of getting N.C. figures. As for Alabama, I'd say just skip it--getting county figures, that is. We had pretty good ones in 1956 and I don't think there's been a tremendous change.

Thanks for all the info you've been sending. I hope to have the report I've been working on in the mail by the week-end, so that it will reach you Monday or Tuesday.

Regards to all,

Margaret

MA

file

April 18, 1960

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am on my way to Galveston and San Antonio, with my first stop here in Washington. Thank you for sending the newspaper clippings. They contain enough names for me to make initial contacts.

I am excited about the investigation to find out how the Texas cities were able to desegregate their lunch counters. This will be a fascinating study in social change. I should be able to secure adequate information in about a week.

I shall keep you informed.

Sincerely,

Ken Morland

HF ✓
TR ✓
MA-file

The Robert DRISCOLL Hotel
CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS • MAJESTICALLY OVERLOOKING CORPUS CHRISTI BAY

Saturday
April 23, 1960

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

In a few minutes I shall begin my return trip to Lynchburg. I feel that my visits in Galveston, San Antonio, and Corpus Christi have been highly successful. Those who took leadership roles in the desegregation of lunch counters in these three cities have been happy to talk to me (once they found out I was not a reporter), and every minute has been filled. The method of desegregation was quite different in each of the places, showing that it can come about in various ways. During the return flight I hope to be able to begin to organize the many notes I have taken. By Tuesday or Wednesday of next week I hope to be able to mail a report to you.

It has been a strenuous but a very exciting venture.

Sincerely,

Ken Morland

HF ✓
MA-Bob Butler
FW: Bob

May 25

Dear Les,

By this time, you should have received my report. It would have been finished sooner but for a few disturbances. The roofers we have been trying to get for two years appeared, just as I began to work, to repair a leaking skylight and dripping gutters. And, you might know, the carpenter and plumber who had been expected for a month showed up simultaneously to put in a downstairs bathroom. It would have been easier to work in the Wesley Memorial Auditorium in the middle of choir practice.

In two separate envelopes I'm also returning the clippings and the other material I brought back with me. I've already sent the Ben Muse memos.

I'm enclosing a very rough summary of the telephone conversations I had, which I thought you and Harold might be interested in, for the bits and pieces of information picked up and, in some cases, because of the sources which might be helpful in the future.

Rather than wait for the Winston-Salem decision, I included what I had on it and thought any necessary changes could then be made. I have seen nothing locally on settlement but assume you will have heard. Miami, Knoxville and Oak Ridge are the only other places I can think of off-hand where a last minute check might be made to see if there have been any changes.

And, speaking of changes, if you want me to make any, or want anything expanded, etc., please let me know. Not being on hand to check on some matters of SRC policy I just editorialized on my own.

I didn't go into the various committees in Florida, other than Miami, simply because I didn't have any material on them.

Sincerely,

Margaret

May 17, 1960

Professor Kenneth Morland
Department of Political Science
Randolph Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Morland:

I trust that by now you have received a copy of your report. I am having twenty copies more mailed to you today; please let us know if you can use additional copies, or let us know names of persons to whom you would like to have copies mailed. We are sending a copy to each of the Texans listed in your letter of May 6.

We have decided not to release your report to the press until the round-up report, which I told you about, is finished--which ought to be late this week or next week; at that time we shall release the two reports together. In fact, we are cooperating in the sponsorship of a third study, this one of the Nashville experience. I don't know just when that will be done, but conceivably we could have a three-part release.

Let me thank you again for a job well done. It is an excellent report and in saying that I speak the opinion of not only myself but all others here.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Vi 5-23 11

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

May 6, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Many thanks for sending the check so promptly.

I have written notes of appreciation to the 22 persons in the three Texas cities with whom I had lengthy interviews. Many of them expressed strong interest in the SRC, and I promised that I would ask that their names be put on the mailing list. And for those who do not receive the New South, I would like for them to receive a year's subscription at my expense. Please have me billed for this.

In Galveston: The Rev. George Barron, 3717 K St.
Dr. Alfred Dreyfus, Temple B'nai Israel, 3006 O St.
Mr. Griffith D. Lambdin, National Hotel Building
Dr. Leon Morgan, Principal, Central High School
The Rev. James W. Mosley, Westminister Presbyterian Church, 37th St. and Ave. Q½
Mr. Kelton D. Sams, Jr., 6-A Palm Terrace

Galveston-C.C.
San Antonio
Corpus Chr
(7)

Sent 5-18-60 mA

In San Antonio: The Rev. C. Don Baugh, Executive Director of the Council of Churches, 403 E. Travis St.
Mr. S. J. Davis, St. Phillips College, Nevada St.
Mr. Olin W. LeBaron, 314 Texas Continental Bldg., 406 W. Market St.
Mr. James E. Taylor, Jr., 704½ N. New Braunfels Ave.

In Corpus Christi: Dr. H. Boyd Hall, Hall Building, 2629 Morgan St.
Mrs. Lillian Leathers, Leathers Drug Store, 1211 Sam Rankin St.

In regard to the report, I am concerned because only estimates of the proportion of Negroes, Latin-Americans, and Anglos in the population could be made. Perhaps it would be safer to cite only the 1950 figures, or to cite them in addition to the estimates for 1960. I would appreciate your checking on the accuracy of the estimates.

7

If you think it advisable, the following information could be added to the report, probably on page 14. The Negro boy who organized the sit-ins explained to me why he had done so. He said that he kept reading in

his civics and history books about how America was founded in order to give the people who settled here the same opportunity and how our ideal was the treatment of all citizens in the same way. A social studies class, under the direction of the principal of the school, began taking a desegregation checklist to determine what types of customs bothered Negroes and what they were willing to do about them. As sit-in demonstrations broke out elsewhere in the South, the students in this class organized a club to see if they could act to help bring about equality in Galveston. While the sit-in demonstrations were not officially sponsored by the school or by the club, they grew informally out of discussions and associations growing out of the club.

The point is that such a development shows that the demonstrations grew out of a concern for American values and that the inspiration came from American history being taught in the high school.

It might also be of interest, although it would be difficult to include anything like this in a circulated report, that a civics teacher in the high school told me that he grew tired of teaching "a lie" about America. He grew tired of telling his Negro pupils that America was a land of equal treatment and equal opportunity when it wasn't . At one class session he spoke of this as the ideal, and he suggested that those in the classroom do something about it, as other Negroes were doing in other parts of the South.

One more bit of information. The white managers said that one reason their waitresses had quickly adapted themselves to serving Negroes seated at the counter was that Negroes were very generous in their tips. The Galveston Woolworth manager said that Negroes frequently tipped when receiving a cup of coffee, something that whites never did.

I shall of course be waiting to hear what use you find for the report.

Sincerely,

Ken Morland

J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman

HF ✓
MA

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

May 17, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

You certainly managed to get out the special report on lunch-counter desegregation in Texas promptly. And you have done an excellent job of editing. The report reads more smoothly, and materials like specific future plans in Galveston and San Antonio have been judiciously left out. In its present form, the report should not make the informants feel that confidences were violated. While none of those who gave me information ever asked me to withhold any material that I included in my report, these leaders stressed the need for keeping many aspects of the negotiations quiet. And since they were anxious that other communities profit by their experience, I believe they will be pleased with the report as sent out from your office. At any rate, I am pleased with it.

You asked for my impressions of generalizations from my study which may be considered "guide-lines" for successful action in desegregating lunch counters. I have listed these on the sheet inclosed, and, as you can see, they consist primarily of a rephrasing of the General Summary of the report.

This summer I am to teach at the University of Georgia and will be within hailing distance of Atlanta.

Sincerely, Ken Morland

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Willa Thompson
Fisk College
Dorothy Tilbert
Berea College

June 7, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have just finished a session with a committee from the local ministerial association, and I have urged them to help to fill the vacuum in leadership by responsible white citizens in the lunch-counter situation here. I summarized and read parts of Margaret Price's "Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy," and the reaction was most favorable. They agreed that if they could read this report carefully, they could put themselves on firm ground in requesting the City Council for the establishment of a bi-racial committee to deal constructively with the problem. Can your office send ten copies of the Price report to:

The Reverend Robert Beeland
1405 Rittenhouse Street
Lynchburg, Virginia

The committee is also interested in having copies of my report. For some reason, I have not received the twenty copies you wrote you were sending. If you still have copies of this report available, can you have ten copies of it sent to Reverand Beeland also? The reports on Nashville and Winston-Salem will also be of value to the group here.

The SRC is making an invaluable contribution with these special reports. Showing such materials to civic leaders in Lynchburg has made a great difference in the attitude and approach to this difficult problem. Local leaders have had their sights raised by the successes in other communities.

The sessions in Oklahoma City with John Hope are going to be exciting, and I am looking forward to them. I hope there will be an opportunity to meet you while I am in Georgia this summer. By the way, your judgment of the reception of the Texas report by those directly involved in the negotiations was correct. I have received warm compliments on the write-up. They were most encouraging, and they expressed hope that their accomplishments would help other communities.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland

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This is a report which seeks to describe how some Southern communities have responded to the challenge of the Negro "sit-ins" for equal lunch counter service. The communities reported are those which have endeavored through some avenue of conciliation to bring the present crisis to an orderly and sound solution.

Negro students in the Winter and Spring of 1960 ~~who want the right to buy a sandwich and a cup of coffee like anyone else~~ have asked the South to solve one of its old problems of racial discrimination in a new way.

Not quite They have appealed to conscience and self interest instead of law. They have argued on the basis of moral right and supported that argument with economic pressure.

By their action they have given the South an excellent opportunity to settle one facet of a broad problem by negotiation and good will instead of court order.

Clearly, many Negroes, especially the young and educated, are no longer content to forego privileges they feel are their due. Implicit in the protest movement ~~appeal to conscience~~ is the young Negro's belief that the courts and the ~~status quo segment of the~~ white South are moving too slowly in granting ~~raising~~ him ~~to~~ full citizenship.

The current appeal began Feb. 1 with demonstrations by Negro college students for equal lunch counter service in Greensboro, N.C. The idea spread quickly to colleges and cities, large and small, and was transformed from a small protest into a widespread movement. The movement has resulted in the now familiar "sit-in", picketing, and boycotts. The chief targets have been variety and drug stores which welcome Negro business everywhere but at the lunch counters.

Local ~~community~~ reaction ~~to this revolutionary-like movement~~ has varied considerably.

At one pole is Birmingham, Ala., which met the appeal with an announcement that the city's 443 firemen had started riot training to support 450 policemen in the event of racial disturbance. Other cities have dusted off trespassing and disturbance ordinances and over ~~a thousand~~ 1500 students have been arrested.

At the opposite pole are several Texas cities which quickly and quietly arrived at a solution—service to all at downtown lunch counters—with a minimum of ill will and trouble.

In Florida, the lunch counter question has been constructively faced on a statewide level under the leadership of Gov. LeRoy Collins.

Name

The governor of Oklahoma, J. Howard Edmondson, has undertaken to form a statewide committee and program to improve race relations. The Kentucky legislature has created a new advisory agency, the Commission on Human Rights.

In all, at least 30 Southern cities, 12 of them in Florida, have set up some kind of community organization to seek a solution offering justice to Negroes.

Some have settled the issue with speed. Others have arrived at solutions only partially—and temporarily—satisfactory to the Negro community. A few have ended in stalemate or outright failure, while others are continuing white-Negro negotiations with reasonable expectation of a just settlement,

Regardless of the present state of negotiations, all these communities have a common advantage: If they have honestly sought a solution and indicated a willingness to change old racial patterns, they now stand a far better chance of avoiding violence and bitterness than communities which have raised banners of bitter-end resistance.

~~(This was demonstrated in the area of school desegregation in border cities. Where citizens of both races met and where newspapers and civic leaders joined the effort to prepare the community for change, the transition to desegregated schools was smoothed. Little Rock was an exception.)~~

The student sit-ins—only one aspect of Negro discontent—have been too widespread, and indicative of too great impatience for anyone to expect they will disappear as quickly as they began. The movement may die down during summer vacations, but it seems unrealistic to expect that this dramatic movement, which has captured so many imaginations North and South, and won in turn the support of so many Negro adults, will die easily before it makes widespread new gains for Negroes in their drive for dignity.

More and more communities inevitably will be confronted by the sit-in problem. A look at what has been done in some cities may offer other communities guidelines, and reassurance.

To date, lunch counters have been opened to Negroes in Austin, Corpus Christi, Dallas, San Antonio, and Galveston, Texas; Nashville, Tenn.; and Winston-Salem and Salisbury, N.C. There ~~have~~ has been some change~~s~~ in the rigid no-Negro pattern at lunch counters in ~~Miami, Fla., and~~ Richmond, Va., where ~~In the latter~~ four drug stores in ~~an outlying~~ a predominantly Negro area voluntarily opened lunch counters to Negroes. And, of course, the "sit-in" movement led to desegregating lunch counters in Oklahoma City a year before it began anywhere else.

In the five Deep South states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, ~~where Negroes face the greatest resistance,~~ only one city set up an interracial negotiating committee. In this one Deep South city, Savannah, Ga., the effort to reach a solution ended in failure.

A more detailed account of what has taken place:

NORTH CAROLINA

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Greensboro, where the current wave of student demonstrations began, offered great hope initially for an amicable settlement, but by mid-May merchants still had refused to change their policies.

On Feb~~r~~ruary 26, Mayor George Roach appointed the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations, which the Greensboro Daily News said represented "the community's top power structure." Chairman of the nine-member group was Edward R. Zane, Greensboro's top executive at Burlington Mills. Others included the 4 city's only Negro Councilman, Waldo Falkener; Councilman David Schenck; Bland Worley, bank vice president and president of the Chamber of Commerce; and O.L. Fryman, National Cash Register Co. executive, and president of the Merchants Association.

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The Committee conferred with North Carolina A&T College student leaders, ~~of the protest movement,~~ adult Negro leaders, other Greensboro citizens, and merchants. It solicited public views, in writing, on the questions raised by the sit-ins. After eliminating letters expressing no opinion, those from outside the community, and from persons claiming to speak for a group, the committee said in an April 1 report to the mayor it had received 2,063 communications. Of these, 1,501, or 72.8 ~~per cent~~ %, favored equality of service; 562, or 27.2 ~~per cent~~ %, opposed any change in lunch counter service.

The Advisory Committee (on April 1 proposed) ~~suggested~~ a "plan of minimum accommodation... [which] would offer a choice of facilities with a portion of the counter unrestricted and a portion for white only..." The merchants refused this plan, arguing they would lose business to ~~remaining~~ segregated restaurants.

Mayor Roach commented, "The committee's splendid efforts have not resulted in a solution. It must be obvious that if this situation is allowed to revert to the brink of violence, the city government, being responsible for the public safety, will be forced to act swiftly to avert any threatened

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disorder. Accordingly, I am calling on the management of the stores to place the safety and good of this community above their own personal desires and to operate these business establishments in such manner as to eliminate racial tension." Later, Roach added, "I was addressing the management of Kress and Woolworth. They're the only stores where there's been trouble." The committee, on the other hand, insisted that no store shall be singled out for blame; it reported that most stores in town were willing to integrate.

During the negotiations, Negro student leaders called a seven-week truce. When the committee announced it had failed to solve the question, the students resumed picketing at Woolworth and Kress stores on April 1. The managers closed the two lunch counters, but Kress reopened April 21. One student leader questioned the committee's conclusion that partial desegregation of the counters would be acceptable to the students. The Student Executive Committee for Justice issued a statement thanking the Mayor's committee for its efforts and criticizing the management of the variety stores.

Greensboro is in many ways a city of peculiar contradictions. At the end of the first week of picketing in February, a young white hoodlum element moved into the stores, the Ku Klux Klan also was present, and there was a near riot. Several white persons were arrested for using abusive language and one for setting fire to a Negro's coat. Still, Greensboro was one of the first three cities in North Carolina to agree to token desegregation of public schools. The restaurant at the new airport terminal is desegregated. The city library and public parks are open to all. Both the municipal coliseum and city skating rink are desegregated and at the latter dressing rooms and a stand-up snack bar are used by whites and Negroes. On the other hand, the city has sold the swimming pool to private operators to avoid integrating it. The Negro councilman was elected in a citywide election and Negroes serve on all major city commissions. Two ministerial organizations adopted resolutions approving integrated lunch counters and both daily newspapers supported the advisory committee. The majority of citizens who expressed their views to the negotiating committee favored lunch counter service for

all. ~~Still~~ Nevertheless, no agreement has been reached.

~~WINSTON-SALEM~~

~~#~~ In Winston-Salem, a different result has been achieved.

~~#Winston-Salem~~ is another city of contradictions. It has some school desegregation. ~~of public schools.~~ This is The public libraries are desegregated. So are city buses, ministers' conferences, public golf courses, restrooms and drinking fountains in public buildings. Separate seating arrangements have been abolished at the Reynolds Auditorium, the Coliseum, the baseball park, and the community center. Negroes are employed by the police and fire departments.

Nevertheless, ~~the~~ Winston-Salem ran into serious difficulties on the lunch counter problem. Negro students of Winston-Salem Teachers College began demonstrating for equal service in February. They were joined ~~at~~ from the first by some white students from local Wake Forest College. The by now familiar pattern of arrests and lunch counter closings followed.

Mayor Marshall Kurfees then appointed a Goodwill Committee, which asked variety store managers to keep their lunch counters closed and students to suspend picketing. Both sides agreed.

The Committee, at its first meeting, heard a report from Clarence H. Patrick, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Wake Forest. He told of a survey he and some of his students had conducted among white customers chosen at random in Winston-Salem dime stores. In brief interviews, 790 customers were asked if they would accept desegregation at lunch counters. Of these, 368, or 47 ~~per cent~~ %, said they would; 39, or 5 ~~per cent~~ %, were undecided; and 383, or 48 ~~per cent~~ %, said they would not. In 52 longer, or depth, interviews, 38 ~~or 73 per cent~~ %, said they would accept desegregation. Asked if they would continue to trade at stores which desegregated lunch counters, 700, or 89 ~~per cent~~ %, said they would.

Sixty of about 120 faculty members at Wake Forest College asked the managers of five stores to open the lunch ~~customers~~ counter to all. A majority of members attending a meeting of the Forsyth Ministers Fellowship expressed "sympathy and admiration" for the lunch counter protest.

The Winston-Salem Sentinel in an editorial (March 17) said: "It is logical to suggest that when they [the lunch counters] are opened again that they be opened on a desegregated basis...Such a move would tell the Negro citizens that the white community is receptive to reasonable requests for removing racial discrimination. ~~This~~ That in itself would advance the cause of good relations in the community."

~~The situation in mid-May: The chain stores reportedly were willing to open their lunch counters to Negroes only if a local store would do so; the latter has refused so far.~~

The mediating efforts of the Goodwill Committee were suspended on May 9. At that time, reportedly, the chain stores were willing to open their counters to Negroes, but only if a local store would do likewise, and it had refused. The stores re-opened their segregated counters, and demonstrations were renewed in such size and nature as to cause real apprehension for public order. In this situation, the committee, with invaluable assistance from the City Manager, was able to restore calm: counters were again closed, demonstrations ended, and the committee again entered into discussions, principally with the merchants. The outcome was a brief public announcement on May 23 that the stores would shortly re-open their lunch counters on a desegregated basis. Following close upon the desegregation of service in Nashville (to be discussed later), the Winston-Salem action promised to be of the greatest importance as an example to the South. [A separate detailed report on Winston-Salem is in preparation and will be released soon.]

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~~ELSEWHERE IN NORTH CAROLINA~~:

~~High Point~~ Negro high school students started sit-in demonstrations Feb. 11. Near riots and some arrests followed. As a result, Mayor Jesse Washburn appointed a Mayor's Human Relations Committee, headed by the Rev. William P. Price, an Episcopal minister, and composed of 17 white and three Negro citizens. It recommended that variety stores integrate lunch counters for a 60-day trial period. Merchants did not respond. However, two variety stores removed stools from their lunch counters, and offered stand-up service on a desegregated basis.

In March, ~~Raleigh~~ Mayor W.G. Enloe appointed an interracial committee to study chain store picketing. The committee came to no ~~agreement. The~~ conclusion. Some white ~~conservative~~ members could not agree to recommend opening of lunch facilities to all, and Negro members would accept no compromise. Fifty-nine white and Negro ministers issued a public statement urging serving "in all community relationships" regardless of race. The Raleigh Times

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in an editorial (March 5) said the mayor, in appointing the committee, had "given Raleigh a chance to work out its own problems. Raleigh must not fail to use this chance." ~~To date, Raleigh has failed.~~

Durham had an interracial group ~~before~~ student demonstrations began; the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, with two Negro and seven white members. In March, about 30 citizens of both races gathered at the invitation of the Committee and drew up a proposal. On May 12, the Committee presented the proposal to the City Council. Three recommendations were made:

1. That the three local stores involved in sit-in and picketing protests desegregate their lunch counters.

2. That a waiting period preceded actual integration, however, in order to "let tension subside" and that ~~service to~~ Negroes request service at first ~~be started~~ on a controlled (limited number) basis.

3. That if desegregation were agreed upon, demonstrations be stopped until the community had time to "absorb" the change.

Representatives of the demonstrators agreed to the second and third provisions, if the first were granted. The chairman of the Mayor's Committee said managers of the three variety stores would desegregate "if it is the will of the community." A Negro leader said privately the variety store managers had indicated they would insist that all stores in the city desegregate, along with their own. In any event, a week after the report to the council the stores had not changed their policies.

In Charlotte, Negro students at Johnson C. Smith University demonstrated against white-only facilities at several locally owned and chain ~~lunch counters and segregated counters in variety~~ stores. This led Mayor James S. Smith to appoint a Friendly Relations Committee, which in turn set up a 10-member sub-committee of seven white and three Negro members. The

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~~action~~ group held several meetings, the first on April 20, including some with students and merchants. The chairman of the full committee, Dr. John R. Cunningham, former president of Davidson College, said that he was hopeful a solution would ~~will~~ be reached. As negotiations continued, students stopped sit-ins and have engaged in only sporadic picketing.

At Salisbury, desegregated service at three drug stores was reported on March 7. Some downtown stores have served Negro students at lunch counters for the past two years. Chief negotiator for the Negroes has been S.E. Duncan, president of Livingstone College, a Negro institution. In a meeting of the mayor and city council, and some merchants and ministers, with the college president, all agreed to "go along" with the practice of serving Negroes at lunch counters. One dime store has refused to change its practice of discrimination.

TENNESSEE

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The story of recent events in Nashville, which began with student sit-ins and massive arrests, and ended May 11 with six downtown stores, including two department stores, serving Negroes for the first time on an integrated basis, will be ~~is~~ told in detail in another ~~an accompanying~~ report. A committee appointed by Mayor Ben West had presented a plan acceptable to neither side, and demonstrations were resumed + a boycott organized. The eventual agreement, merchants said, was reached secretly in talks with civic leaders of both races. Motives leading to settlement were a blend of earnest good will, politics (Negroes cast about 30 ~~per cent~~ % of the Nashville vote), and economics (the more than 100,000 Negroes in the city spend an estimated $7,500,000 annually in the downtown stores). As in Winston-Salem, negotiations had first to break down + conflict to be renewed.

The mayor of Knoxville did not wait for a sit-in to appoint an interracial committee; it was formed on February 18, probably the first in the South created. Also, the mayor, the president and executive director of the Chamber of Commerce, and two Knoxville College students went to New York to talk to chain store executives about changing lunch counter policies in their stores. In the early days of the sit-ins, Knoxville students staged only one demonstration. They "walked through" a store with segregated lunch counters. It was not until May 12 and 13 that they began sit-ins in some of the downtown variety stores, in an effort to prod managers into a change of policy. Meanwhile, substantial business and civic groups indicated they would support desegregation of downtown lunch counters. A solution, ~~then,~~ seemed ~~possible.~~ imminent. Elsewhere on the racial front, the Board of Education announced it would begin desegregation of Knoxville schools in the fall of 1960, a grade a year beginning with the first grade.

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specifically to deal with the sit-in issue.

before agreement could be found.

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In March, a group of Negro citizens in Oak Ridge placed an ad in the local newspaper, the Oak Ridger. The citizens called attention to student demonstrations in other parts of the South and said they hoped their city could avoid them. They referred, however, to certain injustices and suggested appointment of a negotiating committee. On March 22 the City Council appointed an interracial Mayor's Commission on Racial Relations, which has begun holding closed sessions to discuss problems of the city.

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Students in Memphis staged some lunch counter sit-ins but concentrated to a greater extent on equal privileges in the city library and art gallery. Their demands were considered by the Greater Memphis and Shelby County Human Relations Committee, a group organized more than a year ago. The full committee consists of about 200 members, with an executive body of 35 to 40. The latter includes the president of the school board, editors of both daily newspapers, representatives of labor and industry, and five NAACP lawyers. No agreement was reached on a recommendation regarding lunch counters, but the executive body did agree unanimously on a recommendation to offer full use of the library to Negroes. The library board, however, was unmoved. Members of the board are appointed for life, with the right to name their successors. The executive committee of the Human Relations Committee also recommended to the board opening the art gallery and some recreation facilities to Negroes on the same basis as white citizens. The committee presented its suggestions to the mayor and city commissioners, but no action has been reported to date. Some Negro leaders in Memphis feel that the people as a whole are more willing to accept changes than are public officials, and that the prospects on the official level are unpromising. They believe that unless there is some breakthrough before long their next recourse will be to the courts.

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In Chattanooga, since the riots of late February, quiet, informal meetings of white and Negro ministers, officials, store executives, and others have been held.

VIRGINIA

A resolution to create a commission to study racial relations died in committee in the legislature in April. Now, in Richmond, the League of Women Voters and other civic groups have stimulated public discussion of the need for a bi-racial committee to consider Richmond's racial problems. In May, the League polled all candidates for city council, and most of them stated that they favored appointment of a committee.

FLORIDA

The governor of Florida was the only chief executive in the lower South to seek a positive solution. In a statewide radio and television speech on March 20, Gov. LeRoy Collins announced he would appoint a Florida Commission on Race Relations, which would be a bi-racial, official body. In his speech, the

governor said:

"....If a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come to his department store and trade, I think then it is unfair and morally wrong for him to single out one department, though, and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department. Now he has a legal right to do this. But I still don't think he can square that right with moral, simple justice..."

The Governor said Christ warned in the Bible that "every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every house divided against itself falls." He also said that, "Nothing can aid the Communists more to establish supremacy over this country than racial strife."

In announcing that he would appoint a state interracial advisory committee, he called upon Florida communities to do the same. Six weeks after his speech, twelve such committees were in operation, including eight which existed previously. Sixteen were in the process of formation.

The week following his speech, Collins received 2,381 letters or telegrams approving the move and 288 disapproving. Nearly all the favorable communications were signed; about one-third of the unfavorable were unsigned.

The governor appointed Cody Fowler of Tampa, a former president of the American Bar Association, chairman of the six-member state committee of four white, two Negro members. The other white members were: Sheriff Don Genung of Pinellas County; Mrs. C.D. Johnson of Quincy, chairman of the Florida Children's Commission; and John B. Turner of Miami, civic leader and vice president of the Orange State Oil Company. The two Negro members were: Perry C. Harvey, president of an International Longshoremen's ~~Association~~ local at Tampa; and the Rev. Eugene C. Tillman of the Mount Bethel Baptist Church of Daytona Beach. The commission appointed two full-time staff assistants, made its headquarters in Tampa.

Several advisory committees were set up by the commission. They

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included a 35-member committee of college representatives—presidents or deans of four-year colleges and universities, and presidents of the student bodies of each. There was another committee whose members were drawn from information media. ~~The~~ An advisory committee of variety store managers dissolved after one meeting, saying it could be of no further service.

There were other disappointments and setbacks and there was, of course, some opposition to the governor's committee. Tallahassee Mayor George S. Taff said little would be accomplished by interracial committees. Both the leaders of the Florida House and Senate disagreed with Collins' stand on sit-ins.

One of the first to follow the governor's suggestion to set up a local committee was ~~Miami~~. The mayor ~~appointed~~ APPOINTED a Biracial Committee of 10 members. ~~They~~ It began by talking with managers and owners of downtown stores with lunch counters and found, somewhat to ~~their~~ its surprise, that almost all were ready to change their policies. Several ~~just~~ seemed only to be waiting for the others ~~to change or for someone~~ to take the initiative, + there are some indications that the stores would already have desegregated except for certain events which derailed the new policies. Consequently, th[redacted] a better than even chance that downtown food facilities may be o[redacted]egroes in the near future.

On May 18, Negroes [redacted] the first time in the heretofore segregated cafeteria of the big, county [redacted] Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami. Negroes ~~e~~atered the cafeteria by [redacted]nd threes. Previously, the cafeteria had been restricted to use[redacted] the 1,000 white personnel of the hospital. The hospital's 700 Negro employes had been using a "hospitality center."

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GEORGIA

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~~Savannah~~ was deadlocked for several weeks after picketing and sit-in demonstrations began there. A Negro boycott against retail stores reportedly was taking a heavy toll. In May, police began arresting demonstrators under a state law and charging them with unlawful assembly. Before the arrests, Mayor Lee Mingledorff appointed a special interracial committee to ease tension.

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(White Citizens Council members manned anti-boycott picket lines and there were a number of instances of violence.) The mayor's committee became inactive when neither white nor Negro citizens cooperated with its members.

There was a split in the Negro community. The NAACP issued a four-point statement to local businessmen saying boycotts and sit-ins would continue until certain requests were met. The NAACP asked for lunch counter desegregation, provision of equal job opportunities for Negroes, use of courtesy titles, and dropping of charges against the young demonstrators. The 1,700 member Savannah Negro Citizens Protective League voted to fight the boycotts and sit-ins, charging that such activities were fomented by newcomers.

One voice from a respected quarter dissented from the belief in the usefulness of bi-racial committees. Mayor William B. Hartsfield of ATLANTA thought that in his town white persons of influence could not be persuaded to serve. Implicit in the mayor's attitude, however, was the thought that interracial communication and planning was a normal part of the duties of Southern municipal officers, and that the responsibility for interracial mediation was squarely on the mayor himself. It is known, however, that during the past several months informal talks between Negro students and white civic and business leaders have several times occurred at the invitation of the latter. Also, at least one meeting has been held between a student leader & officials of A&P Pictures, now being picketed in a campaign for non-discriminatory employment.

ARKANSAS

Ministers of both races took the lead in Pine Bluff in setting up a citywide committee to ~~arbitrate and~~ discuss interracial differences. Their efforts followed the boycott of two downtown variety stores by Negroes, mostly adults, protesting the refusal of lunch counter service. The mayor and seven of the eight city councilmen gave their approval to the unofficial arbitration committee on which both white and Negro civic leaders agreed to serve. However, even before a formal meeting could be held, the committee fell apart, for lack of agreement on any subject. Meanwhile, the boycott of the two variety stores has continued in what Dr. DAvid Parker, local NAACP president, said is a "very effective" manner.

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TEXAS

Details of methods used in three Texas cities--San Antonio, Corpus Christi and Galveston--are given in another ~~an accompanying separate~~ report (see Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston and San Antonio, Texas. SRC Special Report, May 10, 1960).

Briefly, in San Antonio action by students, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and religious leaders laid the groundwork for settlement. The decision to open lunch counters to all was made at a meeting of religious leaders and store managers; the turning point came when the manager of a national chain store urged desegregation.

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Only very gentle prodding was necessary to bring about a change in Corpus Christi. One Negro leader, ~~a dentist,~~ talked with merchants who agreed, with a minimum of fuss, to start serving Negroes at their lunch counters.

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A committee of 11 prominent white persons in Galveston worked out a solution with store managers. The latter asked for assurance from the Negro community that certain conditions would be met and this was given.

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In other Texas cities as well, there is determined progress towards pre-casting racial practices in ways which will ratify and merely exhibit fortuitous, but all fortuitous.

In Dallas, an interracial group of citizens worked quietly, without publicity or public pronouncements, to reach agreement with merchants. At least a dozen downtown stores already have started serving Negroes. This is worth noting, for it occurred in a city which unlike Nashville & Winston-Salem has no ordinance.

Austin reached a partial change in policy on a second try. A group of students on April 21 sent a message to merchants asking for equal service at drug and variety stores. Then, on April 29, an interracial body of students from the University of Texas demonstrated in a mile long march and conducted some sit-ins. A bi-racial group already in existence, composed largely of ministers, tried without success to work out a solution. Next, the mayor appointed a Citizens Committee which included councilmen, and white and Negro representatives of business, banking, and the professions. This group met with merchants and, when no agreement was reached, appointed a chairman, retired State Supreme Court Justice St. John Garwood, and asked him to act for the committee. He negotiated with the merchants and on May 1 several of the downtown variety stores and a local chain drug firm began serving Negroes, at first in groups of only three or four. Another local chain drug company and the city's major department store did not change their policy. The citizens group now has disbanded. One Negro on the committee commented, "Relations in Austin always have been better than in most of East Texas and we were determined to work this thing out agreeably.

In Marshall, students at two Negro colleges, Bishop and Wiley, made an unsuccessful effort to obtain service at lunch counters. An inter-

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racial commission composed of five Negro and five white members, in addition to a white chairman, retired Appeals Court Justice Reuben Hall, failed to reach a solution.

~~HOUSTON~~

When young Negroes occupied lunch counters in five stores and picketed a sixth in Houston, the Houston Council on Education in Race Relations began behind the scenes efforts to persuade Mayor Lewis Cutrer to appoint a bi-racial committee to seek a solution. (The Council is a 16-year-old organization sponsored by eight religious and social agencies.) The Retail Merchants Association said it was ready to name representatives to any such committee. Leaders of the Negro student movement notified the mayor they would stop their demonstrations if he would appoint a committee to study the lunch counter question.

On April 6, Mayor Cutrer appointed a Citizens Relations Committee—somewhat reluctantly it seemed to some—of 37 citizens, 26 white and 11 Negro. Later, he added three members.

In the following month, hopes that the committee could reach an early settlement with merchants dimmed. One subcommittee headed by a white oil industrialist indicated the student demands raised legal questions. A second subcommittee headed by a Negro felt it was a matter for community action and indicated that other discriminatory practices should be explored also. One group of Texas Southern students, impatient with the delay, refused to go along with other TSU students on holding off demonstrations any longer and resumed sporadic demonstrations April 26. A split, ~~and one~~ apparently of long standing, reappeared ~~that~~ in the Negro community over leadership, ~~reappeared.~~ As for the stores, some simply closed their lunch counters. Meanwhile, the community was involved in discussion of the scheduled June 4 election to find out whether Houston wants to desegregate schools. This election, said a Houston business

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leader, had the lunch counter question "all mixed up in politics."

SUMMARY

16. Why have some communities either solved or made a promising start toward solution of this particular racial issue?

The answer is simplicity itself. In each, there have been men and women, white and Negro, who, ~~regardless of personal feeling,~~ have been

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deeply interested in ~~willing to put~~ the welfare and peace of the community ~~ahead of anything else. Further, they were~~ and willing to work for a just solution to Negro aspirations.

Where settlements have been reached there has been little solace for the South's of disaster prophets.

No store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has ~~failed, or even~~ reported a loss of business. Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase. In contrast, reports from the change-resistant towns have indicated that business in some variety stores—key targets of the demonstrators—has fallen off by from 15 ~~per cent~~ % to as much as 65 ~~per cent~~ % in one store in Charlotte, N.C.

Once lunch counters have been opened to all, the change has been accepted with considerable urbanity. Negroes have not congregated to demonstrate a victory. Those who have appeared at lunch counters have done so with dignity. White customers have observed the change calmly for the most part and without a break in their shopping routine.

In short, the cities which have answered the Negroes' appeal have been in sharp contrast to cities such as Chattanooga, Tenn., and Tallahassee, Fla. (Neither has a negotiating committee.) In the accommodating cities there has been business-as-usual and a lessening of racial animosities. In Chattanooga, fire hoses had to be turned on crowds to avoid riots, while tear gas had to be used in Tallahassee

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The methods used to reach agreement have followed no precise pattern and thus do not furnish a blueprint suitable to every community. They do offer suggestions which might be adapted to local situations.

In two or three communities, merchants merely were waiting for someone to take the lead, but no one had bothered to check their attitudes.

(not a new paragraph)

In fact, in Dallas, San Antonio, Galveston, and Salisbury only very slight pressure was required to induce the stores to desegregate and the community to accept. In Nashville and Winston-Salem, however, matters seemingly had to "get worse before they could get better." In no place—and this should be noted—have white civic, business, or political circles initiated desegregation without some demand or pressure from Negroes.

Generally, the best promise of successful settlement has come from a small interracial committee of outstanding citizens who are amenable to

17

In some cities (e.g. San Antonio, Dallas, Salisbury) there have been unofficial committees, civic or church leaders, or both. In other cities (e.g. Winston-Salem), the committees were

change. ~~The first agreements were reached by unofficial groups in all cases, except in Austin, Texas. And even in Austin, a solution was reached in informal negotiations between merchants and an individual appointed by the mayor's committee.~~

~~The unofficial negotiating committees were formed under the impetus of ministers or civic leaders.~~

~~However, several committees~~ Appointed by mayors ~~held fair promise of eventual success.~~ Obviously, those appointed by mayors only as a political gesture offered neither hope for settlement nor for satisfying Negro citizens for long.

By and large, the successful committees have worked without undue publicity at first. It is important that these committees establish initial agreement on what they hope to accomplish, without a detailed airing of personal differences, demands and counter-demands which can divide the community into hostile camps. Eventually, of course the areas of agreement will be publicized.

Most of the groups have thought it advisable to include representatives of local newspapers on their committees and to consult them as to the timing and kind of publicity most desirable. Some communities have found it preferable to desegregate without any publicity at all.

Generally, committees have consulted with Negro students and adult ~~Negro~~ leaders, and with merchants, perhaps separately at first and then together, ~~to ascertain attitudes.~~

It has been helpful if the merchants could be assured in advance ~~that their action would be supported~~ of support by an influential segment of the community. ~~in any change of policy.~~ Here, religious leaders have been able to play an especially valuable role when they have been able to give the question moral + religious perspective.

Whatever the method, the path has not been entirely smooth for most

of these committees. And, there still are more committees than results.

More ominously, there are scores of Southern cities which are not even making an effort to solve theisit-in dilemma, present or potential. ~~These will find it even harder to solve future racial problems. And, they can be sure there will be future problems for lunch counters are only one example of discontent.~~

Southern white citizens will have only themselves to blame if they are faced with a new rash of time and money consuming law suits. They will have only themselves to blame if they permit the extremists to lead them down the path toward hate and violence and economic damage.

#

settling a sitin

westfeldt

At 3:15 p.m. on Tuesday, May 10, small groups of Negroes, carefully selected by their leaders, calmly walked up to the lunch counters in six downtown Nashville stores and sat down to a historical mid-afternoon snack.

Many of them sat next to white persons. Their orders for food were politely received and just as politely served--by white persons.

Despite the unseasonably cold weather and the time of day, the lunch rooms were crowded. Heavy detachments of plain clothes police were there to prevent trouble. A well organized corps of "observers" ~~from~~ posted by the United Church Women stood ready to lend encouragement to the Negroes and whites participating in the unusual sit-in and, if need be, to act as sharp-eyed witnesses to any untoward event that might develop.

This duty, incidentally, was so ~~frequently assumed~~ jealously guarded by the church women that one was heard to express shock and dismay when a Baptist minister wandered into the area she was observing.

"What are you doing in here?" she asked. "This room is for the Unitarians!"

By 4 p.m. the Negro groups had departed and shortly thereafter, so had the church women and the police.

Thus ended the tense struggle ~~between~~ in Nashville between Negroes and merchants over the right of Negroes to eat with whites at lunch counters in stores where they were welcomed as customers for

other goods.

Thus did Nashville become the first major city in the region traditionally known as the South to permit whites and blacks to eat together openly in public places.

For a couple of weeks after May 10, small groups of carefully selected Negroes continued these controlled sit-ins until by the end of the month, all controls were off and Negroes came and went as they pleased--and in any numbers they pleased.

By mid-June, the last downtown store which had been a sitin target in preceding months, quietly decided to go along with the rest. All of this has taken place without a single incident of violence.

How did the settlement come about? How has it worked so far? Here are the details.

The background, superficially at least, appeared conducive to anything but a successful settlement. Sporadic violence and near-violence had swirled about the downtown area in February and early March when Negro students staged massive sitins and were arrested in massive numbers.

A report by a bi-racial committee established by Mayor Ben West was openly rejected by the Negro leaders and covertly rejected by the merchants. This committee recommended on April 5th that the merchants divide their lunch counters into two sections, one for whites and one for those who wanted to eat in integrated fashion, which would be operated on a 90 day trial basis. The committee also recommended that if no further demonstrations by Negro students occurred during the trial period all cases against them (well over 100) resulting from the February and early March sit-in period should be dismissed.

A final recommendation by the committee was the creation by the mayor of a permanent bi-racial committee with the function of studying and making recommendations on any racial problems that might develope in the community.

Principal objection to the recommendations from the student protest movement and the Nashville Christian Leadership Council:

"The plan...ignores the moral issues involved in the struggle for the realization of human rights. The recommendation in actuality is a plan of segregation...Our concern is that segregation be removed entirely whether it is the segregation of the Negro or white customers. The suggestion of a restricted area involves the same stigma of which we are earnestly seeking to rid the community..."

The merchants put it this way:

"The merchants of Nashville have been placed in the unenviable position of deciding on a social practice which will be a radical change in the custom of our community. The very nature of our business is such that it is most impractical for a small group of stores to assume the role of leading such a social change...Obviously a decision of this scope cannot and should not be hastily made by the stores involved..."

To anyone keeping up with reports of developments in the sit-in movement, however, it became clear the merchants position was unenviable because of another, perhaps more important reason.

On April 4, as a matter of fact, it was reported for the first time that Negroes in large numbers were boycotting all stores in the downtown shopping area, including those without lunch counters.

The Negroes had agreed to refrain from sit-in demonstrations during the period the mayor's committee was studying the situation but this did not mean they could not exert pressure in other ways.

As one of the Negro leaders said later,"We had considered an economic boycott as a methodology and probably would have used it if it had not started elsewhere. But we were planning on this as our ultimate weapon. We still wanted to dramatize the moral issue through the sitins."

page fou r

The first public notice of the boycott came from D.r. Vivian Henderson, professor of economics at Fisk university. Speaking to more than 500 Negroes gathered to discuss the sit-ins at the Pleasant Green Missionary Baptist church, Henderson asked:

"If there is anybody here who has not spent any money downtown in the last two weeks, stand up."

Almost the entire audience stood.

Referring to the boycott once as "our savings program," and later as "an economic withdrawl," Henderson identified for those who wanted to see, the basic strength of the movement. Referring to a hypothetical charge that economic boycotts are destructive, he said:

"This is not a boycott to club men down. This is an economic withdrawl against evil. To destroy radical evil, you have to be radically good. It is radical evil that rules this town and it will take radical good to break it."

Thus the leaders of the sit-in movement, which is solidly based on a moral concept in their eyes, threw the cloak or morality around their most powerful weapon."

The Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, chairman of the Christian leadership council and without doubt the most influential Negro in the sit-in movement, said the boycott presented a real problem of interpretation for the leadership.

"If you are fighting out a moral issue," he said later, "you have to stay on firm moral grounds. Our ground for the boycott was simply that it is morally indefensible for Negroes to cooperate with a system we consider evil and which we are trying to change."

Rev. Smith said quite a few Negroes did not grasp this point and used the boycott as a means of striking back at the white community for real or imagined trouble in the past.

No one will say just exactly how or when the boycott started. The most persistent report is that it started as a result of conversation between four ladies at a bridge party. It was decided,

according to the report, that each person present should telephone 10 friends and ask them to boycott the entire downtown shopping area until the sit-in controversey was settled in favor of the Negroes.

Although the beginning of the boycott remains somewhat vague, its impact has been clearly defined.

Through daily and maximum use of "our wire service", as Negro leaders playfully call Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph company, the boycott was maintained for approximately seven weeks at about 98 per cent efficiency. This estimate is one the downtown merchants agree with wholeheartedly .

The impact on the downtown stores was a powerful one. First, the downtown shopping area in general has been plagued with a metropolitan area illness common to the nation---severe competition from suburban shopping centers.

On top of this, the merchants discovered customers from their shopping area, roughly there within a 75 miles radius of Nashville, was staying away as long as conditions downtown remained unsettled as a result of the sit-ins.

Said one of the city's top merchants:"This business from outside of Nashville represents about 20 per cent of the total. It is a business you cannot afford to lose."

Another factor compounding the plight of the downtown merchants was unseasonably cold weather.

"There is no business more sensitive to weather conditions than that of retailing in a department or variety store,"said an official of a large department store."If conditions are calm and normal, you can usually just get by when sales fall off because of weather. But when conditions are as they were during this period, you haven't got a chance."

The absence of Negro customers who spend about $7,000,000 annually downtown, had varying results. In one department store, Harvey's, this represented 12 to 15 per cent of their business. At Cain Sloan, a branch of Allied Stores, Inc., Negro customers

represent approximately five per cent of the store's business.

With customers in general shopping elsewhere and those who did go downtown generally staying away from lunch counters, the variety stores were severely damaged.

Reliable sources indicate that the food business in such stores as Woolworth's, Kress, McClellan and Walgreen runs as high as 40 per cent of total sales and sometimes as high as 50 per cent of the gross profit.

The boycott also effected businesses not involved in the sit-ins. The owners and operators of small stores which had no lunch counters and which had reputations of fine service for Negro customers discovered they were in the same economic boat as their colleagues at stores directly involved.

The transit company which relies largely on Negro customers for its successful operation, discovered its business dwindling seriously.

Parking lots, for the first time in months, were not posting their usual "Sorry, No Room" signs.

The city's two newspapers anxiously kept their eyes on advertising lineage figures which showed signs of dropping.

"The combination of the boycott and the effect of unsettled conditions and bad weather were just too much," said one merchant. "To most of us this whole business of sit-ins was an economic problem. We knew and admitted the immorality of segregation. But we also felt, and felt strongly, any integration would keep many of our regular white customers away. We felt integration would be more harmful to our businesses than segregation as long as the community apparently felt the way it did on the issue.

"But as time passed," he continued, "we had to balance off a known economic loss as a result of the sit-ins and boycott against an unknown and indefineable loss if we integrated. The known loss soon became too great. We had to change whether we wanted to or not."

The vice president of one of the two department stores involved in the sit-ins, who acted as chief negotiator for the merchants, said the merchants felt they could not risk integration until there was evidence the community would go along with it.

He and other merchants felt let down by the city's white leadership during the crisis.

"The Chamber of Commerce will go all out to keep the baseball team here," said one of the merchants, "but they didn't do a damned thing to help this situation even though they knew we were having the economic hell being beat out of the downtown area."

Another merchant was sharply critical of the press for refusing to take any leadership on the sit-in issue as it did during the school integration crisis.

"Regardless of the differing editorial views the papers have," he said, "they did pave the way for acceptance of school integration."

The negotiator for the merchants put it this way:

"Suddenly, overnight, seven of the principal stores of this city found themselves put in the position of seeming to be immoral because of our segregated lunch counters even though the movie houses are segregated. We found ourselves alone."

It was clearly up to the merchants and Negro leaders to get together and work out a settlement after both sides refused to accept the recommendations of the mayor's bi-racial committee.

This was quickly arranged and negotiating committees were established for both sides. The merchants made two conditions regarding future negotiations. The first was that the negotiators for the Negroes be representative of the Negro community as well as of the sit-in movement, and that no white persons be allowed on the sit-in negotiating team.

Said one of the merchants:

" We made these requests for two reasons. We discovered, much to our suprise, the Negro members of the mayor's bi-racial commission although

~~representatives~~ both ~~were~~ were university presidents, were not representative of the Negro community. We also discovered that whenever any white persons joined the Negroes in negotiation, they started preaching to us about the morality of the question. ~~[illegible]~~ "Didn't need anybody to orate to us about that."

This was readily agreed to by the Negroes. The result, a four member negotiating team was formed. On it ~~was~~ were two student leaders of the sit-in movement, Rev. Smith and Mr. Coyness Ennix, a Negro attorney and the sole Negro member of the city school board.

~~Meanwhile~~

It was also agreed that the report of the mayor's committee should at least be used as a ~~[illegible]~~ starting point for the new negotiations.

The first talk was held in the second week of April. Two more formal negotiating sessions, each about 10 days apart, were necessary before the settlement was reached. These sessions were also supplemented by informal talks between Rev. Smith and Mr. Greenfield Pitts, vice president or Harveys and chief negotiator for the merchants.

Said Pitts: "We were pretty well agreed among the merchants that we would have to cooperate with the inevitable."

Said Rev. Smith: "When they expressed this view, we immediately suggested that if they recognized it as inevitable, wouldn't it be better for all to start planning for it now. They agreed. This was the big battle for we had finally gotten together on the what of the situation but not the how."

Pitts and Smith agree that the next major obstacle overcome in the negotiations was that of ~~[illegible]~~ accepting the suggestion by the Negroes that the first sit-ins be executed ~~by~~ under controlled circumstances by carefully selected, well disciplined Negro groups.

The two negotiators also agree that two outside events at this time had a powerful influence on the position of each side in the settlement conferences.

The first was the bombing of the home of Mr. Z. Alexander

Looby, an attorney and one of Nashville's two Negro city councilmen. Perhaps the most respected and powerful Negro in Nashville, Mr. Looby made it clear he believed the bombing was "very definitely connected with the sit-in controversy," for he was the chief of the battery of Negro attorneys defending Negro students arrested as a result of the movement.

"I think this act did more to change the climate of community opinion than any other single factor," said Pitts. "It more or less eliminated any possibility of community acceptance, or tolerance, of violence in the downtown area as a result of integrating the lunch counters."

The second event was a speech delivered here by Rev. Martin Luther King which gave eloquent evidence of the strength of this sit-in movement, a movement that has united the Negro community here as never before. In a direct reference to the Looby bombing and other acts of violence against Negroes during the sit-ins, Rev. King said:

"We will meet the capacity to inflict suffering with the capacity to endure suffering. We will say, do what you will to us but we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer."

In the beginning, said one merchant, "we believed this was largely a student affair and quite possibly one that was led and organized by outsiders, students from the north and east.

"We learned differently after the boycott got underway," he said," for our customers, were not the student types. They were the Negro men and women of Nashville who live here, work here. We got an inkling of how deep their feelings were when 4000 of them marched in silence to the city hall as a protest of the bombing. I read King's speech and I am convinced he accurately expressed the feelings of the Negro in Nashville."

Insert "1" →

Toward the end of the first week of May, the negotiators met again and laid out the detailed plans for settlement of the sit-in crisis.

The plan was simple. The small groups of carefully selected

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During this time the merchants also got a hint community feeling may not be so opposed to the change the Negroes were seeking as they originally believed.

Although they are firmly convinced true community sentiment is seldom expressed in letters from customers, they felt that the absence of strong support in their stand for continued segregation from various local racist organizations was a hopeful sign.

They also took note of the fact that a reasonably large bloc of persons from the intellectual community were boycotting the stores in sympathy with the Negro cause.

And finally, they took note of a meeting sponsored by The Nashville Community Relations Conference on March 30-31 devoted to a study of race relations in general and the sit-in movement in particular.

This meeting brought out over 500 people two separate nights for speeches and discussions on the subject.

"You can't count on those things too much," said one of the merchants directly involved in the sit-ins,"but it does make you feel good to know there are at least 500 folks here who are willing to talk about it in public. And you do get some strength, as well as information, from this kind of meeting."

Negroes, all well disciplined in the art of non-violent action, would enter the stores on a certain day known in advance to the merchants. The merchants would have their employes fully prepared for the event and also have adequate police in hand to take care of any trouble that might develop.

The sit-ins would continue in this controlled fashion for a couple of weeks and then all controls would be taken off. Representatives of the merchants and Negroes would meet to evaluate the integration movement.

Although one of the stores involved in the sit-ins declined to join the others in the settlement, the Negroes agreed to refrain from any further demonstrations downtown for "a reasonable period of time." The boycott on this particular store, Grant's, was maintained. Grant's opened its lunch counters to Negroes on an integrated basis on June 8th.

The press and other communications media were to be informed of the settlement and accurate, non-sensational coverage was to be requested. Apparently due to misunderstanding about this provision of the agreement, the press was requested by the merchants to ignore the development completely. This request was honored and the only break in it came when the press services stories about the lunch counter integration were piped back into Nashville via network television newscasts.

The results: The only total notice of this massive social change in Nashville appeared in a brief story buried inside The Nashville Tennessean. Two or three otherminor stories about the change appeared after that in The Tennessean but that was all.

Now that a successful solution of the sit-in controversy has been achieved in Nashville, only a few loose ends need to be tied up.

The question of the disposition of cases against Negro students involved in the sit-ins appears to be on the way to solution. On June 13, City Judge Andrew Doyle retired cases against 63 students, all

arising from sit-in demonstrations. Most of these cases involved charges of refusing to obey a fire marshal's order when he told them to leave ~~and~~ bus terminal ~~and~~ lunch room.

There are 80 students still charged with conspiracy to obstruct trade. The district attorney general has said he will bring four of ~~them~~ these cases before the grand jury "soon."

While no member of the attorney general's staff will be quoted by ~~name~~, it is reliably reported these cases will probably be disposed of in a fashion similar to those that were before Judge Doyle.

~~Hence~~

From all indications, the integration of the lunch counters has been entirely successful. At an evaluation session June 15, the merchants told representatives of the Negroes they (the merchants) had been wrong in prediciting dire consequences to integration.

They reported food service had fallen off slightly in the stores and that a few employes had quit rather than work in an integrated lunch room.

They also reported, however, merchandise sales were booming and there was no indication the integration of the lunch counterswas interfering with this most important source of revenue for retailers.

So the ~~fa~~ often fearsome, sometimes violent struggle of the Negroes for the right to eat downtown as well as buy downtown has ended--not with a bang or whimper but with the pleasing sound of ~~cash~~cash registers ringing up sales.

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insert 2

One of the most interesting sidelights to the sit-in controversy in Nashville is the way it speeded up the hiring of Negroes as white collar workers in a few downtown stores.

This subject came up, Rev. Smith said, as the boycott was biting hard into the of the smaller merchants and those who had no lunch counters.

"Many of them came to us to see if we could do anything to relieve their situation,"Rev. Smith said."We asked each of them three questions. Had they done anything to help resolve the sit-in controversy? What had their policies been toward serving Negro customers? What were their policies about hiring Negro employees?"

The first two questions were easy to answer, said Rev. Smith, for most of them had policies of serving Negro customers and most of them had at least been talking about settling the sit-ins through integration. It was the third question that had the hooker in it.

One small merchant said he had a Negro employe who had waited on his customers for years and the only distinction between she and his other employes was that she wore a smock.

It was suggested the smock be removed. The suggestion was accepted and the Negro woman is now waiting on white customers in desmocked style.

Her employer is still somewhat disturbed over the whole thing, not because he objects to Negro employes but simply because he is afraid what effect it might have on this particular woman.

"She is a friendly country woman,"he said,"who is deathly

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page two (insert one)

afraid of such things as thunder. She runs to the basement when we have a storm. Lord only knows where she'll run if she ever learns she has become a social symbol!"

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sit-in footnote

It is doubtful if there has been any single development in the field of race relations that has caused as much confusion, and concern as the lunch counter sit-in movement.

Herewith follows a brief analysis of the reasons for this confusion and concern, based on interviews with both white and Negro persons intimately involved in the movement as antagonists, as well as interviews with members of both races who have watched from the sidelines.

If the white southerner is confused and concerned over the sit-in movement, he has every right to be. For what this movement has brought about stands in direct contradiction to everything he has been told to believe about the Negro.

For example, the Negro student and the Negro adult who has participated in the sit-in movement has shattered (or is shattering)

page two

the mental image of the Negro held by the average white southerner.

This is confusing, because he has believed that the Negro is fundamentally a foot-shuffling, hat-doffing, always smiling person who is happiest when allowed to roam through his undisciplined community, content with handouts (material, political and philosophical) from his white boss.

This is what he has been taught by his parents and until recently, in his schools. This is the image implicit in the strictly segregated society.

It is understandable, therefore, when the average white southerner comes up against the Negro of the sit-in movement, the neatly dressed, quiet spoken, articulate and determined person who is now assuming leadership among southern Negroes in general.

The white southerner is confused also when he discovers that the local Negro is dead serious about the sit-in movement and his present effort to securing the right to eat in unsegregated style at lunch counters.

He has been told, for instance, that the Negro in his own community is fairly well satisfied with his lot in life and acts up only when he is stirred up by "outsiders."

If there is any single piece of evidence that has laid bare

this fallacy, it is the success of the Negro boycott of downtown stores in Nashville. This boycott was not started by outsiders nor was it maintained by outsiders. It was executed by the Nashville Negro for the Nashville Negro and any attempt to charge anyone else for its responsibility is indulging in wishful thinking.

This boycott, incidentally, also destroyed another concept about the sit-ins widely held by southerners, the concept that the sit-in was purely a student movement, unsupported and unrecognized by responsible adults in the local Negro community.

It is not the students in any community that commands the bulk of Negro purchasing power, particularly those students in any given sit-in movement who happen to come from out of town. This purchasing power is controlled, as in the white communities, by Negro adults and largely by the housewives.

The concern of the white southerner, particularly the person who prior to the sit-ins considered himself a liberal in racial matters, is the Negro state of mind implied by the sit-in movement.

page four

Until now, many white persons have been willing, indeed anxious to work for ~~Negroes~~ rights for Negroes through the time honored procedures ~~complications~~ of a legal system.

Until now, many Negroes in the South have been willing to go along with this method of securing rights they feel ~~dge~~ them.

But the Negro of the sit-in movement, and, in the case of Nashville, at least, this means the Nashville Negro, is not content with this system any longer.

In his eyes this has resulted in a philosophy which declares they will receive rights given to them by white persons in areas defined by white persons at times specified by white persons.

To illustrate this they point to the fact that although the United States Supreme Court declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional six years ago, white communities in general have done very little to implement this ruling.

As another illustration, they point to speeches by southern liberals which, invariably, use the ~~words~~ verb "to give" ~~rights~~ in reference to Negro rights.

page five

So in a real sense, the sit-in movement represents a challenge to the white man's system of order.

It is, paradoxically, a clash to two separate liberal movements, one white and one black. The white movement has with few variations the same goal, that of seeing the Negro acquires full rights but by a legalistic method and at a time established by the whites, and in areas fairly limited to the public governmental field.

The black liberal movement has selected a revolutionary, social method to seek rights on its own, speeded up timetable and in areas which are public in the social sense as well as those which are public in the governmental sense.

This has disturbed the white liberal in the South, so much so that many of them have said, in effect, "I've been with you people for years, tried to get you the rights you deserve, but I don't know about this thing you're doing now. I can see little difference between this sit-in movement and the civil disobedience it involves and the way the segregationists caused trouble when they interfered with school desegregation."

To this, the Negro points out that those who have participated in the sit-ins have not once violated the order of a community, that disorder has been caused by white persons objecting to the sit-ins.

To criticize the participant of the sit-in in the same breath which one uses to criticize the segregationist, say the Negroes, is to equate one who risks a community's order to seek justice with one who violates a community's order to preserve injustice.

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add footnote

Thus the impact of the sit-ins in the South.

What about the future?

There is every reason to believe the sit-in will become the Negroes' weapon of choice, wherever it can be applied, in their future efforts to secure social as well as legal rights, wherever a public activity is involved.

For example, it will be the weapon of choice when Negroes drive extend their for eating facilities to restaurants and it will be the weapon of choice when they begin their effort to destroy segregation barriers in the movie houses and other parts of the entertainment field.

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that it will be the weapon of choice when the Negroes seek access to the major hotels in southern cities, access for purposes of lodging as well as eating.

Wherever the sit-in is used, it will always carry with it the threat of economic boycott. And there is no reason for any person to believe that the boycott, the Negroes' ultimate weapon, will not be used when it is considered necessary. It was used against segregated busses in Montgomery, Ala. and against white merchants in nearby Tuskegee. It has now been used with decisive success against merhents in a large city, Nashville.

The sit-in and the economic boycott are the surest signs that a new era of race relations in the South is underway. They are signs that there is a deep conviction among Negroes that they can wait no longer in starting programs to achieve what they consider are their rights.

page two

The fact that the movement is church oriented gives it a rich spiritual quality and a solid moral ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ basis in the eyes of the Negro.

The fact that the movement's leaders have been able to show the Negro he is an economic force in any community, gives the movement power.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The fact that the leaders of the movement are generally a younger, better educated group than the leaders of past years, gives the movement the knowledge or organizing and using its power.

The strength and success of the movement, in the long run, rests entirely on the ~~xxxxxx~~ strength, physical as well as moral and mental, of the Negroes who participate in it.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

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March 7, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: SRC 13, February 25, 1960
The Student Protest Movement Winter 1960

Dear Sirs:

If you could send me ten additional copies of this pamphlet, it would be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:sk

25 sent 3-17
10 " 3-8
MGA

March 7, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are mailing you today, separately, the requested 25 copies of "The Student Protest Movement - Winter 1960." There is no charge.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
A

Original letter MF spec file

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BEVERLY C. MOORE
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SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

March 24, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

What literature is available through your office, or what bibliography would you suggest, to enable the North Carolina Advisory Committee to get a pattern of employment by race in agencies of the government of North Carolina, its counties and municipalities.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNeill Smith

McNS:sk

State distribution of Public Employment in 1958 (G-GE58-No1)
(1959?)

Bureau of Census, Wash 25 - 25¢

April 5, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

I do not know where you can find recorded information on employment by race in the agencies of North Carolina, its counties and municipalities. I do not believe that such data has ever been compiled or published. But if you learn that I am wrong, or if your committee gathers such data, I hope that you will let us know.

One reference work that might be useful to you, although it has no racial breakdown, is State Distribution of Public Employment in 1958 (G - GE 58 - No. 1), available from the Bureau of the Census, Washington 25, D. C. 25¢. This report totals federal, state, local employment within each state. It is possible that a 1959 edition is now out.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
McNEILL SMITH
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TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

April 11, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

You were kind enough to send me twenty copies of the special report on "The Student Protest Movement, Winter, 1960". I would very much appreciate having twenty copies of the revision, dated April 4, in order that I may circulate it among the people who got the originals.

If possible I would like to have this by Saturday, April 16, 1960.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS/rg

Rec'd. 4-12-60
3rd revision
"Two Months Later"
20 copies

I N V O I C E

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attorney McNeill Smith
Suite 700 - Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Purchase Order No.
Date Shipped: 4/26/60

25 copies: THE SOUTH AND THE NATION
@ 15¢ $3.75

THANK YOU

W F Pl. send
RHA - Have bill @ 15¢
MA - for

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SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

April 25, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Could you send me 25 copies of the speech by Leroy Collins, Governor of Florida, which you have reprinted? If there is any charge for these copies, please let me know.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:sk

Virginia Council on Human Relations

216-C BROAD-GRACE ARCADE
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Phone MI. 9-0872

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Executive Director

JUNE 13, 1960

DR. LESLIE W. DUNBAR
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 432
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR LESLIE:

THANKS FOR YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 10 AND ITS HEARTENING INFORMATION. I THOUGHT YOU WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW THAT MISS IRENE OSBORNE IS GOING TO BE WORKING FULL TIME FOR A. F. S. C. IN PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY BEGINNING JUNE 24. IRENE HAS A MASTERS DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY, HAS TAUGHT AT STEVENS COLLEGE IN MISSOURI AND IS A THOROUGHLY QUALIFIED PERSON. I BELIEVE SHE CAN GIVE VALUABLE ASSISTANCE TO YOUR PROJECT AND TO WHOMEVER YOU EMPLOY THERE. I WILL SEND YOU HER ADDRESS WHEN SHE GETS HERE AND IS SETTLED.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Dan

DANIEL A. BOWERS

DAB:MAB

June 14, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

The enclosed materials are sent as requested in your letter of June 10. I hope these will serve you satisfactorily. Under separate cover we are sending you the complete text of the Little Rock report condensed in our report L-11. I am also requesting the Harvard Business Review to send you an advance copy of a forthcoming article on this subject by Helen Hill Miller.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosed:
New South, Feb. 1959, "Virginia Education Crisis," by Lorin A. Thompson
"New Factories Thing of Past," reprint
Reports L-2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 14
Thermafax, Ben Muse: "Industry Isn't Smitten with Virginia," Washington Post, March 22, 1959;
"Chamber Blames School Crisis in Death of Little Rock's Industrialization Plan," Arkansas Gazette, June 25, 1959;
"How Is Business?" Arkansas Gazette, Jan. 27, 1959.
Verifax, remarks by Everett Tucker

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GREENSBORO, N. C.

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

June 10, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

It would be appreciated if you could send me by air mail any direct quotations which would indicate that business and industry suffered in Little Rock, Arkansas or any place in Arkansas as a result of the policy of the Governor of Arkansas in respect to the operation of the public schools.

Could you send me the same information with respect to Virginia and the actions of the Governor or any part of the government of Virginia in respect to the operation of public schools.

What I need and need promptly is some factual information or statements of business leaders as to the effect of turmoil over the schools and especially closing the schools.

I have been asked for this information from a number of sources particularly in view of the current campaign in North Carolina. I wants facts and direct quotations from business people, Chambers of Commerce, or editors who purport to quote business leaders on this very point.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS/rg

VW 4/5 7 11 14

L3

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

June 14, 1960

Mr. John Chapman
Harvard Business Review
Soldiers Field
Boston 38, Mass.

PLEASE SEND AN ADVANCE COPY OF HELEN HILL MILLER TO MCNEILL SMITH

P. O. BOX ~~xxx~~ 868 GREENSBORO NORTH CAROLINA.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

charge: Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.

June 27, 1960

The Negro Yearbook
Tuskegee
Alabama

Dear Sirs:

Can you furnish me a summary of the expenditures by North Carolina for public school education, broken down according to expenditures for Negro pupils and expenditures for White pupils. I believe that you carried this information in the Yearbook in past years, but I do not have a complete set of these figures, and it is needed for a study of equal protection of the laws in respect to education in North Carolina. This is merely one line of the study, but we think it important to collect all available information in one place.

Our recollection is that you used to publish a table showing the ratio of expenditure per pupil of each race, and also perhaps an absolute figure showing the current expenditure per child and the value of school properties per child, and the percentage of Negroes and White children in school attendance.

Your help in furnishing us this information for all years for which it is available will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith, Chairman

McNS/rg
cc: Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

June 27, 1960

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700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

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MARION A. WRIGHT
Linville Falls, N. C.

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In connection with the North Carolina Advisory Committee's study of equal protection of the laws in North Carolina in regard to education, we want to include not only data as to the extent of separation or desegregation, but also to the extent of equality in expenditures per pupil, and any other data which would be relevant to the question of equal application of the law.

Can you furnish any of the information requested in the attached letter to Tuskegee. Your help in pinpointing this sort of information for North Carolina is appreciated.

We are studying the reports of State Superintendent of Public Instruction and these contain a great deal of valuable information, but we want to be sure that we have exhausted all resources and also to have the privilege of checking our computations against those that may have been made by any other person doing research in this same area.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith, Chairman

McNS/rg
Enclosure

file

June 29, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith, Chairman
North Carolina Advisory Committee
Commission on Civil Rights
700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

Happily, we are able to send you several books which may provide helpful data for the North Carolina Advisory Committee's study of equal protection of the laws in regard to education. The books, which are being mailed under separate cover, are:

(1) Southern Schools: Progress and Problems, compiled by the Southern Education Reporting Service.
(2) Public Education in the South, Swanson and Griffin.
(3) Rankings of the States, National Education Association.

The first includes several tables which will be of interest in that they do include racial breakdowns: Table 2, for example, on page 79, "White and Negro Enrollment"; Table 26, page 164, "Current Expenditures by Race." The Swanson-Griffin study includes some earlier data. Rankings by States has no ra racial breakdowns, but does include overall figures, some of which date as late as 1958-59.

Unfortunately, we do not have figures for your state, with a racial breakdown, more recent than 1956-57.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/sm

Reg Tuck Adv
VATHA
700 E Jefferson St
Charlottesville, Va

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TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

October 18, 1960

Southern Regional Council,
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Re: Health conditions of population by county
and by race in North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

Do you know whether there are any studies which would show the percentage of the population in each county in North Carolina which is in "poor health," broken down by race? I realize that the definition of "poor health" is a difficult one, but it is possible that some such definition has been made by the census bureau or others in the past. If so, and if such figures are available, it would be possible to prepare a map of the state and show on it the ratio of healthy persons of each race to the total number of persons of that race in each county in North Carolina, and this might show us where the concentration of ill persons is located.

5683

Can you make an investigation to find out whether this sort of thing has ever been done, or whether the materials are at hand from which it could be done?

Your help will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

TN 6 3 4 1 1
5078

McNS:mmc

October 27, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

I do not know of any definition of "poor health" which you could adopt for the North Carolina study; nor do we know of any existent survey of the health conditions of the state's Negro and white people. I called the Public Health Service office here, and it apparently has nothing; however, North Carolina is not in this region, and it might be worthwhile to write to your regional office; the address is Regional Medical Director, U. S. Public Health Service, 700 E. Jefferson Street, Charlottesville, Va.

I am enclosing an old thing done for us, and am listing at the end of this letter several other publications of which we have single copies. The items at the head of the list treat specifically of North Carolina. If anything here interests you and you would like to borrow, please write. The report by Mayo on Negro hospital and medical care seems particularly good; is it possible that any of your state agencies have done something similar more recently? Rupert Vance, at page 342 of his All These People, has some maps which show tuberculosis deaths for the South by county, but the maps are too small for clear reading. He would be, incidentally, the person who would know, if anyone did, what research there is you could make use of.

Two other people who are generally regarded as authorities in the field of Negro health are Professor Dietrich C. Reitzes, Department of Sociology, Indiana University; and Dr. Montague Cobb, College of Medicine, Howard University.

In general, the 30's and 40's were more interested than people have been lately in studying and describing Southern health and welfare; the civil rights controversies have so overshadowed everything that recent literature on health problems is thinner than that of the earlier years.

Finally, for whatever suggestiveness it may have, I am enclosing a proposal we worked up a few months ago at a time when we were considering doing something in this area. We never did anything with it; as you can see, it required outside financing and we have not yet even submitted it. A good bit of thought did go into it and we may still move. But if any of its ideas interest you, feel free to lift them.

The annual report of your Committee is excellent. It sets a standard, I hope, for other Advisory Committees in the South to equal.

Incidentally, Dan Pollitt of the Law School at Chapel Hill is working on a project for us. I expect he will want to confer with you about it, and hope that you will be able to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dumbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
Wanted: A Healty South + Proposal
Publications list:
Selz C. Mayo, Preventable Deaths in North Carolina, Sept., 1945, No. RS-6, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, State College Station, Raleigh, N. C.
Selz C. Mayo, Negro Hospital and Medical Care Facilities in North Carolina, April, 1945, No. RS-5, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, State College Station, Raleigh, N. C.
Post War Planning for North Carolina Agriculture; Rural Health Services and Facilities in North Carolina, No. 12, October, 1945, State College of Agriculture and Engineering, University of North Carolina

Hospital and Medical Care for all Our People, 1944-45 (Revised February, 1947), North Carolina Hospital and Medical Care Commission

Lytt Irvine Gardner, A Brief History of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission, (Reprinted from Pediatrics, Vol. 13, No. 1, January, 1954); and (combined in same pamphlet)

Frank Porter Graham, A Challenge to the Medical Schools and the Medical Profession

Alfred Maund, The Untouchables, 1952, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La.

Michael M. Davis, Ph.D., and Hugh H. Smythe, Ph.D, Providing Adequate Health Service to Negroes, reprinted from 1949 Yearbook Issue of the Journal of Negro Education for The Committee on Research in Medical Economics, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y., May, 1949.

Louis I. Dublin, Ph.D., The Health of the Negro, based on article Journal of Negro Education, July 1937, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., N. Y.

W. Montague Cobb, M.D., Ph.D., Medical Care and the Plight of the Negro, August, 1947, NAACP

Care for the Feebleminded in the Southern Region, July, 1947, Southern Regional Council

Marcus S. Goldstein, Ph.D., Longevity and Health Status of Whites and Nonwhites in the United States, March, 1954, reprinted from Journal of National Medical Association, Vol. 46, No. 2

The South's Health: A Picture with Promise, July 7-8, 1947, Reprint from Hearings on Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt before Special Subcommittee on Cotton of The Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, First Session

Mortality Among Southern Negroes Since 1920, Public Health Bulletin No. 235, U. S. Treasury Department, Public Health Service, Washington, D.C., June, 1937

JULIUS C. SMITH
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McNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
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SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

October 17, 1960

HF ✓
MM ✓
PR ✓
LD - for reply

Southern Regional Council,
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is an additional copy of the report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on equal protection of the law in North Carolina in respect to education. Thank you for the materials which you supplied at our request earlier in the year.

Also enclosed is a memorandum in regard to the study of equal protection of the law in the field of medical care. No other similar study, to our knowledge, has been done in any other state and this will make the North Carolina study a pilot study. It would be appreciated if the appropriate persons on your faculty would review the enclosed memorandum and give us some detailed comments as to (1) how the project might be better defined, (2) a bibliography of any studies which have been made in this field to date, whether statewide or regionwide, or in relation to specific diseases or by the way of special studies of counties or cities as to the over-all health problems and needs in such areas, (3) your suggestions as to the source of statistics which would be revealing if studied in this light, and (4) any other suggestions which would help make certain that this study would produce new information that is not merely relevant but incontrovertible. If we can do this, the process and the results will be helpful to all concerned, not merely with the rights but with the responsibilities of all our citizens.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
Enclosures/3

November 8, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith, Chairman
North Carolina Advisory Committee
to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are very glad to let you have our file copy, on loan, of Marcus S. Goldstein, Longevity and Health Status of Whites and Nonwhites in the United States, March 1954, reprinted from Journal of National Medical Association, Vol. 46, No. 2.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
reprint (above)

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

November 2, 1960 ADDRESS REPLY TO: McNeill Smith

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Director of Research,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your interesting letter of October 27, 1960.

Since we are unable to locate a copy of the following publication in Greensboro, we will appreciate it if you will "lend" us your copy which will be returned to you without delay:

Marcus S. Goldstein, Ph.D., Longevity and Health Status of Whites and Nonwhites in the United States, March 1954, reprinted from Journal of National Medical Association, Vol.46, No.2.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

MMC-

McNEILL SMITH, *Chairman*
700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

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N. C. Mutual Life Ins. Co.
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GREENSBORO, N. C.

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

December 9, 1960

351
352

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Leslie:

Thank you again for the privilege of attending the meeting yesterday in Washington. Enclosed is my expense statement.

The following persons would be interested in receiving your special reports. If they are not already on your mailing list for these, you might consider adding them:

Mr. William Snider, Greensboro Daily News, Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. J. O. Tally, Attorney at Law, Fayetteville, N C.

Mr. James B. McMillan, Attorney at Law, Wachovia Bank Building, Charlotte, N. C.

Judge J. Braxton Craven, Morganton, N. C.

Mr. McKibben Lane, Jr., Old Battleground Rd., Greensboro, N. C.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
Enclosure/1

Train - Greensboro - Washington 38.72
Cab & Porter 1.50
Breakfast 1.25
$41.47

MA

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
McNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
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GREENSBORO, N. C.

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

January 6, 1961

Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me 10 copies of Report L-21, dated November 30, 1960, being a talk entitled "PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT" by H. McKinley Conway, Jr.

Thanks and best regards.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS/jo

sent 1-9-61
MA

January 9, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are pleased to send you the requested 10 copies of our Report L-21.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Same letter to: Whitney Young
Oliver Hill
John Silard
Adam Yarmolinsky
Harris Wofford
Robert Harris
Sanders
Foster
Freeman

(also to John Wheeler, letter in addition to Board letter)

January 12, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear McNeill:

The enclosed document is the outcome of our labors on the subject of executive powers and civil rights.

Whatever merits the report has are in large part attributable to the persons, like yourself, who reviewed Dan Pollitt's paper. Most especially, we are grateful to you and the others who came to Washington and took part in our conference. Ben, Leslie, and I learned from that, and I hope you will believe we did after reading the paper. I think each one who was there will find a trace of something he said somewhere in the pages of the final product. Most warmly and most sincerely, we thank you.

The report is being submitted to Mr. Kennedy and certain of his assistants. Later, we plan a public release. But that will be held off until the new Administration has had an opportunity to examine the findings and proposals. Consequently, we ask that there be <u>no reproduction or quotation of the report until it has been publicly released</u>.

Needless to say, we shall welcome any and all comments you may have regarding the report as it was finally done.

Once again, many thanks and warm regards.

Sincerely,

HCF:a
Enclosure

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

January 17, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear McNeil:

I am enclosing a copy of Rankings of the States, 1960. You will notice that Table 5 gives data on selective service rejections for mental deficiencies, and that the source is a publication from the office of the Surgeon-General called Health of the Army, February 1959. The same data for 1957 was in the January 1958 issue. I discovered that the library of the regional Communicable Disease Center here in Atlanta has this publication back to 1953, but the figures are given only by states --not by county or race; at least this is what the librarian told me over the telephone. It occurs to me that you might, however, write to the Surgeon-General to see if the more detailed information is available in his office.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: Rankings of the States, 1960

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
McNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
ALICE WATKINS COREY
JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

January 11, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Leslie:

Do you know whether this sort of information can be obtained by state, by county, and by race? Ginzberg's book is the only place that I have seen it and it is data more than fifteen years old.

Best regards.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:
Enclosure

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
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RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS

January 11, 1961

Dr. Eli Ginzberg,
Conservation of Human Resources,
Columbia University,
Morningside Heights,
New York, New York.

Dear Sir:

Your helpful correspondence last September in connection with the work of the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee is recalled with appreciation. I followed your suggestion of talking with the personnel managers of the principal companies, particularly those with plants in many parts of the country, as to their difficulties, if any, in recruiting skilled and trained personnel to work in the South, especially in North Carolina. If you are interested in their comments and replies, I can send them to you in due course.

The purpose of this letter is, however, to ask your permission to reproduce the figures and the map showing the record of rejection on the grounds of education and mental inadequacy by county and by race in connection with Selective Service during the period of 1940-44.

This data is contained in your publication "The Uneducated", Columbia University Press, New York, 1953, particularly at Pages 46-47, 49 and 50-53.

There is one map in particular which shows the state of North Carolina, with the counties shaded in different forms to illustrate the figures.

Our Committee has published two reports on Equal Protection of the Law in Respect to Education and copies of these are enclosed as of possible interest to you. Further reports are expected to be made showing illiteracy by counties, both for the 1950 census and the 1960 census. It is hoped that the information such as shown in your map for the 1940-44 period can be brought up to date by more recent figures of

COPY

a similar sort. We have the state-by-state figures for 1958 and 1959 and I am hopeful that we can get the same for 1960.

This type of visual demonstration of where the poor schooling is located in the state can do a lot to help remedy the situation. We have just inaugurated a new Governor on a grand improvement-of-education platform. The state press has expressed a great appreciation for the work of our Committees producing the Accredited Schools Report, copy attached herewith, as information which we as citizens of the state need to know in order to take appropriate action to improve all of our schools.

Your co-operation in permitting the use of these figures and the maps will be greatly appreciated. Also, if a map of North Carolina from which the plate for the book was made is still available, we might be able to make a new engraving which would be somewhat larger and clearer for the state as a whole than to reproduce the map as it appears in the book itself.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc
Enclosures/

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DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

January 19, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

"The Federal Executive and Civil Rights" is stunning. I hope that Jack will read it. Beyond that, I hope that every one else will somehow be permitted to catch its spirit.

Attached are some notes that I made in my first reading. They are for the most part trivial in nature, but you might like to have them in the file in the event any revisions are made befor public release.

With very best wishes to all,

Yours aye,

Mac

McNS:mmc

Notes on first reading of "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights"

Page v. Point No. 18 seems weakest and probably the most difficult. There is great danger of hypocrisy here. True, but then?

Page 2. The first sentence in the last paragraph on this page "threw me" for a while. Perhaps it could be clarified. It could be.

Page 5. Third line: Are these complaints and these investigations to be outside those received and investigated by the Commission on Civil Rights? Perhaps it is intended that these complaints and these investigations be only those arising out of federal programs. Yes.

Page 11. Should our government be depicted as a friend of only "Negro advance"? Or should it be the friend of the advance of all people and especially those struggling to achieve personal dignity and satisfaction of basic needs. Isn't our government also the friend, in this sense, of Indians and other non-Negroid Asians? We mean at home, don't we?

Page 17. How can you say that all questioning of the Supreme Court's decision in the school or any other matter is an assault on the Constitution? I agree that violent ~~ex~~istence or outright defiance is such an assault, but we must always preserve the right to criticize and through lawful means seek to overrule erroneous decisions, e.g., Dred Scott and Plessy. We don't. Just resistance.

Page 19 I was advised recently that no appropriations were made to carry out Sections 331 and 332 of 20 U.S.C. As with many of the suggestions in this paper, the President must be sure of his votes in Congress before taking action in which no appropriations would be made, ~~for~~. True.

Page 20. Common readers like myself may not quickly know what is meant by P.L 815 and P.L. 874. This same difficulty appears on Page 44 where reference is made to "221 developers". I know that Section 221 of some act is intended, but at first I thought this was a select group of builders, something like a "221 Club." Tried to avoid this as much as possible in a document for the congressional

Page 22. The President must be certain that Congress will not cut off the funds or include in the supporting legislation Hill-Burton features. Of course.

Page 24. Line five: Sounds like a cliche to me. I never know what constitutes the "free world" nor whether it is ~~a way of its~~ suffering to the extent it should be. If what you mean is the Allies lose support among some people in Africa and Asia who might be otherwise uncommitted, that is no doubt true; is there any evidence that Norwegians, Englishmen, Belgians, French and Italians are embarrassed and suffering (that is, consciously so) by a school bombing in the southern part of the United States? Some of them may be delighted at this evidence that we are Pharisees, the suffering is more indirect.

Call it "the West." We all suffer.

Page 28. The literature described at the top of the page should in very simple language explain the local procedure for registration and for appealing from denials of registration. Generalized, all-purpose slogans about registering and voting would be helpful, but the simple explanation of the North Carolina rules, would get a lot more registrations. That's what we're suggesting.

Page 29. The enrollments at Annapolis, West Point and the Air Force Academy are interesting. What percentages are these? Who appointed them? Did the President appoint any, and if so, how many? I am just curious to see whether the past President has been above or below the "national average" in appointments. ?

Page 34. How would the certification or refusal to certify take place without litigation? There must always be some way that capricious executive action could be tested. I do not think you want to be in the position of permitting the President without standards to exercise an arbitrary discretion of such vast consequences. Incidentally, a friend of mine at Western Electric Company says that the employment policy of the company is stated to be that five per cent of the employees must be Negroes. This sounds like a figure pulled out of the air. Like all Fed. regulations, isn't it?

Page 35. After the "positive program of developing Negro talents and skills" critics would next propose a positive program of developing the skills of Indians, Puerto Ricans, and perhaps Irish Catholics. ?

Page 35. In the last line, what about firms leasing government reservations or other resources like utilities? ?

Page 40. The phrase "private builders" must mean builders of a large number of houses, and not individuals who build private homes. I realize this is in a quotation and it may not be possible to clarify it. Yes.

Page 41. Are you saying at the top of the page that the whole movement to aseptic suburbs is producing sheltered lives and a consequent disintegration of city-life (that is, civilization)? Of course, the TV is a countervailing force; possibly also the public schools. No longer does mass public transportation throw people of all classes together. What about sporting events and super markets? ?

Page 41. Line 14: That the national housing policy is to "encourage integration" will be taken by many as an unwarranted invasion of the home by the Federal Government. It can only be understood and made palatable if the people are first told clearly how much the Federal Government is already involved and what it has already done to establish dwelling standards. This federal involvement, of course, is the very thing that many rugged and ragged individuals foresaw. Now they can say it has all come true; how sad, and you better watch out about any other federal programs involving merely financial guarantees. They, too, will give the Federal Government a strangle-hold on your mind, body and soul.

You just have to bear with this, or else forget about the Constitution.

Federal Executive and Civil Rights

January 25, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear McNeill:

Harold has shown me your letter of January 19, which we have both read with great interest. Your commendation is gratefully acknowledged; there are few people whose approval we would value as highly. The questions which you raise are all worthwhile, and we thought it worth our effort to frame some response to them. On the stylistic matters you are probably undoubtedly right, and so I have made no defense of them.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A
Enclosure: re FE&CR

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Page v. See note on your comment re page 41, line 14.

Page 5, line 3. Complaints and investigations are related only to federal programs.

Page 11. We mean the advance of Negro Americans.

Page 17.=I don't think we have said that questioning of the Supreme Court is improper; certainly we didn't intend to say or imply it. Criticism--even denunciation--is all right, as long as it is not joined with defiance or evasion. I think these latter terms may be harder to define and distinguish in logic than action. I believe most of us recognize pretty easily when there is official defiance and evasion. Criticism of the Supreme Court was, for example, widespread in North Carolina, both within and without official circles. Yet North Carolina gave at least the legally necessary minimum of obedience. It isn't the criticism and questioning of a Gov. Davis or Gov. Faubus we are protesting; it is the accompaniment of that criticism with action intended to nullify the Court's order.

Page 19. Of course without appropriations a statute such as 20 U.S.C. 331,332 is dead. Our memorandum is confined to existing powers of the executive. In this case and others we had to face the question of authorization-without-appropriation. It seemed to us that the presence of a statute on the books was sufficient to give us grounds for pointing it out.

Page 22. Yes.

Page 24. Maybe it is a cliche, though I regard the term "free world" as a commonplace label which, as a matter of fact, has more meaning than most labels. And I think it is true that Norwegians, whether or not they are embarassed, are hurt in their status and their security by bombings, etc. in our South, just as they were hurt and we were also--even though neither knew it--, every time over the last century a white overseer flogged a native laborer in Africa.

Page 28. Perhaps with too much brevity, we tried to say this. The idea, incidentally, we owe to you.

Page 29. The 1960-61 Education Directory (U. S. Office of Education) gives the enrollment of Annapolis, West Point, and Colorado Springs as 3,730, 2,534, and 1,524 respectively. I don't know who appointed the Negroes and Pollitt's source doesn't say. In checking back to it, however, (which I perhaps should have done earlier) I find that it lists 19 presently enrolled students, not 18 as we had copies from Dan: they are distributed 8, 8, and 3.

Page 34. We thought the government could handle non-discriminatory employment as it does other regulatory functions. And as with any regulatory power there would be room for abusive use. We have suggested one standard; viz. BLS and BES statistics as yardsticks. As to litigation, no company has a right to a contract; what basis for suit would there be from that quarter? And I would doubt that anyone or any group would have a substantial enough interest to sue for an injunction against the award of a contract.

Page 35. Well, why not?

Page 35. I suppose these could be included, though we did not look into the problems here.

Page 40. Yes.

Page 41. We are referring to the present trends which are increasing out of all healthy proportion the number of very rich and very poor who live in the cities, while inducing middle income whites to the suburbs. This is risky from the standpoint of political representation, cultural life the economy of the city.

Page 41, line 14. All that you say is true. The warning you raise is part, however, of the problem which arises from continuing to debate the wrong issues (or, at least, this is how it seems to me). We need to stop apologizing for federal policies. In a field such as housing (or educational finance) the question is not whether federal aid can be given without federal influence and even a measure of control. The question is whether federal aid, which inevitably means federal influence as well, is required. In regard to housing, the country long ago answered that federal aid was needed. With it, from the beginning, has come federal influence. For a long time it was influence, overt and strongly effective, in behalf of segregation; and none of the states righters complained, even though federal underwriting policies were re-shaping local residential patterns everywhere. When the federal government spends its money it can't avoid the spending of it to support some and to weaken other social purposes. The question is whether the aid is so needed that local practices should be made susceptible to national influence. If the answer is affirmative, then the only remaining question is what social purposes will guide federal policies. If, for example, in housing the government tries simply to be neutral as between segregation and integration, how are its clerks going to appraise location; how measure the potential market when considering an application for a large commitment; how determine the quantity of public housing needed in a city; etc.? You can't dispose of

questions like these without either openly or tacitly recognizing that Negroes and whites are or are not permitted to live by each other. The whole ppoint of our recommendation is that the government should acknowledge that its housing dollars do have social effects, and should choose those effects which are most consistent with good race relations, and, I think, with the implications of constitutional law.

February 3, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear McNeill:

A short note to tell you that I have happily learned that I was wrong when, in my recent letter to you, I corrected Dan Pollit on the number of cadets presently enrolled. The latest data show 8 at West Point, 7 at Annapolis, 3 at the Air Force Academy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 6, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear McNeill:

I have come across recently three articles which might be of interest to you in connection with your health study. The author of all three, Clifton O. Dummett; the titles are sources are:

"Dentistry Contributes to Regional Health Planning by Sponsoring its First Public Health Institute in the South" - reprinted from Journal of the National Medical Association, May, 1954, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 168-171.

"A Chronology of Significant Events in the Progress of the Negro in American Dentistry", reprinted from The Bulletin of the National Dental Association, Tuskegee Institute, Ala. Vol. 16, No. 2, Pages 32-59, January 1958.

"Dental Health Problems of the Negro Population" Special Studies, Number 14, Reprinted from the September 1960 issue of the Journal of the American Dental Association, Chicago, Illinois.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ADDRESS REPLY TO: Box 868
Greensboro, North Carolina

February 9, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for the references in your letter of February 6. I believe that the Thermofax copies of these three articles on dentistry could be put to good use. Thank you for your help.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS/jo

sent 2-13-61

McNEILL SMITH, *Chairman*
700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

A. T. SPAULDING, *Vice-Chairman*
N. C. Mutual Life Ins. Co.
Durham, N. C.

MARGARET R. VOGT, *Secretary*
1127 Delane Avenue
Wilson, N. C.

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200 Law Building
Charlotte, N. C.

HECTOR MacLEAN
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CONRAD O. PEARSON
P. O. Box 1428
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Winston-Salem, N. C.

MARION A. WRIGHT
Linville Falls, N. C.

MILLARD BARBEE
2603 Ashe Street
Durham, N. C.

File
JM

April 13, 1961

Dr. M. B. Bethel
School of Public Health
University of North Carolina
Drawer 229
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Bethel:

The proposed study of medical care in the South was unfortunately one of those things which never came out into the light of day. I am sorry about this, for a good bit of thought went into the preparation of the proposal. I hope that we shall be able to return to it someday. Because of this, I hope we shall be able to stay closely informed regarding your work.

I assume that among the "myriad pieces of material" which you are working through may be my letter of October 27 to McNeil Smith in which I made some bibliographical suggestions.

Enclosed with this letter are a few news clippings which you may like to have with your files.

Please let me know whenever we can be of service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Enclosures
LWD/jf

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ADDRESS REPLY TO: Dr. M. B. Bethel
School of Public Health
UNC, Drawer 229
Chapel Hill, N. C.

April 8, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Embracing the "Equal Protection of the Laws" concept, the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights is looking this year at the field of medical care.

'Mongst the myriad pieces of material I am charged with winnowing is a very excellent outline of a high caliber study proposed, apparently in 1960, along these same lines, but in more detail, by the Southern Regional Council.

I wonder if it ever came to fruition, and if you have any material, even preliminary, that you might release to me to guide us in the Tarheel pilot study?

Very sincerely,

M. B. Bethel

M. B. Bethel, M.D., M.P.H.
Director
Medical Care Study

MB:lk

McNEILL SMITH, *Chairman*
700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

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Linville Falls, N. C.

MILLARD BARBEE
2603 Ashe Street
Durham, N. C.

File
JM

May 16, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700
Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mac:

First of all, we are very pleased that the Commission on Civil Rights is reprinting the North Carolina reports. You have every reason to be proud of the work of your committee. This more prestigious form is altogether deserved and will also insure that your reports get wider attention.

I really have no suggestions to offer. The outline of your reports, plus the other plans indicated in your letter of May 2, seem to me to cover the ground excellently. The only possible suggestion that I would make is that in the introduction you might attempt a short characterization of the status of civil rights in North Carolina. This would be a general view or appraisal and might offer a helpful perspective particularly if related to other Southern states. I could well understand, however, if you would not want to attempt this.

"Equal Protection of the Law in Education in North Carolina, P. III, The Uneducated," is a first rate piece of work which I have read carefully and with much profit.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

May 4, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I may have sent you the enclosed outline, but in case I failed to do so I am sending it now. The Commission on Civil Rights has indicated that it will reprint in one volume the North Carolina report on "Equal Protection of the Law in North Carolina, 1959-1961." This is an enviable opportunity to put in one cover the information which our committee has been collecting so that it can be widely distributed in offices throughout the state and can be retained in libraries as source material.

Would you look over this outline, jot down in pencil or by whatever means of communication is most convenient to you, including a collect telephone call, your suggestions as to improving the outline or including specific things which you, from your splendid background in this field, might think we are likely to miss.

For example, I think there should be a brief introduction as to the constitution of the committee, its membership and method of operation.

There should also be a brief historical reference to the North Carolina constitutional documents which speak out against special privilege and in favor of equal rights for all. Historically, these did not have race or even religious connotation, but the words are appropriate and we should give them new meaning for our day.

McNEILL SMITH, *Chairman*
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2603 Ashe Street
Durham, N. C.

Finally, there should be some interstitial passages so as to connect the otherwise separate and disjointed reports.

Give me your ideas.

Very truly yours,

Mac

McNeill Smith

McNS:pc

Enclosure

April 15, 1961

REPORTS OF N. C. ADVISORY COMMITTEE

A. VOTING

Part I Voting Participation in North Carolina, 1888-1958, dated October 4, 1959

Part II Summary of Registration and Voting Potential in North Carolina, by County and by Race, dated April 25, 1960

Part III Voting Participation in North Carolina, 1960 (due May 1, 1961)

B. EDUCATION

Part I Equal Protection of the Law in Education in North Carolina--The Public Schools, dated October 1, 1960

Part II Enrollment in Accredited Schools, By Race, in North Carolina and in Eleven Southern States, dated December 28, 1960

Part III The Uneducated in North Carolina, dated April 9, 1961

Part IV Industrial and Vocational Training in North Carolina-Equality of Access (due in June, 1961)

Part V Participation in Higher Education in North Carolina (due in August, 1961)

C. EMPLOYMENT

Part I Equal Protection of the Law in Employment-the North Carolina National Guard, dated September, 1959

Part II Equal Protection in Employment - The North Carolina Employment Security Commission, dated December 28, 1960

Part III Equal Protection in Employment by State Agencies in North Carolina (due May, 1961)
(a) Agencies under the Merit System Council
(b) Other State Agencies

Part IV Equal Protection in Employment by Government Contractors in North Carolina (due May, 1961)

Part V Summary of Complaints Received in 1959-1961 Relating to Discrimination in Government Connected Employment in North Carolina (due June, 1961)

D. HOUSING

Part I Housing in North Carolina, by Race and by County, What the Census and Other Recent Surveys Reveal As to Quantity and Quality

Part II Equal Protection of the Law in North Carolina in
(a) Public Housing
(b) Urban Renewal
(c) Government Guaranteed Home Financing
(all due May, 1961)

E. PARTICIPATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN NORTH CAROLINA

(due May, 1961)

F. MEDICAL CARE

Part I Bibliography, dated February, 1961

Part II et seq. to follow (This is a detailed project under the direction of Dr. M. B. Bethel and a Special Committee of Doctors, Nurses, Hospital Administrators and Public Health Officials - due to be released, perhaps in sections, as completed, May to August, 1961

G. MISCELLANEOUS COMPLAINTS RECEIVED AND DATA COLLECTED RE: EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW IN NORTH CAROLINA IN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, PUBLIC LIBRARIES, PUBLIC PARKS

H. SEE ALSO:

The National Conference and the Reports of the State Advisory Committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959 (paperback volume published by the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1960) pp. 34 and 287-300.

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

September 15, 1961 ADDRESS REPLY TO:

I'll pls reply (you may want to quote 1 or 2 Mr Cohen's comments)

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Could you have someone who is familiar with the medical care situation to review the enclosed draft? This was prepared by Dr. Bethel and he has done a tremendous amount of work. We have received criticisms and suggestions from members of the subcommittee and a third draft will be prepared. It should have the benefit of your suggestions.

Thanks for your help.

Very truly yours,

McNS

McNeill Smith

McNS:pc

Encl:

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October 4, 1961

Mr. McNeill Smith
North Carolina Advisory Committee
to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

Two members of our staff have read the manuscript entitled "Equal Protection of the Laws Concerning Medical Care in North Carolina."

Dr. Coles comments that the manuscript "describes very well and clearly and with some fortunate felicity of language the obvious problems." He goes on to say that he was particularly interested in the legality of segregation amongst those who were troubled in mind. (Dr. Robert Coles is a Psychiatrist.) He observes the need for legislation similar to the Sherman anti-Trust Law to deal with problems raised in your report. He comments that the report is a good summary and good to read.

I think this is a clear, readable, and solid report. I find one set of figures particularly illuminating.

Page 19.	White population per white doctor	725
	Negro population per Negro doctor	7,915
Page 21.	White population per white dentist	2,637
	Negro population per Negro dentist	13,129
Page 22.	White population per white nurse	292
	Negro population per Negro nurse	1,758

Since, of these three groups, only the nurses are accepted as full members in the state associations, it is interesting to observe that while the accessibility of the Negro population to nursing care still suffers when compared with the service available to whites, the gap between the two groups is substantially smaller than that noted for both dentists and medical doctors. At least one inference that can be drawn is that the absence of segregation seems associated with improved facilities for nursing care.

Also, the much larger gap between Negro and white dentists and medical doctors than that between Negro and white nurses, would suggest that a change in policy of doctors and dentists might considerably increase the number of Negroes entering into these fields.

We hope that these comments will be helpful to you as you prepare your final draft for publication, and we express our best wishes for your continued good work.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:A

Memo from JAMES A. MOSS

This is a clear, readable and solid report. I find one set of figures particularly illuminating:

Page 19:

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Negro population per Negro doctor...7,915

Page ~~20~~ 21:

White population per White dentist...2,637
Negro ~~dentist~~ population
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JM

Comment: I read this. I mean I read the readable, not the appendix. I think that it describes very well and clearly and with some fortunate felicity of language the obvious problems. There is no reason for medicine, despite its sometime pomp and claim to some inordinate measure of circumstance, to have escaped the various blights of human behavior. I was particularly interested in the legality of segregation amongst those who are troubled in mind. What do they fear these people will tell one another? More practically, I suppose the state cares most directly for the mentally ill, and therefore this would be the largest group, and I think the most sensitive group to the mind of the segregationist, also. One's insanity, above all, must be kept separate. Or else...

The findings are obvious to any student of even a northern medical school, where obvious prejudice exists, despite laws to the explicit contrary. In my class at Columbia medical school in the rather cosmopolite city of New York there was one Negro. Incredible, really, when you think about it. Sick bodies and minds scarcely enable a vigorous culture to develop. But let's not overwork any one tack. Medicine simply needs some pressure on it, from many directions. I'm all in favor of as much as possible. In fact, I think that we need something like the Sherman anti-Trust Law to deal with a few things alluded to in this report, and general all over the country, apart from the race problem, like the AMA, and ways of controlling hospital appointments via county medical societies, etc. I think that the report is a good summary, and good to read.

Bob Coles

May 5, 1960

Mr. Frank W. Sheppard
Agent in Rural Development
Cooperative Extension Work in
Agriculture & Home Economics
College Station, Texas

Dear Mr. Sheppard:

We are pleased to send you, under separate cover, the requested thirty copies of The South and the Nation for the Texas Rural Development Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 18, 1960

Mr. William W. Cowan
Current
177 East 71 Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Cowan:

We shipped to you yesterday 150 copies of The South and the Nation, by Governor Collins, as you requested in your letter of May 10. We are pleased to work with you in promoting this pamphlet.

We would appreciate receiving from you the list of respondants expressing an interest in the pamphlet.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dinbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. We have not yet received our copy of the first issue of Current.

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SERVICE

CONDUCTED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION
1313 East 60 Street, Chicago 37, Illinois

THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND MINORITY GROUPS*

What are the major areas of concern to municipal government in the provision of equal opportunity for all citizens? What examples of good practice are available in employment, education, housing, and other areas?

The principal purpose of this report is to show the work being done by selected city governments in working toward the goal of equal opportunity for all citizens. The principal obstacle in the way of achieving this goal is race relations. Much publicity has been given in the past decade to racial problems both in the North and the South. But the steady progress being made by hundreds of communities in all parts of the country toward the achievement of equal opportunity is a less well-known story. This report shows the scope of progressive practices together with suggestions and guidelines for city government officials.

Growth of Equal Opportunity

Four developments in the past decade have heightened the expectations of Negroes and other minority groups in securing full civil rights.

Court Decisions

The school desegregation decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1954-55 culminated the legal trend of 50 years of litigation by declaring that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Although the decision applied initially only to public education, it has since been extended to most facets of civil rights in succeeding court cases. Subsequent decisions in both state and federal courts have broadened civil rights in housing, public accommodations, and other areas. This growing body of court decisions has been supplemented by acts of Congress, Presidential orders, federal administrative rulings, state statutes, and county and municipal ordinances. In earlier years this body of law applied only to direct state actions (and, by extension, to actions of local jurisdictions), but recent rulings have enjoined private discrimination whenever "to some significant extent the state in any of its manifestations has been found to have become involved" in private acts of discrimination.[1]

Population Mobility

Approximately 1.5 million Negroes left the South between 1950 and 1960. "Although the largest cities have generally registered the largest numerical gains, the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000 to 500,000 range. Syracuse, Rochester, New Haven, San Diego and Fort Wayne all saw Negro populations . . . double in the past decade."[2]

During the 1950-60 decade, for example, the Negro population doubled in the state of Connecticut and tripled in the city of Milwaukee. The 1960 Census of Population shows that one out of every

Programs and policies discussed in this report are not policy positions of the International City Managers' Association. The purpose is to set forth problems, even in some controversial areas, and to indicate possible solutions.

[1] *Burton* v. *Wilmington Parking Authority*, 365 U.S. 715, 722.

[2] Eunice and George Grier, *The Impact of Race on Neighborhood in the Metropolitan Setting*, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961.

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eight inhabitants is Negro in Los Angeles, Buffalo, and New Haven, and one out of every four is Negro in Philadelphia and Detroit.

Population Exodus

The 1950-60 decade also saw a tremendous out-migration of white population from central cities to suburbs. Thus the population change in central cities has been the replacement of middle-class whites with Negroes from lower educational and economic strata. The central cities are accumulating substandard areas with high population densities that require disproportionate services at mounting costs.

New Minority Image

Finally, against this pattern of economic and social change, should be set a new minority image, especially of the Negro, that has emerged to challenge the denial of equal opportunity. Bolstered by legislation, court decisions, and recent changes in public policy, Negroes increasingly have taken to direct, "nonviolent" action to secure civil rights immediately and in full. The prevailing majority, accustomed to the concept of "gradualism," has sometimes reacted with a sense of shocked resistance to what it had been prepared to grant over a period of time. Frequently, it is not so much a question of rights as a community problem of timing — but for minority groups time has run out and unfulfilled promises are being presented for payment now. Herein lies one of the main causes of community tensions.

Role of the City Government

For many cities the question is not whether there will be social change but rather the kind and extent of change that will occur. Will the time of transition be a period of stress, conflict, and recrimination? Or will it be handled expeditiously within the context of constitutional law? The city government has a great deal to do with influencing this choice.

Clearly defined city government policy declarations and ordinances are an essential prerequisite for social change. They provide not only the climate for such change but also the legal tools for accomplishing the job. Such directives should make clear that the city government is committed to working toward the goal of equal opportunities for all. In the unequivocal implementation of official regulations, the city manager, the mayor, or other chief administrator bears prime leadership responsibilities. He is the catalyst in the complex interactions in any given city that finally result in achievement.

The assumption of responsible leadership by the municipal administrator is the key to the solution of this modern "American dilemma." A realistic appraisal of community problems, planning for provision of equal opportunity in all aspects of daily living for every citizen, and the large-scale educational job that is required for public acceptance of such planning, all must be undertaken by city leadership *before* conditions reach the threshhold of violence. Wise city heads will institute a program of prevention that will insure the continued growth and prosperity of the community instead of the economically ruinous conflict that some cities have suffered before bowing to the inevitability of desegregation and integration.

Guidelines to Progress

The following are suggested objectives toward which the city council and the chief administrator can work to effect meaningful social change:

I. Municipal Policy. Through resolutions and ordinances, establishing an enforceable policy of nondiscrimination in:

1. Public and private employment.
2. Public and private housing.
3. Public education.
4. Public accommodations and facilities.

II. Enforcement. Coordinating, conciliating, and enforcing official policies through:

1. A fair practices commission which receives and investigates complaints, holds hearings, and enforces policies of nondiscrimination.

2. Regulations binding city departments to nondiscrimination.

3. A civil rights coordinator in the executive branch. As responsibility is increasingly accepted within governmental departments, a special coordinator in the executive branch charged with civil rights responsibilities can stimulate and coordinate functions. Such a coordinator can command the authority of the executive branch in the task of keeping heads of departments alert to their obligations and in giving vitality and implementation to civil rights programs within city departments.

III. Implementation. Providing administrative machinery to implement programs in the fields of:

A. Employment.

1. Affirmative nondiscrimination in recruitment by the civil service or merit system, and comprehensive reporting on minority placement.

2. Inspection and compliance programs in contracting departments of the city respecting fair employment on city contracts.

3. Procedures for obtaining fair employment compliance from private employers, and for correcting violations.

B. Housing.

1. Eligibility for public housing solely on the basis of need as determined by the local housing agency or other appropriate governmental authority.

2. Provision of relocation housing for all who are displaced by redevelopment, and administrative controls to insure nondiscrimination in urban renewal programs, especially involving slum clearance.

3. Elimination of discrimination in the sale or rental of private housing.

C. Education (in cooperation with the local board of education).

1. A clear policy declaration and an implementing program to overcome *de facto* segregation in public schools.

2. A specific program to overcome the cultural lag in learning receptivity among minority group children.

3. Inclusion of human relations subject matter in the curriculum.

D. Public Accommodations.

1. Regulations requiring nondiscrimination in public services and accommodations, including those both under private and governmental ownership.

2. Enforcement by the police department and other appropriate city government agencies of regulations barring discrimination in hotels, restaurants, theaters, hospitals, and other places of public accommodation.

3. Licensing controls on public services and accommodations requiring nondiscrimination.

E. Community Tensions.

1. A human relations commission or other such official body which can coordinate community efforts to promote affirmative programs of civil rights.

2. A police training program on community and minority group relations.

3. A human relations training program for recreation workers.

4. In cooperation with the local board of education and institutions of higher learning, a teacher training program on intergroup relations.

Preconditions for Successful Change

The organization job to achieve these objectives will depend principally on the type of community involved, the size and nature of the minority population, historic and existing regional and community intergroup relationships, the structure of city government, political alignments, and a host

of other socio-economic complexities. Each community must assess its own stage of civil rights development and its own requirements for achieving social change. However, there are principles common to all civil rights solutions, by which specific implementation should be guided.

Following are some of the preconditions for successful social change:

1. A clear-cut policy, firmly enunciated and unequivocally applied. An ambiguous policy half-heartedly applied is an open invitation to resistance and trouble.

2. Emphasis on inevitability. The South has demonstrated that people adjust to new racial patterns when they are convinced that change is unavoidable.

3. Reassurance that change will not be overwhelming or catastrophic. Many whites equate integration with inundation. The cooperation of the communications media in reporting needed facts and interpretations can be helpful in effecting change with minimum disruption.

4. Convincing precedents for change, drawn from the experience of other, like areas. Next to first-hand experience such precedents offer the best way to allay unjustified fears, familiarize people with new ideas, and destroy the myth that racial change always means trouble.

5. Communication between majority and minority groups, allaying fear through the destruction of long-held stereotypes. Mutually agreed upon approaches to solutions worked out in concert, including the pressing problem of timing, will find much more ready acceptance on the part of all concerned.

6. Practical self-interest (most especially economic self-interest) enlisted on the side of change. This is critical and should be brought into play at the earliest possible moment to demonstrate that the entire community has a great deal to gain from progress toward equal treatment and opportunity.

7. Moral leadership. The churches have a special responsibility to clarify the moral issues involved in discrimination. But all community leaders can contribute to public acceptance of needed social change as a moral as well as a practical imperative.

Resource Agencies. In the accomplishment of these over-all objectives, city administrators would do well to avail themselves of the services of the many human relations agencies whose representatives reach virtually every community in the country. These specialists are skilled and experienced not only in community tension problems but also in affirmative actions which can help to eliminate discrimination and provide equal opportunity to minority groups. If such resource agencies do not have local representation, the state university can recommend an agency representative.

Program Areas

The nation's progress toward equal opportunity is the sum total of advances made in thousands of communities. This report is an account of such progress by the presentation of examples from individual cities in all parts of the United States. The following section covers "The Organization Job," and the balance of this report comprises six major sections covering the work of human relations commissions, police practices, public education, employment practices, public and private housing, and the provision of public facilities. A resource reading list is included at the end of this report for those municipal administrators who wish to go more deeply into specific problems and measures to overcome them.

The Organization Job

The preceding section outlines the policy framework for the city government in fulfilling its role as an agent in providing equal opportunity for all citizens. Beyond this, however, a start must be made by the chief administrator in clarifying problems and setting forth immediate and long-term objectives. Depending upon his position in the community, the chief administrator should determine the extent to which he can assume leadership and the degree to which he should work through other leaders in the community. Successful programs depend upon effective leadership and a

systematic job of organizing community resources. In doing this it helps to envision six steps that should be taken.

Identify the Problem

The first step is to identify the problem areas and define objectives. A problem may call both for new ordinances to insure equality and for new educational programs to assist the culturally and economically deprived to take advantage of newly opened opportunities. It is important to understand underlying causes that create problems in order to arrive at a community program of prevention as well as cure.

Plan a Tentative Program

The next step is to develop tentative priorities for meeting objectives. This program may include, but is not necessarily limited to, establishment of a human relations commission, development of in-service training for the police department in race relations, studies of environmental health programs for ethnic groups, remedial reading programs for the children of in-migrants, and preparation and review of appropriate city ordinances.

Inventory Local Resources

The next step is to inventory the groups within the community that can help in various aspects of a well-rounded program. Such resource groups include the city government itself, both the city council and city employees; the local ministerial association or council of churches; the central labor council; the local board of education and the school superintendent and staff; the downtown businessmen's association; the health and welfare council; and service clubs. It is likely that some of these groups already have demonstrated an interest in some aspects of human relations, and they may even have developed certain programs. These resources provide the foundation on which the city government can develop an over-all approach.

Develop a Detailed Program

When the inventory has been completed, the chief administrator knows about the work that already is being done by private organizations and other governments in housing, employment, and other areas. He then can think in terms of the work that must be undertaken by the city government to meet deficiencies.

It is up to the appropriate authorities, usually the mayor or the city council, to call together representatives of these resource groups for discussion on the work to be undertaken in agreed-upon areas.

Assign Responsibilities

The next step is to assign responsibilities for each of the resource groups, including of course the city government, with respect to program, financing, procedures, staffing, and reporting. Obviously this involves a cooperative approach. Compulsion is neither feasible nor desirable. The more that agreement can be reached, the more specific the responsibilities that can be undertaken and the better the over-all program will be.

Review and Evaluation

Finally, the program should be placed into effect and then modified as needed on the basis of experience. Review and evaluation should be built in to meet changing needs and to learn from past mistakes. It should be emphasized that the role of the city government throughout this process is that of gathering information, meeting with representatives of appropriate organizations, encouraging cooperative action, recommending community goals, and providing, in a nonauthoritarian sense, community leadership.

Human Relations Commissions

To calm the tensions that grow out of racial and ethnic differences, and to help solve problems of minority groups in changing and often overcrowded cities, human relations agencies have been established by many municipal governments.

Cleveland, Ohio, established the Community Relations Board as a municipal agency in 1945. Cleveland thus claims to have the first human relations agency in the United States to be formed by ordinance, although Chicago, Cincinnati, and Detroit, among others, had taken similar action earlier by mayoral decree.

By 1962, more than 40 large cities in the nation had official intergroup agencies staffed by professional workers. Others have nonpaid, advisory citizen groups. Illinois alone has at least 15 official municipal human relations commissions, although only the one in Chicago has a professional staff. In addition, there are a myriad of private, unofficial race relations agencies.

Programs

The programs and activities of human relations commissions are as varied as the problems of minority groups themselves. The examples set forth in the following paragraphs cover employment, political campaigns, education, public accommodations, and housing. The authority of human relations commissions also varies widely from educational and advisory groups to those, as in Philadelphia, with enforcement powers.

Alton, Illinois. The youth committee of the Alton Commission on Human Relations, in cooperation with local businessmen, sponsored a Youth Employment Day in 1961. Negro and white high school students took jobs for a day with various business establishments and, as an immediate result, several of the students obtained part-time employment. The Commission felt that the community as a whole gained a new view of the potential of both white and Negro youth.

Newark, New Jersey. Among the varied activities of the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations of Newark has been the provision of scholarships for qualified residents to attend summer workshops in human relations and community leadership. The Commission also has sponsored a Code of Fair Campaign Practices which pledges political candidates, among other things, to condemn any appeal to prejudice based on race or creed. Forty-one of 52 municipal candidates signed the pledge in 1961.

Toledo, Ohio. The Toledo (Ohio) Board of Community Relations was created by the city council in 1946 primarily as an agency for information and education. The mayor is authorized to appoint 20 persons nominated by business, labor, and religious groups as well as five public members of his own choosing. The Board has an executive secretary, an assistant, and a clerical staff. For five years the Board, together with the University of Toledo and the local federation of teachers, sponsored a two-week intergroup relations workshop for civic leaders and teachers. This was followed by a pilot demonstration project at one of the elementary schools, with intensive study of intergroup relations problems by the entire faculty.

Cognizant of "the fact that the home and community at large are the learning areas in which youngsters pick up discriminatory practices," the Toledo Board has sponsored, with the presidents of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant women's groups, a series of annual Women's Institutes on Human Relations. These institutes have dealt with such topics as prejudice in speech, the high cost of discrimination, fair employment, Spanish speaking neighbors, housing, and how to deal with problems and controversies in intergroup relations. In addition, the Board sponsors a Program Planners Institute every other year to explain the group's work to representatives of civic groups.

Wichita, Kansas. Wichita became the first city in Kansas to staff its human relations commission with a paid, full-time professional intergroup relations worker. The commission consists of 30 citizens appointed by the mayor with the approval of the city council.

Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations was established by the home rule charter of 1951. The following year it assumed the powers and duties of the Philadelphia Fair Employment Practice Commission, established in 1948. With a staff of 21 professional employees,

the Commission has been able to initiate a variety of programs. It has developed a special training program in human relations for municipal personnel and for volunteers in community groups.

In 1961 the Philadelphia Commission held a seminar for executives of press, radio and television, and intergroup relations agencies to discuss the handling of racial news. A set of guidelines was adopted for voluntary use by news media and agencies. The Commission also began a leadership development and participation program to help prepare young minority group citizens for service on various boards and committees.

The First Negro Family

Sometimes the arrival of the first family of a "different" race in a city can send officials and citizens into action as surely as a great influx. Such was the case in Park Forest, Illinois, and Medford, Oregon.

Park Forest. The trustees (city councilmen) of Park Forest, Illinois, appointed a human relations commission to study what could be done to provide a smooth transition if a Negro family moved to the village. The commission enlisted the support of leaders of the community, including the clergy. The group took no overt action until the first Negro family moved to the city in 1959. The commission and trustees then went into action. All residents in the neighborhood affected were visited by a trustee and their clergyman. It was made clear that the village leaders welcomed the new family. Police surveillance of the area was increased for the first week. This same procedure was used in 1963 (but with less fanfare) when a second Negro family moved in. (The first family in the meantime had moved to New York City.)

It would be less than honest to say everybody was happy about the "move-in," but everybody respected the law. Three factors seem to have been important to this peaceful transition. First, Park Forest is a suburban community with a large percentage of well educated people. Second, the leadership let it be known that the Negro family's rights would be respected. Third, the situation was handled with as little publicity as possible.

Medford. The Oregon State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961 how a human rights group, in cooperation with other agencies, aided in reaching a satisfactory solution when the first Negro family came to Medford. The U. S. Weather Bureau transferred a Negro family to its Medford station, and the employee asked the aid of his superior in finding housing. They first tried a college town 15 miles away but were rebuffed by real estate agents. Then, the Advisory Committee reported:

> Returning to Medford, they got in touch with a newly formed human rights council in the city which found housing for them, although without employment of real estate agencies. The expected opposition movement developed with derogatory rumors, a circulated petition, and "semi-violent" reactions from two or three families, and hostile reactions from another three or four families. Those opposed made the most noise. But with the support of the ministerial association, the local newspaper and the police, the human rights council was able to hold the line. The chief of police, incidentally, is a member of the board of the human rights council.
>
> Thus, the first Negro family resides peacefully in the city, and the "policy of exclusion" is breached. The human rights council has grown markedly in membership and prestige as a result of this incident, and its members express amazement at the widespread support they received....
>
> The incident shows that even where a firm tradition of exclusion had prevailed for a century, there was a preponderance of people who were willing to support the right of the Negro... The case was basically community action. The law gave them backing, but was not invoked....

The South

The southern counterparts to the professional human relations agencies of the North and West and the permanent advisory councils are the official, but for the most part temporary, mediating committees. Some 35 cities in the South now have, or have had in the past few years, such committees. They have been formed most often to mediate controversies growing out of sit-in demonstrations and boycotts. The most common have been the biracial committees appointed by city officials to deal with specific problems. In addition, a number of southern cities have long-standing, unofficial and private race relations councils.

Police

"The key toward gaining community respect is to treat all individuals the same – with fairness, impartiality, honesty, courtesy and firmness." This advice to policemen is given in the *Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers,* published by the office of the California Attorney General in 1958.

This always has been the goal of good police departments, but the need to make it a firm practice never has been more urgent. With urban areas becoming ever more crowded, with changes in the racial composition of cities and neighborhoods, with aroused Negro citizens pressing with greater vigor for legal equality, and with the court-ordered desegregation of a lengthening list of facilities, tensions mount. If left unchecked, widespread disorder, mob action and violence may result where police departments and city officials have been ill-prepared or unwilling to act.

A detailed examination of all phases of police action in this field is impossible here, but a brief consideration of what some cities have done is indicative of widespread concern.

Prevention

Every good police department emphasizes the duty of officers to enforce laws impartially. As Chief of Police J. E. Curry of Dallas, Texas, has said, "Only so long as we enforce the law equally and equitably will we have the respect and support of the people."

Most law officials agree on the importance of recognizing alarm signals of impending racial trouble, such as: the appearance of threatening or derogatory signs in public places; the circulation of "hate" publications; an increasing number of rumors, growing in sensation; greater activity by known agitators; more threats or incidents of violence; an increase in charges of police brutality and a growing distrust of law enforcement; and gang fights by juveniles.

The consensus of police institutes also suggests the need for an intelligence system which keeps the police department in touch with groups for and against segregation, an awareness of potentially troublesome situations, and cooperation with other community agencies and with public information media.

Many large cities have police manuals which include suggested procedures for controlling mobs should they form despite precautions. These deal with means of quelling riots, such as the need for a quick show of force (actual use of force may not be necessary), separating the ringleaders, and the use of megaphones, police cordons, and weapons.

Police Training

Police departments in many cities in recent years have conducted or participated in training programs in human and race relations to be better prepared for the changing composition of urban areas. Large-city departments often have organized their own programs and sometimes have made such training available to smaller neighboring communities. In addition, police-community relations courses and training institutes for law enforcement officers in all types of state and local government agencies have spread across the country. These training programs, in addition to covering general principles, show the ways in which effective and ineffective police action can affect emotionally charged situations extending from racial problems.

The Southern Police Institute, established at the University of Louisville in 1950, devotes much of its 17-week program to human relations. A national institute on police-community relations has been held since 1955 at the School of Police Administration and Public Safety at Michigan State University, with the cooperation of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriffs Association, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Regional institutes supplement these programs. In addition to these regional programs,

counterpart institutes of one to three days duration are held in at least 12 states, and more than 50 cities hold local programs in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews.[3]

Negro Officers

Employment of Negro officers is a subject which inevitably comes up in any discussion of police and race. A report of such employment in the South issued in 1961 by the Southern Regional Council (*The Unequal Badge* by Elliott M. Rudwick) showed:

The employment of Negro police, which increased after World War II, has gained little ground in the South since 1954. At that time, there were 536 uniformed police in 146 cities in the 11 southern states, plus Oklahoma and Kentucky, and in 1959 the same cities had 646, a small increase considering the growth of the Negro population in urban centers.

"In the South (as well as other parts of the country), there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above," the report pointed out, adding that this is partially due to the short period of time Negroes have been employed in substantial numbers. However, Daytona Beach, Florida; Louisville, Kentucky; Atlanta, Georgia; and Durham, North Carolina, all have Negro lieutenants.

In the area surveyed, over 83 per cent indicated that Negro officers operate exclusively in Negro districts, and in over one-half the cities the Negro officer must not arrest white citizens for any crime but must "hold" them until a white officer arrives. Pensacola, Florida, has one of the few southern police departments that does not restrict Negro officers in assignments or arrest powers; the Atlanta police chief lifted similar restrictions in 1961.

Some Examples

The police in many communities must be prepared to deal with school desegregation, juvenile problems, housing, use of public accommodations, and charges of abuse of police authority. The following examples illustrate all of these areas of concern to municipal police departments.

Atlanta. This city was better prepared for a change in racial customs than most southern communities due to various active citizens organizations pledged to law and order and acceptance of court rulings. However, there also were active and highly vocal segregationists and an influx of outside racists and agitators just as determined on the other side. The mayor and police chief tipped the scales in favor of law and order and kept the city free of serious violence during the desegregation of schools.

William Hartsfield, then mayor of Atlanta, and Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, anticipating the desegregation, had sent men from the police force to Little Rock and New Orleans to learn from their experience and held police seminars on riot control. Police maintained files on all race agitators. The superintendent of schools began preparing students by holding meetings stressing the students' responsibility to maintain order when schools were desegregated.

With the opening of school in the fall, Atlanta police kept a 24-hour watch on the schools affected, and the grounds and immediate vicinities were off-limits to spectators. The press was kept fully informed, and an information center was set up in city hall. The long preparation, the show of determination by the police, and the emphasis on firm and impartial control paid off.

Oakland. This city illustrates a growing tendency for police departments to work with other city agencies on the special problems growing out of depressed economic and minority group status.

[3] Additional information on police training institutes can be obtained from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57 Street, New York 19; School of Police Administration and Public Safety, Michigan State University, East Lansing; Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky; and the International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1319 Eighteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

An article in *Fortune* magazine "The City and the Negro," by Charles E. Silberman, March, 1962) cited an example how this city coordinated the work of several municipal agencies:

> Wayne Thompson, the young city manager of Oakland, Calif., has pulled together seven public agencies representing four levels of government into something called the Associated Agencies. Fortnightly meetings of the A.A. workers in each section of the city are held to coordinate their work. In dealing with one school marked by frequent violence, for example, the school superintendent allowed the police to seal off the school area and then clean out the guns and knives in the school lockers. The school, police, recreation, probation, and welfare workers then culled a list of troublemakers, letting each agency take responsibility for the children it already knew, or upon whom it had some particular claim. Out of 2,800 pupils, only 54 turned out to be real troublemakers; when the whole job had been finished, only two had to be moved out of school into detention. Since the Associated Agencies program started in late 1957, Oakland has been relatively free of trouble.

Philadelphia. A veteran Negro police executive in Philadelphia, with the rank of chief inspector, in 1961 was assigned command of the police department's new community relations program. He and his staff, which includes 22 human relations officers, will serve as liaison between the police commissioner and the commission on human relations, the crime prevention association, and related agencies.

In 1958, the mayor of Philadelphia appointed the first members of the city's police advisory board, a nonpartisan body composed of leading citizens. The board hears complaints against policemen of such grievances as undue use of force or brutality, discrimination, or violation of constitutional rights. It has settled more than two-thirds of 300 complaints without formal hearings by explaining the legality of the policeman's act or getting an apology for the complainant. Martin S. Barol, lawyer and executive director of the board, said that the agency has acted as a "safety valve in the community. No longer is it necessary for a citizen who feels himself wronged by police action to harbor resentment within himself, or to spread his hostile feelings throughout the community." Barol added the board has not "demoralized the police force," contrary to the prediction of the Fraternal Order of Police, which has opposed such boards. Similar civilian boards have been set up in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and York (Pennsylvania).

Negaunee, Michigan. The need for a different kind of coordination was pointed up in Negaunee which was faced with a situation in 1961 that could confront other smaller cities. There were approximately 5,000 troops, a high percentage of them Negro, stationed at nearby Sawyer Air Force Base, which had been reactivated four years earlier.

Negaunee is an Upper Peninsula mining town of about 6,000. Recreational facilities in the area are limited, and transportation to the nearest large cities is inadequate for the troops. One Saturday night in September, 1961, violence broke out between some of the airmen and Negaunee civilians. While the commander of the base and the city manager felt early reports of the trouble were exaggerated, nevertheless the incident demanded precautions to forestall any future outbreak.

On the night in question, there were a few minor skirmishes and some taunts and name calling in the town early in the evening. Then, at 9:15 p.m., a Negro airman was found beaten in a municipal parking lot; a rumor spread quickly that he had been whipped with a chain. More Air Force personnel – estimates ranged up to 100 – began coming into Negaunee, and soon a series of fights broke out in the downtown section.

The police chief was away on vacation, and there were only two policemen, plus a desk man, on duty. The senior policeman then in town, a lieutenant, was called and some time later he called City Manager Leonard J. Harris, who took charge. Harris said he telephoned the base for air police assistance but was told by a sergeant on duty that the provost marshal "could not be bothered." The colonel in charge of the base said later that police also had phoned him that night and asked for help and that he referred them to the state police.

The city manager deputized 18 local firemen and sent a call for help to the sheriff's office and the state police. Within a short time, four state troopers and four deputies arrived and by 3:00 a.m. the disorder was under control.

Subsequently two Negro airmen and two white citizens of Negaunee were sentenced to 90 days in jail on disorderly conduct charges, and a high school youth was placed on probation for a year.

A report issued by the base commander and the city manager said rumors that the airman had been beaten by a chain were unfounded. Of the disorder, City Manager Harris says:

> There were a number of contributing factors responsible for this outbreak, some of which were due entirely to lack of foresight on the part of the Air Force and some of the agitation came directly from some undesirable elements in the City of Negaunee.... I personally feel that if on the night of this occurrence the Police Department had immediately jailed both the colored and the whites who were involved and cleared the streets as I did when I was called, it would have ended much sooner than it did.

In the days following, several changes were made in the police department, and the city council agreed to recommendations by the city manager, including: strict enforcement of the antiloitering ordinance; harsher penalties for repeated convictions for drunkeness and disorderly conduct; and suspension or revocation of licenses of taverns and restaurants not conducted properly. The Air Force agreed to the city manager's request for a courtesy patrol of Air Police and warned troops that further disturbances would result in the maximum punishment allowable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Since then only one further incident has been reported in Negaunee. Three airmen who were charged with striking a teen-age boy without provocation were jailed for 90 days and dismissed from the Air Force.

Los Angeles. Negroes began moving into a southwest section of the city. By the time they represented nearly 50 per cent of the student body in the schools, white and Negro gangs were forming, and fights were becoming a daily occurrence. A junior high school became the focal point of trouble. Community organizations began working on the adult level. The police department set up patrols around the schools, and juvenile officers concentrated on the problem. They learned the membership of the gangs and secured evidence leading to the arrest of the agitators.

One of the most important aspects of the Los Angeles police work was investigation of rumors, which were the excuse for most acts of violence. Fact was separated from fiction and the facts made public. The police department, working with the schools and community agencies, brought about such an easing of tension that today this junior high school has fewer problems of a racial or cultural nature than others in the city.

San Francisco. In 1954, when integration of public housing projects was planned, an inspector of the police department was designated a liaison officer with the city housing authority. He was kept informed whenever a member of a different race was to move into a project, and he in turn notified the district police station. Procedures were established to prevent disturbances. Plainclothesmen were on hand, and uniformed police were a short distance away, to observe whenever a member of another race moved into a project. ("We felt that the attendant presence of uniformed police would attract unnecessary attention to the situation wherein the desired atmosphere would be one of normalcy.") After the move, radio cars patrolled in a casual manner and contact was maintained between the individual housing projects and the district police stations in order to spot any friction. Not a single disturbance or incident was reported at any of the housing projects, and integration was successfully accomplished.

Dallas. An area which had been white began a period of transition. Schools were segregated at that time and Negro youths had to pass a white school en route to their own. The Negro and white students began pushing each other as they met on the sidewalk, and tension mounted in the whole community. Additional police squads were assigned to the area. Whenever children were found pushing, a call was made to the homes of all the children involved, both white and Negro. If the same children were involved in several clashes, they were referred to the county juvenile officers. The Negro community soon realized the law was being enforced impartially, and the white community learned that violence directed against a minority group would not be tolerated. Thus a situation which might have resulted in widespread, long-lasting tension was mediated peacefully.

Chicago. In 1961 when a group of Negroes and whites began a series of "wade-in" demonstrations at a public beach formerly used almost exclusively by white persons, week-end crowds varying from 3,000 to 10,000 gathered. Demonstrators had notified police of their intentions, and when the first demonstrating group of about 75 persons arrived, 175 policemen were on hand to patrol. The police captain in charge, carrying a portable megaphone, walked along the beach and told the crowd

either to disperse or be seated on the beach. Twelve persons, 11 whites and one Negro, were arrested the first week-end and charged with disturbing the peace. The calm that prevailed after several week-ends was attributed to heavy police protection, plus support from representatives of the major religious faiths, both on the scene and in statements of approval of the demonstrators' aims.

Education

Since the 1954-55 decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, publicity has been focused on the resistance, the struggles, and the accommodations of the South and border states to school desegregation. Even the most casual newspaper reader has been aware of the violence in some cities, which in its most extreme form called for federal troops; of the almost calm acceptance of change in others, a change which has brought token desegregation to eight southern states; and of the resistance and legal maneuvers which have left three states – Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina – with completely segregated elementary and secondary schools.

In the past few years, however, the spotlight has focused increasingly on cities in the North with *de facto* school segregation. (With the start of the 1962-63 school term, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had filed school desegregation suits against 11 cities in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kansas, and California.) As Negroes have flocked to urban centers, they have concentrated in central cities which generally offer the only available housing. Consequently, many city schools are predominantly Negro. In short, segregated housing leads to segregated schools.

No long-range, satisfactory solution to the school problem of most large cities is likely until the housing market is broadened for Negroes. But many Negroes are unwilling to wait for the housing picture to change, claiming that in the meantime predominantly Negro schools in the North often are overcrowded, inadequately staffed and equipped, and housed in substandard buildings. Also, they charge that some school district lines are deliberately gerrymandered to keep neighborhood schools all-white or all-Negro.

As a result of one such charge, brought to court in New Rochelle, New York, a federal judge held that gerrymandering in the past had kept a school 94 per cent Negro. He ordered that Negroes be allowed free access to white schools elsewhere in the city.

Neighborhood Schools

One point of controversy has been the neighborhood school which has been the accepted practice all over the country. One side contends that upgrading existing Negro schools is preferable to transporting children across the city to achieve some desegregation. Others maintain that, as the Supreme Court said in its school ruling, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." They argue that some racial balance must be achieved, and if there is no other way, because of the housing pattern, then pupils must be transported.

Criss-crossing school buses, taking children from one school to a distant one just to achieve some desegregation has not been a very popular solution, involving as it does exhausting bus trips across town in the large cities or the expense of acquiring more buses for smaller communities. However, where Negro schools are overcrowded and there are underpopulated schools in white areas, some transporting can achieve a better balance. Last fall, New York City's "open enrollment" plan allowed 9,000 children in heavily Negro and Puerto Rican schools to attend underpopulated schools in other neighborhoods. Chicago and Newark have similar programs.

Princeton, New Jersey, has abandoned the concept of neighborhood schools and thus eliminated segregation. One school is used for all children in kindergarten through the fifth grade, another for the sixth through eighth grades. The city provides no transportation, and most pupils walk or ride their bicycles or, in the case of small children, are driven in private car pools. Willow Grove, Pennsylvania, has a similar system. The Princeton plan has been studied by a number of other smaller cities where distances are not so great as to present a transportation problem, and by larger cities where similar plans within given areas are under consideration.

The board of education in Morristown, New Jersey, adopted a plan to convert a predominantly Negro elementary school to a junior high in 1963 and scatter the displaced children to other schools.

The school board of Danville, Illinois, after protests and picketing by Negro parents who contended new elementary school boundaries perpetuated segregation, has announced that hereafter the predominantly Negro school and two others will be open to students throughout the city. The board has agreed to assign Negro teachers to the high school and to other elementary schools.

Other non-Southern cities which announced plans of voluntary school desegregation in 1962 were Jersey City and Montclair, New Jersey; Stamford, Connecticut; Coatesville and Washington, Pennsylvania; Mount Vernon, Illinois; and Eloy, Arizona.

Aid for Children

As school systems across the country face new problems and challenges because of a growing and changing population, more is heard of the "culturally deprived" child. Studies have shown that many children from rural areas or poor urban families suffer in linguistic development and general ability to follow a curriculum designed for children with middle-class backgrounds. Even though they may be normal or above in native intelligence, these children often have been so removed from the world of the settled, "average" middle-class family, that they cannot communicate, relate textbook examples to their own lives, or even understand them. Their health may be poor, they may be hungry, and their motivation for school nonexistent. To help these children from migrant and deprived families realize their potentialities and become a self-supporting asset to the community, several cities have instituted special supplementary or enrichment programs.

New York City probably has the most far-reaching program, including non-English classes for Puerto Ricans and others who have come to New York schools from outside the continental United States. It includes work with the children and family, field trips and excursions, screening and testing of new entrants, and guidance and counseling. Results have shown up in improved reading ability, attendance, and morale.

Pittsburgh is meeting the challenge in another way by developing new techniques of teaching. A pilot project has been set up in five elementary schools, with teaching teams organized to meet a multipurpose goal, including increased student achievement, better appreciation of education among parents, and gradual lightening of the welfare burden. The team consists of a master teacher, regular teachers, a team mother, and unpaid assistants who are student teachers from local colleges, all of whom work with children in need of extra help in the selected schools.

Milwaukee has special classes for in-migrant pupils. The classes, in several schools with the largest number of newcomers, are kept small, and children are taught there until they are ready to move into regular classes. A welfare counsellor works with parents, and a psychologist and personnel from the local health department cooperate.

St. Louis has the Banneker program in 23 elementary schools, with a 95 per cent Negro enrollment, in the poorer part of the city. Special teaching programs have been developed, parent cooperation in home work assignments enlisted, and children stimulated by field trips, honor awards, and discussions. In three years the number of Banneker pupils in the top of three "tracks" was tripled and the bottom "track" halved.

Negro children have been aided by special programs in Kansas City, Missouri, to overcome their environmental handicaps and gradually are raising their median achievement levels to those of white pupils. Detroit, Chicago, and Washington also have programs designed to aid children with special problems in a new, competitive environment.

Detroit also began an experiment in 1961 with new preprimers for half the first graders in the city schools. Since most primers are based on what has been described as the all-white, antiseptic world of "Dick and Jane," they have little meaning to a child whose front lawn is a crowded city sidewalk — and who may be Negro. After taping conversations with hundreds of elementary school children in Detroit and finding the 100 words used most frequently, the preprimer textbooks were rewritten, using these words and presenting situations about white and Negro children in

crowded big cities. Later, the Detroit groups using the new, and those using the standard, texts will be tested to see if children learn faster from books which reflect their own background.

Washington, D.C., is developing a study guide to show the place of the Negro in American culture and history in an effort to instill pride in the contribution of Negroes. Also under development is a second study guide tracing the development of Nazi racism in Germany, as an object lesson in the value of democracy and tolerance.

The school administration in San Angelo, Texas, has established a free tutoring program at nights. It is open to all high school students, and both white and Negro children have enrolled for the extra classes. The school system of Tucson, Arizona, operates an orientation program for pupils and teachers with respect to problems of integration.

Aid for Adults

Tucson is one of a number of cities with education-orientation programs on the adult level. The University of Arizona's home economics department and a low-income housing project in Tucson sponsor a program to help project residents, including some ex-migrant farm workers, adjust to their new community. Graduate and senior students have met with mothers to discuss budget, diet, and problems of child care.

In Belle Glade, Florida, a paid employee of the local health department works with seasonal farm workers on child care and personal health problems and helps worker families learn to use community health services.

In yet another program, aimed not primarily at newcomers but for adults in the community as a whole, the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations in Newark, New Jersey, in cooperation with Fuld Neighborhood House, has been offering an adult education course on "The Negro in American History." The course was instituted to acquaint both white and Negro citizens with the contributions the Negro has made to American development.

The Cleveland Community Relations Board has set up a department of migration to aid the four major newcomer groups to the city: southern Negroes, southern Appalachians, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans. The Board distributes English and Spanish versions of a directory of community services and a kit of materials compiled to aid these newcomers. The Board holds orientation meetings every six weeks with Indian newcomers to answer questions about the city and urban behavior. It also conducts information programs for Puerto Ricans (there were 6,500 from this commonwealth in Cleveland in 1961).

The Board has sponsored programs and a fair to acquaint other Cleveland residents with the cultural contributions of former residents of the Appalachian Mountain region. The staff has visited industrial plants in the area to gather information on the employment problems of the newcomers and has spent a great deal of its educational effort on the matter of wage garnishments since new, underprivileged residents often are the victims of unscrupulous salesmen.

In cooperation with area colleges, the Mayor's Committee on New Residents in Chicago offers a Spanish course to aid police and other municipal workers who deal with the new Spanish-speaking residents of the city. Newark offers a similar course for city employees.

Guidelines

Judging by the experience of cities faced with protests over school segregation, a few guidelines emerge to help smooth the path toward racial harmony. A well-planned public information program can help explain the drawing of school boundaries, where these boundaries have been set in a logical fashion with no effort to gerrymander in order to maintain predominantly white or Negro schools.

A willingness to discuss mutual problems with leaders of minority groups and to enlist their aid in arriving at solutions is helpful to the community as a whole, as is insistence that all schools in the system be housed, equipped, and staffed equitably. Hiring and assignment of teachers and

administrators on a merit basis, regardless of race, and minority group representation on school boards are also sound practices.

Employment

An area that cities may beneficially consider is fair employment practices. It has been estimated that if the present capabilities of the nonwhite population were utilized fully, the gross national product could be increased by 2.5 per cent. But these figures are abstract to the individual. What counts is that he failed to get a job because of his race even though he was fully qualified. If so, he turns to government for help, and government must respond to aid the individual and the community. What is being done to improve employment opportunities for minority groups?

Federal Action

Government employment without racial or religious discrimination is the policy of the United States, based on the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. The drive to eliminate prejudice in hiring federal employees has been stepped up in recent years, but the eventual goal, and legal requirement, has long been clear: government employment will be based on qualification, without regard to color or religion.

From the passage of the Civil Service Act of 1883, with its principle of merit employment and a subsequent regulation outlawing religious discrimination, to the 1940 civil service rule prohibiting racial discrimination, up to today's President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the federal government has sought, with variable emphasis, to make fair employment a reality as well as a principle.

Private employment, however, is another matter. During World War II a federal fair employment practices commission was established. The commission lacked power to enforce its decisions and had jurisdiction only over employment by government contractors and federal government agencies. A Presidential executive order, issued in March, 1961, stipulates that every private contractor or subcontractor doing business with the federal government must sign a contract with an antidiscrimination clause. Except in this area of federal contracts, action on job discrimination by private employers has been left to states and municipalities. The former can act under their police powers, and the latter where power has been delegated to them by the respective states.

State Action

Twenty-five states and the Virgin Islands have passed fair employment (FEP) laws. Twenty of these provide for enforcement by administrative agencies and, while concerned mainly with private employment, also strengthen bans on discrimination in public employment. The 20 with administrative agencies are Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Nebraska bans defense work employment bias; Arizona bars discrimination in public employment and by employers doing state contract work. Indiana and Nevada declare job discrimination to be against public policy and authorize a commission to investigate complaints. Idaho and the Virgin Islands rely on court action for enforcement of employment discrimination.

Municipal Action

Local FEP Laws. Approximately 40 municipalities have enacted local ordinances outlawing discrimination in employment. Most cities with FEP laws are in states which also have FEP statutes, but some cities preceded their states in such action. Des Moines and Sioux City, Iowa, and Baltimore, Maryland, for example, have adopted local laws although their states as yet have no FEP legislation. A sampling of cities which have taken action on fair employment shows the variety of approaches used.

1. City Employment. The Lansing, Michigan, city council has adopted a municipal code of

fair practices requiring city agencies to hire and operate on a racially nondiscriminatory basis. A Des Moines, Iowa, ordinance provides that the city's commission on job discrimination can investigate and hold hearings on possible discrimination in any department of the city government. Violations are reported to the city manager.

The city council of Richmond, Virginia, in 1961 unanimously passed an FEP resolution covering municipal workers. To overcome a legal objection, the resolution was in the form of a recommendation to the city's personnel board. The board was asked to adopt a rule providing for employment and promotion solely on a merit basis, without regard to race, creed, or arbitrary maximum age limits.

2. Contractors for City. Sioux City, Iowa, passed an ordinance in 1951 which applies to municipal employees and to contractors, licensees, and franchise holders of the city. The ordinance, making employment discrimination by such agencies unlawful, is administered by a five-member commission appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council. Maximum punishment for violations is 30 days in jail or a fine of $100.

3. Mediation of Complaints. Cleveland, Ohio, passed a fair employment ordinance in 1950 giving the community relations board the responsibility of receiving complaints and making investigations and recommendations. The board cannot initiate investigations but must wait for individual complaints. Complaints sometimes are referred to union officials, the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, the state bureau of unemployment compensation, the city civil service commission, and the National Labor Relations Board.

4. Investigation and Legal Action. In 1957, Bakersfield, California, adopted an ordinance outlawing discrimination in employment because of race, religion, or place of birth, and created a commission on equal employment opportunity. The ordinance, which applied to "employers, employment agencies, labor organizations and others," provided that if the commission was unable to eliminate any discrimination charged, a majority vote of all members could certify the matter to the city attorney for appropriate legal action. It also provided for procedures whereby any employer, employment agency, or labor union found by a court to have violated the amendment twice within a period of one year would not be eligible to enter into any contract with the city for one year. (See below, "Relation of Local and State Laws.")

The city council of Des Moines, Iowa, adopted an ordinance in 1956 creating a commission on job discrimination, consisting of five members appointed by the city council. The ordinance outlaws discrimination by employers, labor unions, and employment agencies and authorizes the commission to investigate and hold public hearings on charges of employment bias. If respondents fail to comply with any recommendations, the commission must certify the case to the city solicitor for action. Conviction for violation of the antidiscrimination laws carries a maximum penalty of 30 days imprisonment or a fine of $100. The ordinance also states that the commission may, on its own initiative, investigate and hold hearings on possible discrimination in any department of the city government. Any violations then must be reported to the city manager for appropriate action.

In a 1955 ordinance Pittsburgh strengthened an earlier FEP ordinance and provided for a 15-member commission on human relations appointed by the mayor, who also was authorized to appoint an executive director. It authorizes the commission to initiate or receive and investigate complaints charging unlawful employment practices by city or private employers and to certify any violations to the city solicitor for action.

5. Subpoena Power. Baltimore in 1960 strengthened its 1956 law barring discrimination in private employment by giving the administering agency, the Baltimore Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, subpoena power. If respondents refuse cease and desist orders, the Commission can certify the matter to the city law department, which is required to seek court aid to secure compliance.

Relation of Local and State Laws. The Bakersfield FEP ordinance and a similar one applying to private as well as public agencies passed by San Francisco were forerunners of a state law which became effective September 18, 1959. The California FEP law explicitly provided that local FEP agencies would cease to exist one year from the effective date of the state legislation. On the other

hand, some states — Minnesota and Pennsylvania, for example — allow their municipal FEP groups to operate autonomously in cooperation with the state commission and have set up a procedure for referrals from city to state agencies.

Developing FEP Legislation. Cities contemplating FEP laws should study the various approaches in detail. Careful review of existing laws is helpful. Local situations vary.

All of the approaches demonstrate a concern with the importance of the problem to the families affected and to their communities. However, the appointment of a study group or a committee has no lasting effect unless there is vigorous follow-up; nor does even legislation with legal sanctions and a professional staff necessarily mean a city is meeting all its commitments. Jack Greenberg, in *Race Relations and American Law* pointed out, "Activity and effectiveness are not determined merely by budget, but to a great extent reflect the attitude of the guiding personnel."

Administering the Law

A number of cities demonstrate ways in which FEP legislation can be administered, interpreted or supplemented.

1. Recruitment Advertising. The Erie (Pennsylvania) Community Relations Commission, for example, has endorsed a resolution interpreting the city's FEP ordinance as barring advertisements for "situations wanted" from including reference to race or religion.

2. Government Employment. In August, 1961, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors unanimously voted to conduct a survey of the more than 40,000 county workers to determine the employment pattern of "persons of Oriental, Negro and Mexican American antecedents." The study was carried out under direction of a committee of county officials, including the executive secretary of the Human Relations Committee of Los Angeles. The state FEP commission considered it "probably the most intensive and exhaustive study of its kind ever made by a public agency of its own personnel anywhere in the United States" and said it "may serve as a model for similar self-surveys in other cities and counties, and perhaps in large private enterprises as well..."

The Los Angeles committee made two reports to the county board of supervisors. The first covered 16 departments in which the committee believed statistics indicated the possibility of discrimination. As a result the supervisors instructed department heads to review their selection, utilization, and promotion of minority group employees and to eliminate any elements of discrimination. The second report covered departments which seemed to have a scarcity of minority group employees at professional levels. Subsequently, the civil service commission and the board of supervisors instructed departments to review their examining procedures and the use of the "appraisal of promotability" form. A follow-up survey to determine if corrective action has been taken is scheduled for April, 1963.

In December, 1961, the Los Angeles Fire Commission adopted a policy statement strengthening nondiscrimination in the fire department. The action requires that all hiring, assignments, and promotions be on a merit basis. It also provides for an education program to be conducted in cooperation with the University of California in Los Angeles to improve "harmonious relations among personnel in the department." Since 1955 the city civil service commission of Los Angeles has required all applicants for municipal employment to pledge they will "willingly work with or for any associates regardless of race, color or creed."

3. City and Industry Cooperation. The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations conducted an investigation into charges of discriminatory employment policies in the hotel and restaurant business and found that such discrimination did exist. As a result, in 1960, the Greater Philadelphia Restaurant Operators Association agreed to hiring practices conforming to the city's FEP law, which dates back to 1948. A similar agreement was reached with the waiters' and waitresses' union local. Philadelphia now couples its industry-wide investigating technique with a plant inspection program, which it conducted in 1961 at the rate of several per week. The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce recently appointed a five-man advisory committee to work with the Commission on programs to promote support for merit hiring practices.

4. Job Advancement Programs. New York City Mayor Robert Wagner touched on another phase of employment when he said last year:

> The effort to assure full employment opportunity for all our citizens does not and cannot end with laws prohibiting discrimination and creating governmental agencies to enforce these prohibitions. Steps must be taken affirmatively to recruit and promote members of minority groups into positions of executive, professional, administrative and skilled responsibility.

The statement came with appointment of the Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement to help open to Negroes and Puerto Ricans thousands of higher level private and city jobs. The New York committee will attempt to persuade labor unions to end discrimination in membership and apprentice training, analyze annual reports from participating employers, and conduct programs to encourage school children from minority groups to develop the skills necessary for higher paying jobs.

Housing

Housing for minority groups has become one of the most urgent problems facing many cities today. Officials have watched with concern as waves of newcomers, many from rural areas and often Negro, have crowded into central cities, creating or expanding slums because too often these are all that are available. At the same time they have watched old, established families move to the suburbs, taking their tax dollars with them.

Some of these cities experienced an earlier, immigrant influx from other countries. But it was easier for those immigrants, who were mainly white, to fade in time into the city background. As minorities, attracted by the promise of better jobs and a freer life, have moved into the cities, they have been crowded into isolated areas across the land, either because this is all they can find at the price they can initially afford, or because discrimination bars them from better housing.

Cities know how overcrowding, substandard housing, and discrimination have added to the problems of welfare, school, health, and police departments and have begun working on better housing for both humane and economic reasons. The adoption and enforcement of a comprehensive housing code, by preserving property standards, aids greatly in maintaining neighborhood stability.

Lack of a comprehensive national policy has hampered cities, since the federal government plays such a dominant role in housing, with its financing, mortgage guarantees, and public housing assistance programs. However, the federal government now has taken steps to bar bias in the sale or rental of some federally aided housing. In November, 1962, the President signed an executive order which requires an "open occupancy" policy in private developments using FHA or VA benefits and in public housing and urban renewal projects.

Private Housing

Until the past few years, almost all legislation prohibiting discrimination in housing applied only to public housing. However, cities in over 20 per cent of the states now are governed by state laws which prohibit racial and religious discrimination in some part of the private housing market. Eleven states, three cities, and the Virgin Islands have passed such housing statutes.

The nation's first fair housing statute applying to private residences became law in New York City on December 31, 1957. Pittsburgh adopted a private housing ordinance the next year. Toledo, Ohio, followed in 1961, but was stalled by a court injunction.

In 1959, Colorado enacted a law banning discrimination in transactions involving all dwellings except owner-occupied units. The act, applying to public and private housing and both rentals and sales, also bars inquiries and advertisements relating to the race, sex, creed, or ancestry of prospective tenants or buyers. In April, 1962, Alaska adopted legislation banning discrimination in the entire housing field. Minnesota's fair housing legislation went into effect December 31, 1962.

The eight other states with fair housing legislation are Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Oregon, and California. All these laws, except those of California, Alaska, and New Hampshire, are enforced by administrative agencies.

There is wide variation in the various fair housing laws. New York City, for example, bars discrimination in all housing for rent or sale except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied duplex. It has been estimated that the New York law covers over 95 per cent of the total housing market in the city. On the other hand, California and Oregon do not cover private housing as such but affect the market by prohibiting discriminatory actions by realtors. The Connecticut Public Accommodations Act prohibits discrimination in housing by anyone controlling three or more contiguous units. New Hampshire outlaws discrimination "in the matter of rental or occupancy of a dwelling in a building containing more than one dwelling."

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) recently found that even though the various laws have been in effect only a short time, slow but steady progress already has been made in opening formerly restricted residential areas to minority groups. Laws of course must be backed up by administrative action. In the field of housing progress can be made without laws. (See the section below on "Cooperative Action for Improved Housing.)

Public Housing

There is segregation in most public housing in the United States; 80 per cent of public housing projects remain segregated. This is due in part to the fact that in some areas more Negroes than whites qualify for admission to subsidized, low-rent public housing because of lower incomes. Negroes, who make up about 10 per cent of the population, occupy 47 per cent of the public housing units. This, plus a concentration of Negroes in central cities, often adds up to such a large demand for available public housing that an all-Negro project results. Some local housing authorities with desegregation programs simply have not been able to achieve a racial balance. However, segregation does and can exist in some local housing projects by design. There also are cities with an appreciable Negro population where public housing projects nevertheless remain all-white.

A measure of the widespread realization of the existence of discrimination in housing is the fact that 444 localities with public housing programs have adopted policies of nondiscrimination. This represents 36.2 per cent of the cities with low-rent public housing programs. City housing authorities or commissions which have passed resolutions against discrimination in public housing include Phoenix, Arizona; Fresno and Richmond, California; Omaha, Nebraska; Superior, Wisconsin; Hazel Park and Mount Clemens, Michigan; Toledo, Ohio; and Washington, D.C.

Housing action often has followed a period of community preparation and discussion. In Peoria, Illinois, for example, the council on human relations worked with city officials for several years. As a result, Peoria now has an explicit policy of nonsegregation in all public housing in the community. Saginaw, Michigan, has a similar policy.

City action sometimes has preceded state action. Hartford, Connecticut, in January, 1949, passed a resolution prohibiting discrimination or segregation in any public housing or municipally assisted private housing development within the city. Included in the resolution was a recommendation that similar action be taken on a state-wide basis by the general assembly. Six months later the Connecticut legislature prohibited discrimination in public housing projects, and four years later the legislature extended the prohibition to all publicly assisted housing.

Urban Renewal

The city council or redevelopment agency of such cities as Sacramento and Oakland, California, and Inkster, Michigan, has passed resolutions of antidiscrimination in urban redevelopment projects. Other cities have enacted ordinances barring discrimination in redevelopment projects, including Los Angeles and Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton, Ohio. Des Moines, Iowa, bars discrimination in the sale or use of land for urban renewal.

The entire matter of "urban renewal" has claimed increasing attention since the program, with its emphasis on slum clearance and rebuilding, was initiated in the 1949 Housing Act of the federal government. The Housing Act of 1954 broadened the concept into a huge federal-local cooperative venture which involves a master city plan, rehousing of displaced families, housing

codes, and financing. The federal government has ruled that private housing developers in federally aided urban renewal projects must comply with state and local antidiscrimination laws.

In 1960 the Housing and Home Finance Agency administrator announced that a community-wide representative citizens' advisory committee was a prerequisite for approval of a city's renewal program. This has been both a challenge and opportunity for communities with such programs to enlist the aid and support of minority groups.

A glance at just one state, Michigan, which is not necessarily typical, shows that at least seven of the 16 urban renewal communities in existence last year had citizens' advisory committees with substantial minority representation: Detroit, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, Saginaw, and Inkster.

"To have minority groups represented on zoning boards, as well as on planning commissions, is an important step in assuring the protection of minority group rights in urban growth and development," the Michigan State Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights said in its 1961 report. "In only one of the 12 urban renewal communities under consideration (in Michigan) is there a minority group member on the zoning board of appeals. The village of Inkster, where the principal minority is Negro, has two minority representatives on a board of seven."

Relocation of families belonging to minority groups is one of the most difficult problems of urban renewal. The private housing market is often closed to certain groups; this requires some type of government action. (For a factual report on the issues and status of relocation in housing during the late 1950's, see Harry W. Reynolds, Jr., "What Do We Know About our Experiences With Relocation," *Journal of Intergroup Relations,* Autumn, 1961, pp. 342-54.) Hartford, Connecticut, has experimented with semiprivate housing by enlisting the cooperation of the FHA, the city of Hartford, private lending companies, and construction and management firms. The city leased a two-acre tract for 50 years without fee to a nonprofit corporation, Hartford Homes, Inc., sponsored by the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce. Private lending institutions for the 40-unit "Twin Acres" pilot project provided the financing, and FHA backed the mortgage. The city government assumed no financial burden but receives taxes; on full payment of the mortgage, land and buildings will revert to the city.

Twin Acres, operated as a relocation project, is nondiscriminatory. Since 1959, 22 white families have lived with 18 Negro families without incident. The director of the Hartford Department of Housing has said of the project, "The acumen of private business and management laws have been harnessed for a social purpose, with the city represented via its departments, to assure the accommodation of those persons for whom the housing is intended and, when necessary, to assist families in their adjustment to a new environment."

In recent years, the city of Windsor, Ontario, has constructed several rental housing projects of single-family dwellings, duplexes, row houses, and a high-rise apartment. There is no segregation, and the city manager has commented that persons of all races and creeds live in harmony.

Cooperative Action for Improved Housing

Citizen Groups. Various voluntary groups representing churches and business and civic organizations have been formed in a number of localities to broaden — often in cooperation with city officials — the number of neighborhoods open to minority groups.

In 1958, the Greater Seattle Housing Council, representing builders, architects, real estate firms, and lenders, joined church, labor, and civic agencies to combat housing discrimination. In 1961, the Council set up an experimental clearing service to help minority group families find housing outside the central city, away from areas of racial concentration.

The Brookline, Massachusetts, Fair Housing Committee's *Good Neighbor* pledge drive was cited by President Kennedy as "the kind of constructive response to a great problem that this nation needs." Clergymen of the three major faiths gave strong leadership to the drive, which was endorsed by the Brookline Board of Selectmen (city council) and members of the state legislature and which received extensive coverage by newspapers, radio, and television. The drive is being followed up

by an effort to persuade signers of the pledge to establish neighborhood organizations for fair housing. Similar campaigns have followed in several other cities in the Boston area. The pledge itself reads:

> To keep Brookline ahead in a progressing nation, we the undersigned join the Good Neighborhood for Fair Housing pledge: (1) We believe that all people regardless of race, religion or national origin should have equal opportunity for housing. (2) When renting or selling the property we own or manage we agree to make it available to anyone without regard to his national origin. (3) We want our neighborhood to welcome all regardless of race, religion or national origin and will encourage our neighbors to join us in achieving an integrated neighborhood.

Still other communities have offered different solutions to certain aspects of the housing question. Shaker Heights, Ohio, passed an ordinance in 1961 prohibiting real estate agents from attempting to stimulate panic selling in changing neighborhoods. Two years earlier, over 200 families in Shaker Heights, a suburb of Cleveland, had organized to protect their integrated neighborhood and to create a workable plan for democratic living among Negro and white families in the suburbs.

Gainesville, Georgia, sought an answer to its Negro housing problem within the segregation framework of the Deep South. The Negro community has been hemmed in by industrial and white residential areas in the city. The city commissioners appointed a committee to study how the space available for Negro housing might be expanded. As a result, a new high school for Negroes was planned for an open area and private enterprise encouraged to develop a subdivision in the area. The committee developed into a community-wide improvement group considering the broader question of urban renewal.

The city council of Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1955, declared its opposition to segregation in housing. Later, at the instigation of the Council on Community Relations, more than 1,000 Kalamazoo citizens signed a newspaper advertisement which endorsed the right of all Americans to buy or rent a home in the neighborhood of their choice. "These positive actions by official agencies and citizens in Kalamazoo have resulted in greater freedom for nonwhites to move out of segregated areas," the Michigan Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights commented. The Kalamazoo city manager, commenting on the interrelationship of minority housing and development of the community as a whole, said "the problems of all persons and all groups in the city are mutual... unsolved problems of a social and economic nature retard the growth and advancement of the entire city."

Real Estate Agents. The California Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights found that the "presence of Negro realty board members... has led to fruitful discussion concerning the role of realtors in dealing with problems connected with minority housing" in San Francisco and Sacramento.

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, said in its 1961 report on housing:

> The real estate broker is a key man in the majority of housing transactions. He finds buyers for housing and housing for buyers and he has detailed knowledge (or access to it) of the location of homes of various styles and prices. His policies and practices are among the foremost influences that determine where the various racial or religious groups will live....
>
> Certain states and municipalities have enacted legislation prohibiting discriminatory practices in varying degrees on the part of this unique group. Others have reached the same result through attorney general opinions and administrative regulations. State authority to license and regulate real estate brokers is also a formidable weapon and has been utilized in at least three states for purposes of insuring equal housing opportunity.
>
> Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Washington, New York, and Oregon expressly cover real estate brokers and salesmen in their anti-discrimination housing laws. Similarly, Pittsburgh's and New York City's ordinances expressly apply to real estate salesmen. Baltimore has adopted an ordinance specifically directed against "block busting" tactics.

Pattern For Action

Whatever method is used to achieve open occupancy, the National Committee Against Discrimination In Housing said in a 1961 report that experience had provided three guideposts for success: (1) a firm, clearly stated policy; (2) an early start on open occupancy, preferably at the planning

stage; and (3) an open housing policy covering the major portion of the housing market, thus placing all buyers and sellers on the same competitive basis.

The report cited examples of the feasibility of integration, "even when initiated under the most adverse circumstances," and mentioned that border cities such as Baltimore, Maryland; Wilmington, Delaware; St. Louis, Missouri; and Louisville, Kentucky, had desegregated long-established segregated projects. It said that open occupancy had proved successful and profitable in high-rent urban renewal housing in such cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and others and in numerous suburban developments, including 60 in New York state alone. And, it added: "Housing value seems to override even latent prejudice — no instance is known where the interracial character of a development has caused it to be a business failure."

Public Facilities

The freedom rides, boycotts, and sit-in demonstrations which were aimed initially at discrimination in southern and border states, have now spilled over into the rest of the nation. Frequent demonstrations coast to coast, numerous prosecutions, and headlines are a reminder that much remains to be done to assure equal treatment in public facilities everywhere in the United States. A few examples of action by cities in different parts of the country will highlight problems in this area.

Southern Cities

There have been widespread changes in the South in this field. Well over 100 southern cities now have at least some desegregated eating facilities. For the most part, these have been opened to Negroes after a series of demonstrations and/or boycotts and subsequent negotiations involving merchants and citizens' committees, the latter often appointed by mayors or other city officials.

In the past few years, scores of public golf courses, parks, and transportation facilities have been desegregated in the South. Initially, these were desegregated by federal court orders. The courts in a series of decisions have stated clearly that segregation in publicly owned facilities, whether operated by the state or private lessee, is unconstitutional. More recently, some southern cities have opened these operations voluntarily, thus saving themselves costly law suits and boycotts and relieving some of the racial tensions and frictions.

More often than not, the changes in racial patterns have been accepted quietly. A few examples of change have been the opening to Negroes of municipal golf courses in such cities as Mobile, Alabama, and Savannah, Macon, and Atlanta, Georgia; swimming pools in Charlotte, North Carolina; and parks in New Orleans and Little Rock.

In the spring of 1961, the Alexandria, Virginia, city council desegregated playgrounds at already desegregated elementary schools and ordered that some city recreation programs be nondiscriminatory. Shortly after, the county board of Arlington County, Virginia, voted to desegregate Arlington's 57 parks and playgrounds and five recreation centers.

In March, 1962, the legal department of Houston, Texas, ruled that all segregation in municipally owned buildings must be abolished. The mayor of Houston noted that public reaction was reasonable and understanding. Houston passed an ordinance in 1954 banning segregation on municipal golf courses.

Another Texas city, San Antonio, adopted an ordinance in 1956 barring segregation in municipally owned public facilities. Last summer, the city council of El Paso, Texas, overrode the mayor's veto to pass an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, or theaters. Greensboro, North Carolina, has an ordinance outlawing segregation in public libraries.

Border Cities

A growing number of border cities have enunciated or strengthened policies of nondiscrimination in public facilities.

The council of Montgomery County, Maryland, in suburban Washington, D.C., has adopted an

ordinance forbidding discrimination in public accommodations, as did the Washington suburb of Rockville, Maryland.

St. Louis, in 1961, adopted a fully enforceable ordinance prohibiting discrimination and segregation in places of public accommodation, "including but not limited to public places providing food, shelter, recreation and amusement." Earlier, St. Louis Mayor Raymond R. Tucker had announced:

> The city counselor has informed me that the city government may not use its authority as an arm of the State to enforce a discrimination amongst its citizens which is unlawful within the meaning of the Federal Constitution. If a restaurant operator who otherwise invites all members of the public indiscriminately to his premises for service refuses such service solely on the basis of race, then the city may not enforce this discrimination by the application of its trespass ordinance. To do so would be a violation of the 14th Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Kansas City, Missouri, amended its city code in 1960 to forbid racial discrimination in hotels, motels, and restaurants. An ordinance provides for establishment of a fair public accommodations committee, to be composed of three members of the city's committee on human relations, appointed by the mayor. The committee, assisted by the staff of the city counselor, must investigate all complaints of discrimination and try to reach an adjustment by conciliation. Failing this, the complaint goes to the city counselor for action; conviction of violation of the provisions of the ordinance is punishable by a fine of from $25 to $200.

Baltimore passed an ordinance in 1961 outlawing discrimination in places of public accommodation. In 1955 the Baltimore Department of Recreation and Parks issued a statement that parks and recreation facilities would be operated on an integrated basis.

Northern Cities

A number of northern cities have passed ordinances or taken executive action to insure equal treatment for all citizens in public accommodations, including hotels, restaurants, hospitals, and recreational facilities. Licensing powers have been a tool for some cities committed to a policy of nondiscrimination.

Recreation Areas. In June, 1960, the city park board of Seattle signed an agreement with the Washington State Board against Discrimination ending racial exclusions on municipal golf courses. The same month, public golf links in New York City and Westchester and Nassau Counties, New York, dropped tournaments of a golf association which barred Negro members. The following year, the East Orange, New Jersey, city council authorized legal action to void the lease of a golf association charged with racial bias in membership selection.

Philadelphia was disturbed by several incidents in 1960 as a result of interracial use of public swimming pools. This prompted the commission on human relations and the department of recreation the following year to conduct a staff training program in human relations for recreation department personnel.

The Denver city council in 1961 approved an ordinance requiring permits for golf tournaments on city courses and forbidding the granting of such permits to groups with discriminatory policies. In 1962 the Chicago Park District notified a yacht club that its lease would be terminated in a year for "refusing membership to qualified applicants solely on the basis of race." Technically, the club was charged with being in default of its agreement with the District.

Other Public Facilities. Chicago adopted an ordinance in 1956 forbidding discrimination in admittance to or treatment in any government hospital in the city on the basis of race, religion, or ancestry. Thirty-nine nongovernmental hospitals in Chicago had, by mid-1962, adopted a pledge sponsored by the city's commission on human relations that they would not discriminate in providing service to patients; 22 others had indicated that they would sign in the near future; and negotiations continued with seven others.

Philadelphia routinely advises all businesses paying a mercantile license tax of the requirements of the city's fair employment practices and public accommodations laws. The welfare commissioner of New York City in 1956 ordered that private nursing homes treating recipients of

public assistance must prove they have policies of nondiscrimination or be dropped from the welfare list. A Denver ordinance makes licenses contingent upon conformance with the state's public accommodations law passed in 1895. Commissioners of the District of Columbia announced in 1961 that in future contracts with private hospitals for the care of indigent patients they will demand a clause forbidding discrimination against Negro physicians to match an existing one forbidding discrimination against hospital employees.

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SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

BY

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

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SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

INTRODUCTION

Confronting certain children in the South today are the tasks of getting an education under unusual conditions of social stress. These children, their families and teachers, have happened upon a moment in historical change, and their behavior in such circumstances deserves our attention. For nearly ten years now the deep South has faced increasing national pressure upon its avowedly segregated system of public education, and slowly, with stated reluctance, it has been forced to begin to permit the entry of a few Negroes into its colleges first, its high and elementary schools later.

We need not doubt the highly charged and symbolic meaning of desegregation for many people in the cities of the South. The mere approach of one six-year old colored child toward a white school could arouse so old and sophisticated a city as New Orleans for weeks, bringing in its

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*This study has been sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, a group of prominent Southerners, white and Negro, whose purpose is "to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South." I am deeply grateful to them.

wake unease all over the city, with mobs, vandalism, and international notice as expressions and consequences. Atlanta spared herself what other cities had experienced in this regard only through the most careful and determined planning of an alerted police force thoroughly supported by the local political leadership and the newspapers.

What has happened again and again is the explosion of words of hate and deeds of violence by certain white people, these in turn prompted by fears and anxieties. Public disorder, organized scorn, or, under conditions of order, carefully patrolled calm, such are the external conditions somhow faced and managed by those scatterings of Negro children who continue to press their admission and attendance upon formerly all white schools; and these dark children are received by their waiting white classmates in various ways. As psychiatrists, we must look further, trying to find out how these several groups of people think and feel, looking at their responses under tension, evaluating their survival and manner of accommodation with new realities daily urged upon them. In any crisis of society are the individuals who enact it, seeking it, caught in it, attempting to flee it. This particular struggle has many roots in our history and culture, many implications in our current political and

economic life, all of them beyond the present concerns of this paper, which must be with the individual child and his psychological development and adjustment. We may only emphasize that such distinctions are arbitary if necessary. No child can be separated from the history of his people, from their lot and their condition. This is not the place to chronicle the fate of the Negro in America, nor to trace the development of the white man's attitudes in the South, or North likewise, toward him. Such has been done by historians, (1-4), sociologists (5), psychologists (6-8), and psychiatrists (9-14), and, as we take up our work here we are forced merely to mention these facts of "culture" or "environment", or "socio-economic context." It must be obvious, however, that at every moment in the life of these children, such facts are firm realities for them.

Nature of This Study

Our Negro children have been selected by others, by themselves and their parents by virtue of application, by federal judges by virtue of decision, by school boards by virtue of compliance and permission. Our white children have been those who attended class with these Negroes, in the beginning simply living their normal lives of growing and being schooled; suddenly finding themselves with new questions of attitude and behavior. Finally, the parents of all these children, white and colored, and their teachers,

all of them white, have been a part of our study, supplying valuable observations about their children and students, talking a good deal about their own problems in what is for many of them, of both races, a critical adjustment in habit and thought.

We have tried for lengthy acquaintance with children of several ages. They have been as young as five and as old as eighteen. In New Orleans they were the little ones, entering first grade, attending second and third grades. They included the four Negro girls, who at age six, first entered two white schools in 1961, and four of their classmates; the six additional Negro children who entered the same and other schools the next year, and seven of their white classmates. In Atlanta they were the ten Negro children who were selected for that city's first year of desegregation, five to enter the twelfth grade and five the eleventh of four high schools, and ten of their white classmates.

All of these children have been followed for two full school years. We have seen the children in Atlanta at least once a week, often twice weekly, depending upon the child and the circumstances at work in his personal and school life. We have visited the children in New Orleans every month, seeing them two or three times in a period of a week's stay. With the teen-agers and their parents we have come to their homes and talked with them; with younger children we

have come supplied with toys, crayons, and paints. Though regular home visitors, we have also been to their schools, talked with their teachers separately and in groups. We have known many of them months before schools opened, watched them enter on their first day, and graduate or be promoted on their last. Among white children we have aimed at diverse opinions on segregation. In both cities we have children from families actively in favor of desegregation and very earnestly opposed. In Atlanta one family is connected with the Klan, two others militantly segregationist; in New Orleans four families of like mind.

In brisker fashion we have journeyed to other cities, other Southern regions where desegregation has begun, hoping in a few interviews with children, parents, teachers for comparative information on adjustment and progress. Little Rock in Arkansas, Clinton and Oak Ridge in Tennessee, Burnsville, Asheville, and Charlotte in North Carolina, have offered rural and urban contrasts, and information from a more northerly South than Georgia and Louisiana.

Observations and Discussion

Our chief concerns have been what color means to a child, how these children, Negro and white, see themselves and respond to one another, how they handle the strains of desegregation, the shock of one another's presence, the anxiety and anger on the streets or the fear inside their

homes; finally, how their attitudes and feelings change or persist over the months of these eventful and unusual school years. It would be fatuous indeed to ignore the separate nature of existence for the black and white child in the South. We must therefore, tell their fate and our findings separately, starting, in each case, with the young and moving on to the older child.

Negro Children

We may note, initially, that there are no obvious social or economic ways to distinguish these families whose children participated in the first years of desegregation. These children have come from all classes, the very poor to the comfortable, the educated to the barely literate, long time city dwellers and recent arrivals from fast disappearing farms, and a wide variety of motives have pressed upon them or their parents, most especially the desire for better education, and the advancement of their people's struggle for equality. In no case were they cajoled, rewarded, or even asked to apply.[1] In both Atlanta and New Orleans many

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[1]One of the most common beliefs I have met in the South, held not only by segregationsits, but by many people very sympathetic to desegregation, often by many kind teachers, is that the NAACP in some way recruits these children, then rewards them, pays them, bribes them, the verb depending on the attitudes of the particular person. I have yet to see evidence of this with any of our children.

were eager, but only very few chosen. Selection was based in both cities upon the declared regard of school officials for seeking children able and capable of surviving an obviously special and possibly traumatic experience. In both cities and in others over the South, psychological tests were given, personal interviews held. Four in New Orleans, ten in Atlanta, survived these for first year desegregation. These children represent, therefore, a residue deemed by educators fit and superior to other aspirants.

We have seen, and we must emphasize, heavy and hard, that each of these Negro children must learn and has learned how to manage in the white world of the South. From their first years they must be taught, and, slowly begin to realize fully for themselves, what they may do, where they may go, how they must behave. These dusky children of six, their yet smaller brothers and sisters of three or four, are fast learning such facts of social life, and their older kind in Atlanta have already mastered these childhood lessons quite well.

Drawings of these young children reveal their emerging sense of shame and worthlessness, their feelings of weakness before white skin and their envy of it. While all children have their troubles with many of these emotions, early sorrows, frights, rivalries and angers, for the Negro child, in contrast with the white child's experience, they

have a real basis in the world outside the home, regardless of the pleasure and happiness within.

For instance, a six year old boy, several months at a heavily boycotted but desegregated New Orleans school, draws his view of himself and one of his few white classmates, and, in another picture, sketches his idea of his place in school. Another child, a girl of seven, having faced daily mobs, draws her school and herself. The boy leaves some white on his right arm and leg, draws himself smaller, more bound and animal-like than his blond classmate, who, in reality, is smaller and much less active and darting. He puts himself in one part of his school, his white schoolmates in another, although, he assures me, in actual fact they are together in classes. ("They say we're not supposed to, but we are.") The girl pictures herself a lonely blackbird, cautiously winging her way toward the school, hesitant, fragile before white mankind as birds generally are before people, a host of her black kin segregated in distant knots of black upon a blue sky. Another of the four girls, one who saw a whole school empty in the face of her admission, draws her school with bright flowers on one of its sides, a stealthy brown squirrel on another. Again, she draws a white girl friend as large, smiling and blooming with cheer, while a colored child ("it's not me," she hastens to tell me with no prodding) appears in a corner

of the paper, dour and droopy, lips puckered, legs looking lamed.

In these homes I have seen white dolls kept separated from colored ones, called, in two instances, King and Queen. On the other hand I have seen our same children eventually feel free enough to hit, crush, or shatter these small white worlds of dolls and toys, looking at first fearfully or guiltily at me, later able to talk rather clearly about their deep feelings of resentment and hurt. ("If the white hits the colored, the colored has to hit him back." Or, "The white people call us bad, but they are the real bad and we never get bad enough to be bad like them, so I'm just fooling." He had just been rather merciless with a white boy in a coloring book, crossing him out with giant strokes of his black crayon.)

In her very overworked and overstated affection for whites in paper and in play a five year old girl shows other, contrary attitudes at work. She never quite felt free enough to express them directly, but their symbolic presence could not be concealed. She had always given white people features, had drawn carefully and precisely their blue eyes, had marked their fine noses by thin pink lines, had outlined their slim, curved lips, jarred only rarely by all too excessive teeth which loomed larger than the mouth which presumably contained them, and almost threatened the entire face. Negroes never

had eyes, noses, mouths, only large ears. They were anonymous, and would thus not reveal their true feelings, though they were listening all the time. One day she looked furtively at me as she started drawing eyes and a nose for a colored mother and her daughter, then quickly left her crayons for the escape of skipping and dancing. We both knew why. She had always been able to talk about how white children played and felt, telling me stories to go with her drawings, telling me thereby about many of her own normal problems of growing and getting along with her mother, her father, her sister and brothers. What she feared talking about was one problem, how she felt about being a Negro, how she felt about the restrictions and prohibitions which even then she was learning, which even then were being reinforced in their power over her spontaneous urges, in busses, in stores, in movie houses, in lunch counters. At school she could play with white children and study with them, but she knew this condition was special, and precarious at that. She found attendance at a desegregated school much easier, however, than revealing her private, her family's private fears and hates, of those white children, of their parents, of their entire world. Several months later she again drew a Negro woman, again gave her eyes and a nose and lips which were surely, widely Negro. She was able to finish her work, filling in details of sky and ground, and, in reply to my

hesitant question, "What does the woman see?" I heard "The dark, 'cause the sun isn't out." She laughed and pushed her paper with its nicely done picture aside; then volunteered "one more." It was an obvious witch, broom and all, under a black sky, over two buildings of red and orange brick, similar to ones she had done before of her house and her school. Halloween had passed by three months. I noted that to her. She replied, "Some witches are always alive, and this one just stayed around." This particular sorceress was brown-skinned. At this point I felt I could mention that to her, and did. She replied, "Oh, yes." I pressed with "Why?", and she eventually explained that some people, she knew it, didn't like Negroes. Here she was showing what others thought, but also what she thought, with ugliness and isolated eccentricity the image held of them by whites, but also by themselves, by herself, too; and with shrill vengeance the Negro's secret fantasy.

Positive feelings toward this white doctor, occur. Apart from an occasional doorstep visit from an insurance salesman or such, these children and their parents have never before acted as friendly host to a white guest in their home. Real trust must, therefore, be distinguished from early, anxious, fearful ingratiation, just as these must be differentiated in older children and adults, race apart, too. In three children, particularly expressive with crayons and

paints, lessened distrust and fright seemed to appear with pictures of me, to which they would hastily add brown skin or coloring. First my tan or dappled complexion would be erased with a new picture started, or an apologetic remark indicating an error voiced. After a while I could be left colored, and they learned that it caused me no pain. Two asked me if I minded. No, I didn't, they found out, then tested my words and tried their freedom to make us seem more alike by embarking upon a spate of such drawings for a few months. Eventually they abandoned this game. One of them was able to tell me once that she was soiling me, for which she was very sorry. I remarked to her that she had painted a large shining sun, and that, perhaps I was being sun-tanned. Yes, she murmurred, that, too. Those children who found desegregation a happier experience than expected drew schools progressively less forbidding and impersonal, played games less hectic or guarded. Those whose school experiences had been frought with much tension expressed much of this in our games, trying, oftentimes, to make sense out of the experience by re-enacting it. One girl would imitate the crowds, the unfriendly crowds, then turn on them, disperse them in a model of police efficiency painfully in contrast with what had actually happened on the streets. "I'm better than the police," she told me once.

These angry crowds took on highly individual implications

and meanings for each child. Mob reproaches are fitted into the normal problems of growing. A child who feels guilty about her wishes to hurt or eliminate her brothers and sisters can wonder whether the epithets of street walkers are not really designed to punish her for her secret, and sometimes not so hidden, fantasies. At five, six, or seven, they are very much involved in the rights and wrongs of the world, how to tell them apart, how to mediate between their evolving conscience and quick-rising wishes. One six year old boy, whose mother was pregnant, drew his large bellied mother standing near his desegregated school, a fire hose nearby, a few whites standing afar. Asked for his rationale, he explained the story he was drawing, "They're mad (whites) because we are going to their school, and they want the fire hose back, but it's ours, too." Oedipal strivings and the realities of dealing with mob dispersal are fixed neatly together here.

What the parents intuitively knew was that they must acknowledge their children's perceptions of a sullen or hostile world, all the while assuring them that there were other worlds of affection, and, even among whites, support. One mother put it this way, "I tells her that she's right and those folks don't like her nor me either just 'cause we're colored. But I say that me and her daddy went against worse in the older days, and we is going to go right through this, and, we got a lot of the whites who are helping us all the way." For many

parents this was a forthright chance to talk openly with their children about their problems as Negroes. By no means is it easy for Negro families to talk with one another about such matters. Shame, self-hatred which can express itself in contempt for one another, these make such open talk hard. A father illustrates this: "Before I tried to fool them maybe a little, because I figured there'd be plenty of time for them to find out what the world is like, and, besides, I figured we'd take each situation as it comes up. Sometimes they'd try to get me to take them into a restaurant or a movie, and I'd invent all kinds of stories and try to take their attention away, divert them you might say; but I kind of knew they were too smart underneath. First they'd keep on asking, or ask questions like 'why not?' and then sometimes I'd lose my temper and tell them to shut up. Then they'd give you that look that makes you feel stupid, or maybe like crying, and I'd hear them later on, telling one another the truth .... 'because we're black' they'd say. They say you can't fool children, and I guess they is right, but can you blame a parent for trying?... Now we can relax, and it's all in the open, and it's easier with the other kids just as with her" (the girl in the desegregated school.)

Balancing outside threats and anxiety were the inside supports of the school as well as the home. While these

children were applauded by their own communities, and many people all over the world, they also received help from their teachers and white classmates, few to many in number, depending upon the year and the school involved. Three of them, learning their letters in an abandoned school, had no white classmates the first year and about fifteen the second. One of them studied largely alone at first, though she always had about five, then about ten white students with her at the beginning, and later, in the second year, over one-hundred returned to school with her. Perhaps if we hear two recorded comments, from a Negro and a white mother, we will understand what happened inside these battered schools. A Negro mother told us "Ruby came home the other day and told me that a new white girl came and she came right up to Ruby and told her in the middle of the recess that she wasn't going to play with her, 'cause her mother done told her to stay clear of niggers, but Ruby said they played together right afterwards." A white mother, who kept her children in school under constant threat and intimidation commanted: "Once they were in school, it was fine. Why, they practically worshipped that little girl (Negro) After all they'd never had it so good ... so few of them to a teacher, and all that excitement. They loved it. I got scared, all the calls and their faces ... but the kids kept me calmer than I kept them. They weren't afraid...they had a real school spirit... they

sang songs like "Frantz School Will Survive"...they became real close together... Yes, it was like a family, and I guess the police were like their fathers, and they even joined in with the singing. I think the teachers became more determined than ever to stick it out and protect the children after they saw what those people were like. I've never heard such foul language..."

We saw evidence of anxiety, nervous loss of appetite, fretful disposition, unusually scrappy behavior with brothers and sisters, rare tearfulness before going to school, and one temporary episode of bed-wetting, but never were these crippling in length or severity, similar to the kinds of complaints which bring children to child guidance clinics. Parental anxiety could trigger a child's, but none of these parents ever seemed near collapse in their ability to cope with daily living. Subjected to curses, warnings of attack and death, job loss, these people drew close together, inside their own families, and within the shared assurance of a group. Very important, often overlooked, is the fact that theirs has been a life time of adaptation to what they know and feel to be unfair treatment. A father put it this way: "It's not new, and it won't be the last time, but now my child is closer to me than ever before, and we both are going to get through this, because at last we've got a reason for our hardship, and, Lord, that makes it easier

than ever before." We heard similar sentiments over and over again, in every city visited, from our teen-aged children in Atlanta particularly, able as they were to talk for themselves.

If the young child can draw and play his sense of himself and the white world outside, draw and play his fears and tensions under desegregation, and how they fit into his problems of growing up, the older child will have a style of living, a manner of thinking and feeling and acting which do likewise. In our adolescent children we have heard over the months conscious and unconscious expressions of lessons learned earlier, now organized into patterns of behavior: meekness masking rage, anger expressing shame or anxiety, fearful guilt following expression of frustration or humiliation, and, in general, a thicket of rationalizations, apprehensive controls, and bland denials, covering sadness, bitterness, and, always with "the Man"[2] around, uncertainty and fear.

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[2]Negroes often refer to the white world as "the Man" or "The Bossman." A fine coat might be called a "Boss Coat." When I went on vacation I was told several times to have a "Boss Time." Words used by whites and Negroes in the South to describe Negroes are associated with all kinds of social and cultural variables, often hard neatly to categorize. I have heard Negroes and whites use different terms to describe Negroes depending upon where they are and with whom, as well as their feelings behind the words. Poor white people generally use the word "nigger," and I have heard many Negroes do likewise, in serious and humorous self-description or derogation. Many middle-class southerners use the term "nigra," and it often emerges in quiet, honeyed fashion, with no mean intent, but simply a natural derivitive of the southern accent. Many southerners, much conscious of race relations or interested and responsive to northern custom use the word "Negro," sometimes, I feel, a little awkwardly and unnaturally, because it is not a word until recently used by most southerners to describe the Negro. I feel that the word "colored" is more often used by gentle white northerners, but I have heard it used by many Negroes in the South, and more rarely by white southerners. Of course, the "black man" the "dark people" and the "Africans" also have usages which are perhaps too specialized to discuss here.

We must emphasize, again and again, that for many of these conscious feelings of rage or intimidation to be revealed, for many dreams and fantasies to be spoken, much time and development of trust was needed. The parallel with any psychotherapy is obvious, but the contrast between these "healthy" Negroes, these "normal," even "superior" teen-agers and their white classmates in ease and freedom of social expression is startling. White children, can, and often do, say what they feel about Negroes to themselves and, often, to Negroes, say friendly things, say hurtful things. Negroes not only have no such relatively ready confidence or articulation with a white person, a fact which is obvious to many people but still denied by many more, but Negroes often are unable to talk with one another about their lot and problems as Negroes. Self hate, learned from a culture which has bound, ostracised, and proscribed them, becomes a hate for one another. The dreams, associations, comments and written remarks, drawings and paintings, and letters of these children richly illustrate such developments.

Of course, all adolescents have their problems, of quick growth and heightened awareness, of torn feelings, of doubts and dreams charged with new hormonal strength; but, again, the Negro adolescent has a special problem with the all too real social and cultural truth of his past exploitation and still curbed apartness. The whole play of the mind will be

seen in these youths, their projections and introjections, their distortions and excuses, a host of justifications and remedial responses to the lessons of inferiority, well learned by them, gathered by them from the white ocean of habits, customs, its culture which surrounds them and controls them from their first years to their last moments. From tapes we can hear their words: "I'm glad I'm not white, all that worrying about losing Atlanta's reputation if a riot comes when we desegregate," or "I don't think there's any real difference between white and colored, except that we're lazier most of the time." Or, "We deserve what we get, and until we work harder, we'll just have to take it." Again, after a year and a half, "I never told you the truth, because I never trusted a white man before... Why should we?... Sometimes we hate all of them, it doesn't make any difference who they are, it's the whole race... You know, sometimes I could just kill every white man in sight, whether I knew them or not, but that's more like what you call a daydream. I'd never really do it, it's just when you get so frustrated and they treat you like an animal, that's when it comes out..." A boy who had been at a white high school for months, and seen a Negro wield a knife in the downtown section of his city remarked to us: "Negroes are uncivilized more than whites... Sometimes they behave like animals... I feel ashamed of them... Yes, I guess it makes

me feel ashamed of myself, too." Finally, "The whites are scared of us. They've always been. That's why they have to try so hard to keep us down... Yes, I guess I think their fears are justified, because I think most of us do, way down, hate them... Well, it's like the cart and the horse, I mean whether they're scared of us because of the way we feel toward them, or if we were made to feel that way and then they get scared because of what they did to us." Little psychiatric interpretation is necessary here.

At fifteen, old ideas, old experiences, racially tinged admonitions from parents, racially connected epithets from the outside world, bulk larger and stronger. Negro adolescents in Atlanta met no mobs, but their age and its own burdens, as with the younger children in New Orleans, merged with the stresses of desegregation. Months before nine of them entered four high schools their names and pictures were in the local papers. While police can deter public throngs; threatening, highly abusive phone calls, similar messages by mail, pressures on employers, pressures by employers, these are less easily contained. Night after night calls came, menacing, foreboding ill, and, in the morning, special deliveries of the same kind appeared. Atlanta was determined to have law and order, but during that anxious summer before initial desegregation was under way, no one could really know what bomb and dynamite threats, what murderous innuendo,

might materialize even with the most elaborate precautions. Nor was the heritage of these families, several poor and recently from farms, conducive to reassurance and thoughtful serenity.

Among the children and their parents, too, anticipatory anxiety and defenses against it were quite prominent. Especially common were the use of denial and rationalizations, such as "I'm not worried about anything," or, "What's there to worry about?" or, "They'll bother the boys" from a girl and "at least we can protect ourselves" from a boy. Frequent projective maneuvers were seen, like "I'll bet they're plenty scared (the whites) of what'll happen," and, "It's nothing for us to worry about; it's their problem, not ours." Loss of appetite, migraine headaches, insomnia were seen. One boy read a law book, versing himself on "assault and battery" sections particularly, but he "just happened to be" doing this, then. Another boned up on kerate, keeping his once slack muscles newly poised. Many, wishing for a foreseeable end to increasing tension, trapped themselves into forecasts of early ease once the first few days of school were over.

Such, sadly, was not to be the case. Long moments of history may disappear, bur not necessarily at the speed hoped by an anxious child. During the school year the trials of hard work, frequent loneliness and isolation, and occasional insult had to be met, and each child had his

or her own way of dealing with these pressures. One of the original ten selected, a very bright girl of seventeen, dropped out just before school opened, she and her family unable and unwilling to bear the daily, rising tension ("We're too far out from the police, and it's too exposed here. They could shoot to kill or dynamite us, and I'm not going to take the chance," the girl admitted, guilty about her decision, but more afraid of what would happen were it not made.) Another slightly younger girl, also quite intelligent, asked to return to her old Negro high school a short while after her first report card showed two A's and three B's, the highest grades of all the Negro students, obtained in a tough academic program. A well spoken, attractive girl, from a middle-class family, of the three Negroes, probably the favorite of teachers and students alike, her withdrawal for what she called "an emotional upset" confused her city a great deal. Front page publicity, local and national, with editorials and heavy television coverage, remarks of concern by the Governor of Georgia, conflicting explanations of the cause, such attention gives some hint of the interest, hopes, the fears, and guilts attached by so many to desegregation in the South.

Having known her for six months, I had seen her respond to apprehension with heavy reliance upon detailed, increasingly burdensome rituals. She was getting little

sleep, eating sporadically and excessively of sweets, and not simply studying but exhausting herself in tangled, midnight minutiae, in unrealistic and obviously hurtful anticipation of all of the next day's possible recitals. While these classrooms were, in fact, for these children, an awkward, silent, closely watched and often fearful stage, this girl could not handle her role as easily as the eight others who stayed and survived. The reasons seemed more connected with her fragile personal and familial history, frought with divorce and parental strife, than desegregation alone. A crisis had sharpened old angers and sorrows, had upset a precariously balanced relationship with her father and sister, and had found her abilities, even assisted by a relatively friendly school body, newly weakened by rigid and frail defenses.

Depressions, headaches, stomach aches, all these were seen with some frequency. Three of the five girls developed definite increase in premenstrual pain, and, thereby temporary absence from school. All three boys seemed prone to headaches and dreams of thinly disguised rage: "I dreamt I was in Little Rock,[3] and they (whites) were coming after

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[3]Events like Little Rock stick fast to these children. They were eleven or twelve at the time, awakening to themselves and their world. All refer to memories of Little Rock on television and identification with the Negro students there. No less than four have used that even in their dreams, to symbolize such feelings as isolation, determined resistance, anger, etc.

me... I started to run, then I found I had a gun, and I turned and it turned out to be a machine gun, so I fired away; I opened up right at them, and I think they stopped... I had another dream later that night. I dreamed I got arrested for driving too fast, and my father said I'd better go to jail because he didn't have the money to pay the fine, and then I woke up ... what a night, it was as bad as school!" This dream-pair of anger, of crime and punishment, was followed weeks later, in the same boy, with "I was running real fast, but then I looked around and no one seemed to be chasing me, so I relaxed. Then I saw a girl walking down the street. She was a white girl, so I looked the other way. You know. Then, a funny thing happened. She told me it was O. K. to look, 'cause I was white, too, and she smiled at me. I think we talked for a while or something, but suddenly she turned Negro and ran from me, and I felt bad, like I'd done something wrong. Then I woke up. I couldn't get the dream out of my mind, it was one of those that stick with you real clear all day... Mostly the feeling of doing something wrong ... I think I woke up before I could get caught or something, maybe the police were around the corner." Sexual identity, racial identity, fears, hopes, guilts, all raw and sharply summoned.

Though harassed, these children were also honored, and, just as the New Orleans parents averred, so did they, that

here was a chance for purposeful stress in contrast to the arbitrary stresses of the daily rejections and exclusions encountered by the Negro in his living and working. Indeed, eight out of ten selected in Atlanta successfully finished these last one or two years of their high school education, though not without signs of tiring and of strain. As wearying as their psychological problems were their academic ones. They come from overcrowded, poorly equipped schools, from years of education in a separate school system which reflects inevitably the position of the Negro, the restricted hopes, the frequent poverty and the precarious affluence, (16) the continual fears, the lessened pace, the boredom, apathy, and that, too, the reactive rage and its impulsive, expressive violence. One says what many have said, "More kids dropped out because they had to go to work, and they didn't think they'd do much better even if they stayed and graduated. Even if they graduated from college, they might end up not any better than if they left in the 9th grade... Man, it's a white man's world all the way. You sure can see it when you get to an integrated school. These white kids have hope, I don't know how I know it, but they do, you can just feel it... I almost feel as if I've been let out of jail and let into America, like walking into one of those TV programs, you know, where people seem free and kind of happy...it's like feeling you're participating, not just always watching and peeking around."

They studied hard, curtailed social activities, graduated. Those who followed them the next year, over forty in number, less carefully picked, struggled even harder with some of these problems of academic adjustment required at so late a time as the last years of high school.

One of the most common difficulties encountered by these colored students was their own ambivalence, their pride of person and new self-respect as Negroes, their identification with changes in Africa, in Asia, in their own country; but also, along side such feelings, the results of their ancient exile from American culture, a sense of their own lowly, tainted nature, an aloof, hesitant, distrust of whites, a self-hatred appearing as suspicion of them even when they are kindly and affectionate: "I don't know what to do when they get nice. It's easier when they ignore you, at least then you're used to it, and we know what to do...when they get friendly, I feel as if they've got some angle to it, or trying to pull something... I guess I don't really believe we've got some equality now...I finally got up enough courage, and walked over and sat with them... Oh, I knew they were friendly, and they wanted me to come over...but you know how it is... But it all went good. I think they were as nervous as I was, but now when I sit with them, no one thinks anything of it." A less successful outcome, in a school less hospitable to its two Negro children, shows one way of dealing with daily rebuke and insult: "I don't care what they say, or what they think of me,..

I'm going to graduate from that school if it's the last thing I do. They can all leave if they want... Man, that's my school as much as theirs, and they don't scare me, and if I scare them, they can go... go and give me the whole school to myself.."

White Children

Since the white children mostly do not leave these schools, or, when they do, usually return after the crisis of violence or mob action subsides, they, too, have reactions to desegregation, a new and often surprising reality to them.

Born and reared in a region which has, however recently, (2) as successors to slavery, developed an elaborate array of social customs, strongly bulwarked by law, which regulate from birth to death doings, if not feelings, between the races, these children are now asked to participate in the beginning of the end of these ways. For the young white child, this ordinarily requires little effort. His age and its momentum appear to overcome even parental injunctions. I have watched them play, children from segregationist homes, urged by their mothers to keep good distance from the one or two colored children among them, yet forgetful of these ideas and pleas in the abandon of play. Teachers say as this one did: "They forget what they're told at home when they start playing. You can't expect children of this age to worry about skin color when they want to play a game or jump rope... I

suppose if their parents scare them to death about it (skin color) they'll remember, but it'll take work to prevent children from being friendly one minute and nasty the next regardless of what color they are."

Two such children and their parents showed us how dark skin can, in fact, become an object of anxious avoidance, a focus for emotions communicated from parents to child by daily example, by daily intimacy of phrase and example. Their parents were not simply voting segregationists, but preoccupied segregationists, fervently involved believers in distance between the races, in Negro inferiority and harmfulness. Their mothers' associations, culled from many interviews, indicate that for them, the Negro is dirty, diseased, promiscuous, a source of contamination, and that all these thoughts, held by many others in a casual or quiet fashion, are of strong, constant concern to them. Joining together the words of one mother from several tapes, we must emphasize the urgency and passion of her delivery: "They're dragging us down, and you know why? Because they're made lower and they're born with less intelligence than we have. Just look at them...[4] they're more animal than spiritual, and the Bible tells us not to mix the two if we can help it...They have their place, and

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[4]There is no absence of curiosity in people like her, albeit from a distance.

it's not anywhere near us...they're dirty, they're drunks, and they slash one another with razor blades and flood Chairty Hospital with their V. D. and illegitimate children... I don't think they know what family life is, and now they want us to catch it from them, get all our children sick, and start them off with little nigger kids in school. I sent him back there (Frantz School) because I figure there's only one or two, and we can get by if he stays away from them, but what about our grandchildren, when they flood us in twenty years?...I get sick near them, because they smell and I almost want to vomit..."

She had felt sick in the past, with nausea, cold sweats, loss of appetite, in a northern restaurant, seeing them nearby. She and her husband and two children had hastily left. She avoided them, particularly any chance of touching them or being touched, and she had taught this to her young girl and boy. In turn, her son, aged six, could draw a desegregated school under dark clouds, brown colored with black smoke emerging from its chimney. In one of its corners, encircled by a black line, the thinnest skeletal outlines of a Negro child could be seen. He drew another picture of his school, the same school, but of orange brick under a blue sky and full sun, scarcely any brown there but the land (dirt) under the flowers and grass. The two separate drawings had come about through the following conversation: (Dr.) "Would you want to

draw a picture of your school now?" Nodding, "Should I draw the whole school?" Hesitating a moment, (Dr.) "As much as you want to." He sketched one, then another picture, telling me it was a big school, "except it still isn't filled up again." (The boycott by whites had collapsed, and he, like other white children, had not been allowed to attend.) He was a sturdy and tidy boy, well mannered, rather close to his mother, bright and a good talker, a good artist, too. He wanted to be a doctor, had so for about a year. Doctors, he told me once, had to be clean, and had to scrub their hands very hard before they cut into people. We had embarked on that line of thought after a small discussion of the little Negro girl in his school. "I don't go near her, because I don't like her looks and she's a bad girl... My best friend is Jimmie and he said he wouldn't play with her either because she'd ruin the game, but I don't like her around anyways." He did indeed stay away from her, and sought friends who did likewise, or simply were doing likewise not in any exclusiveness, but in the natural order of play. His mother, affectionate toward him and truly confident of his loyalty, felt that his assurances to her that he remained clear from the Negro child were unnecessary. "Sometimes he tells me he hasn't gone near her when he comes home, but I know he hasn't regardless." He hasn't, but he is not without a silent interest, a certain preoccupation. He will draw the

colored child, then cross her out, he will wipe her out in play and shoot her, but not fail to mention her, bring her into his assertive, frolicsome games.

Other children seem less anxious to draw the Negro into our talk and play. Their parents may have welcomed desegregation, and there is no issue for them, though several of them are very much aware at five or six what it means in our country to be a Negro. One girl at school and in class with a little Negro girl informed me that "most white people don't like them, but I don't mind them." Their parents may not have welcomed desegregation at all, but may place little emotional store in its slow onset. A mother told me she did not want her children at desegregated schools, but she wanted them attending school, and there seemed little alternative but certain private schools, which, she felt, were not the best choice, educationally, for her children. "If I had a lot of money, I'd send them to real good private schools; this way, I figure it's best to keep them in school even with the two nigras... I tell them (her two children involved) to keep away from them and never to play with the,...Well, maybe they do, in the yard sometime, but I don't think that'll cause any trouble. I'm not against young children playing, I mean nigras and whites. I'm against giving them equality in schools and restaurants and things like that, because I don't think they're equal, to be truthful. I just don't believe any fair minded

person can look at them and the way they live and believe they are. I just don't." Attitudes like this, long held and deeply, honestly believed, are less likely to kindle a young child's resolute fear and horror. This woman states her opposition, but her capacity to weigh other values and concerns in determining her position. Unlike several of our parents, she will not march out on any street in agitated demonstration. Her children, therefore, duly understand her views, and adopt them as their own, but her daughter occasionally will acknowledge a rope game with the little Negro girl in her class, and one day, settled the entire problem for herself by telling me she'd let one Negro girl into her doll house, but no others. "I mean all the others will have to be maids, but she (the one) can have a cup of tea with us." (She loved serving tea in her doll house, and was a most gracious hostess.)

With adolescence, old ideas, stored but forgotten in games, emerge newly influential. In Atlanta, the problem of white boys and girls, now fast growing, struggling with problems of identify, of belief and career, were aptly summarized for me by a high school senior who found a Negro in several of his classes, and felt torn by old traditions and perceptions and new realities: "It's a shock to us, I'll have to say that. I mean, I'm not against Lawrence. I've grown to respect him; but it's like this...they were slaves here and we had them in bondage. We fought a war over the

thing and got beat, but even so, we've all grown up with them living one way, and us another...they've worked in our kitchens and taken care of us, and suddenly you wake up and find them in your schools sitting across from you... It's not the way we've ever lived with them before, and you can't expect us not to find it hard for a while."

Attitudes varied from immediate sympathy through indifference to marked hostility. One form of hostility was the direction of overworked attention and conversation to the Negroes with a paternal attitude which they could scarcely not notice and frequently describe: "I'd rather have them swear at us than all that fake sympathy she gives out. She thinks she's big-time roylaty, doing us a favor with her friendship. She tells us how much she likes us, but how does she know if she does, when she doesn't know us at all?" Others, less impelled by unconsciously wrought reaction-formations, developed slow sympathy with these children, often identifying with them in their loneliness or suffering. One adolescent boy of fifteen, in so many ways reminiscent of Anna Freud's (15) description of the teen-aged youth in all his ambivalent turmoil, remarked feelingly, "I know what it is to be alone... they must be boiling underneath, but I guess they know how to keep up a good front. I think I was against desegregation, and I still am in a way, but I really feel for those two kids, and I've got to admit I like both of them in spite of what I

thought I'd feel...you know, you've got to hand it to them... sometimes I see them just sitting at the table, and I say to myself, we're rotten animals, us human beings are just mean all over. Then I want to go up and sit and talk with them, but I don't dare...you know why, I'll have to be honest, it would just make it too hard for me. I'd have to take more than they do, I think."

Slowly, as the months go along, many of these white students, less and less afraid of social ostracism, have made overtures to their Negro schoolmates, words, a smile, a question, a nod. Desegregation has then moved from its legal and physical reality to its emotional onset.

Others feel and continue to feel differently: "They're no damn good, and never will be...just look at Africa...All they do is sit and drink...They live like animals and they sure look like them, too. Have you ever smelled them, real close? They make me sick just to go near them!" Strong are the words and feelings these young men and women have and much the notice they are willing to give the Negro: "Most kids ignore us, and a few are really nice, but there are three or four who won't leave us alone. They just stare all day long... I think they've got a kind of 'thing' about us, and it won't let them alone, so how can they let us alone?"

Three of these young people, two boys and a girl, have never felt unwilling or unable to describe their anger and

scorn for the two Negroes at school with them. Listening to their words, and feelings underneath those words, one finds, however, sensitivity and guilt as well as rage, revealing them, unconsciously, troubled and conscience stricken by the very harm they would so freely cause. One would describe with apparent pleasure the isolation and fear experienced by a Negro girl in his class, then wish, always after telling of her painful moments, that she go to Africa, surely an escape as well as an exile. Another talked quietly about his segregationist views, becoming loudly, angrily, critical when he described a bullying word or deed toward a Negro in which he shared. He always had to fend off his own sense of right and wrong in these specific situations by such excesses of rationalized pique. One rather bright and athletic boy, with no significant medical or psychiatric history, revealed the clashes and contradictions of sympathy, fear, and hate within himself: "I don't hate Martha. Fact is, I feel sorry for her, and for the other one, too. She's pathetic, the way she just sits there all alone, smiling at you if you look at her, and working away all the time, trying to prove something, I guess. It's the NAACP and the professional nigger lovers I'm against, because they're taking advantage of Martha just like the rest of us to cause trouble between the races... We've had a lot more use for the nigger here than up North... I've gone up there and I know how they live there... Here,

we've got respect for one another, and most niggers will tell you they don't want to be with us any more than we want to be with them...This is an insult to them as much as to us, and I think Martha is a dupe, and even if I feel sorry for her, I can't forgive her for letting herself be used."

Our Negro and white children, regardless of their differing views and hopes, all agreed on the interesting point that most white children, despite their declared opinions, in practice were indifferent to the Negroes who entered their schools. Over and over from the Negroes we heard, "They couldn't care less." Time and again we heard from white children, "I've got more on my mind than a couple of niggers... my work and basketball are what I think of all day...who cares? I mean, they're here, and we didn't want it, but what difference does it make, now? I don't think <u>any</u> in your everyday life."

Changes in feelings are reported and observable, too. Several of our high school juniors and seniors have noted changes in sentiments from mild antipathy or disinterest to respect or even affection, often to their own surprise. The unpredictable nature of human behavior, the accumulative effects of conscious and unconscious guilt and atonement, of changed perceptions and newly developing social customs, are all perhaps summarized in the experience of a Negro girl who went through a year of silence and sometimes much worse, only

to be herself surprised in her last day of school at the requests of eighteen white classmates to autograph her yearbook. Their messages, from "best wishes" to "I am sorry for my silence, but you will understand why," from "I know you have had an unpleasant time, but we have all had a difficult year, and we have come through it successfully" to "you have proven yourself a fine person, and I have been sorry we could not know you better," speak for themselves, self-evident examples of changing emotions, slowly incubating amid the complicated silence of an unusual school year.

Parents and Teachers

We may only briefly here refer to the parents and teachers of these children. It is a commonplace that these children are much affected by the attitudes of both. We have been particularly interested to note, in city after city of the South, that teachers may have felt tension between their roles as teachers and their private feelings. In the two battered schools of New Orleans, in Central High School in Little Rock, in the unharassed but tensely protected (some police scruntiny all year long) high schools of Atlanta, we have heard teachers reflect what their society obviously faces, the anxieties and mixed feelings of social and cultural change. One teacher put it very well, speaking to me in a group of several teachers meeting to discuss their observations of how desegregation was

proceeding: "We felt betwixt and between our traditions as southerners and the Law. I wouldn't disobey my school board, because I know I have responsibilities as a teacher, but I had my private opinions about this, of course. You know, we were as nervous as the students were... you could hear a pin drop... I think I've learned as much this year as my students, and maybe a little more... You can't change a whole way of living without a little trouble here and there, but I'm right proud of our children here in Atlanta."

Parents, of course, will vary, and teach their young children what they themselves feel, from kindness to fear. Many children in Atlanta obviously reflect their parents' views. Many don't, however. A white boy, son of a militant segregationist father, found friendliness toward Negroes, spoken and acted, a means of teen-aged rebellion. Several young students differentiated most precisely their views from those of their parents. "We're from another generation," a refrain as old as man himself, was not absent among these youths. Nor do Negro students heed their parents so resolutely. Often their parents, all too aware of past hurts, all to fearful and suspicious, had opposed letting their children transfer to white schools. Family splits, mother approving, father dissenting, or vice-versa, were not rare, with younger and older children alike. Once under the crisis of actual participation, however, these splits seemed to be welded together in

the common familial need for mutual support against an outside world potentially harmful.

The Psychiatrist's Roles and Reactions

We can only mention in passing at this time some of the problems encountered by a psychiatrist working in the midst of active social and political crisis, though this subject deserves to be pursued further. For a white psychiatrist to go to Negro homes in the deep South, regularly and over a two-year period of time, was, in itself, as unusual as desegregation. We met apprehension and fright; their expression in suspicion, in ingratiation or withdrawal, in awe or in ire, and slowly, in testing and teasing. We found that the more freely these people felt they could talk with us, the more honestly they could express their feelings, their fears, angers, sorrows, and the more frankly they could acknowledge their initial, conscious deceptions. In several instances, as in individual psychotherapy, long standing grievances were slowly mentioned, and attitudes of docility, followed by those of resentment and deeply felt hostility appeared and yielded slowly to a sustained relationship coupled with discussion of these very feelings, for these Negroes the first time they had such an opportunity with a white person. Well over a year after we had started our visits, we began to hear in many homes remarks like "now we're telling youwhat we really think," or "we just didn't know at

first what to say, and to be honest, we just don't trust any white people to be really truthful to them..." Increasing involvement between these children and their parents and me allowed them to forego many of their stylized maneuvers of dealing with what they most often feel to be the alien white lord. They felt free to share their phrases, their humor, their bitterness and sadness at their fate, and they felt able to talk about how they mask these feelings, summoning constant energy in conscious guile, bluff, and falsehood: "Tell them what they want to hear," or "Smile and hope they die on the spot." Such searing wrath demands constant vivilance lest it escape in open violence, sometimes against whites, though this is made hard by the very nature of the society which legally, socially, politically, enconomically subordinates them, more often against themselves, in quick fury, in long self-hatred and despair.

As with any group of people, different types of relationships developed, depending upon the child and his or her family, and the investigator. This was a study to determine attitudes, reactions, adjustment in a crisis for presumably "normal" people, but the therapeutic quality in the work soon appeared. For Negroes under stress to talk with a white psychiatrist about their feelings, their trials and hopes and tensions, over a long enough period of time for a firm relationship to develop is obviously of some value

for them as well as for the psychiatrist. Briefer contacts in several southern cities helped us obtain information and make observations less intimately related to the child's life history, but more pertinent to his every day experiences and adaptations. An effort was made to achieve both, general information about daily psychological phenomena, and the deeper, longer investigation of the individual personality and life history.

With white families, particularly segregationists, we had a different order of problems, not racial, but idiosyncratic, our initial reception varying from the friendly to the suspicious and guarded. We had expected difficulty talking with segregationist, but soon learned that those strongly moved and agitated by this issue wanted very much to talk about it, indeed, need to do just that. Changes among white children both did and did not occur, and do and do not occur in those children untouched by studies like this. Several of our children attribute new feelings to talks with us: "I think just thinking about all these things when you come makes you see more of what's going on... I've wondered how I'd feel about them if I hadn't talked to you this year." We have met children in small rural towns, in larger cities, who have come to new ideas and responses to the Negro children beside them by themselves, through their own experiences and thinking, through discussions with friends and relatives, out

of their own life history with its development of conscience, awareness, available intelligence, vitality and quiet of mind.

The psychiatrist, as always, must learn from his own anxieties, his own affection, angers, and depressions, as they arise in his work with other people. In a study such as this, these feelings are sure to be met, telling us, all along, about the range and intensity of the emotional forces hugging racial attitudes hard; showing us, surely, how such forces derive much of their powerful and persuasive momentum from sources deep within the individual's emotional life.

Conclusions

From our work, we would venture the following impressions:

1. Negro children, young and old, in most cases, endure the stresses of initial desegregation in Southern cities without evidence of significant psychiatric illness. In order to understand why this occurs, the general problems of adjustment required of the Negro in his daily life, from birth to death, must be considered. Many of the strains met by these children and their families are similar to those often encountered elsewhere. In order to cope with such conditions, these children must learn, must be also taught, a variety of psychological maneuvers, and these will serve in desegregated schools as well as on busses, outside theatres, and restaurants. These

defenses described in this paper agains anxiety, fear, retaliatory anger, shame, and guilt, develop slowly, require constant emotional energy, the continual vigilance of a precarious position in our society. For these children, therefore, desegregation is an opportunity, a kind of trouble which, in contrast, to other experiences, makes sense and offers hope of a better life with less hurt in the future. So long as their home life is reasonably satisfactory, so long as they do not have serious personality disorders stemming from their personal psychological development, they seem able to withstand mobs, and the variety of pressures arising from their entry into white schools. We have tried to document some of these pressures and responses to these pressures, and we have seen that the trials of desegregation fit into the other problems of the growing child, reflecting them, increasing them, or serving their expression.

2. For the white child, desegregation will have a variety of meanings, depending on his family, his age, and his own nature, needs, and wishes. Compassion, lack of interest, annoyance, strong aversion, all these reactions have been seen, and their roots traced in individual children and their parents. We can clinically distinguish between those families where segregation is a consumming, highly charged interest, a passionate expression

of other problems, and those where it is less integrated in earlier, more basic emotional troubles; thus more changeable as a social habit or custom, strongly and long held, but slowly dispensable when opposed by other wishes or customs. Even among the poorest and most insecure, of our families, socially and economically, these differences obtain.

3. Some of the meanings of color, of black and white, to children have been explored. Deeply present in our culture, they indicate the developing sources of later attitudes and behavior in both whites and Negroes. We have attempted to convey the feelings of these children toward one another, helped by their actual words, their dreams and drawings, their play. We have also tried to indicate some of the ways their parents and teachers choose to behave, how they, too, get along in these tense situations. Finally, we have indicated some of the hurdles along the path of such study of active social and political crises by a psychiatrist.

4. We have seen changes in these southern children, in Negroes toward less doubt and more trust, in whites toward less hostility and more freedom to see another person as a person, regardless of skin color. We have also seen hardening of suspicion, congealing of hatreds. Since we are dealing with a problem in human development,

in stress and response to stress, in early anxieties, rivalries and strains within the family becoming reflected and expressed in later social and economic realities, there is every reason for both hope and despair. Genes do not present an ineradicable barrier, grounded in biochemistry, against easing conflicts or or harsh legal and social inequalities among individuals and groups; but the fatal and reciprocally stimulating engagement of private disorders, personal anxieties, fears, and frustrated hopes, with publicly sanctioned expressions for them, solidified in history, allowed by law, encouraged by communities for their various reasons, is not easily broken. These children have shown us both possibilities, of growth and of continuing affliction.

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Report L-43
June 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BUSINESSMEN POINT THE WAY

Business groups in a number of southern cities have recently issued statements calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate. The texts of these statements are reprinted below.

DIRECTORS OF THE RALEIGH MERCHANTS BUREAU:

"God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.

"Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.

"The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued growth of Raleigh."

CHARLOTTE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"We, the Directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

GREENSBORO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Board of Directors of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce endorses the principle of equal treatment for all persons, without regard to race, color or religion and urges business firms to begin immediately serving all persons of the community.

"The Board also recommends cooperation of community organizations to muster support of Greensboro citizens for the principle endorsed by this resolution."

"Further, in the interest of public safety and to encourage the continued development of good community relationships, the Board urges that gatherings of large masses of people, which endanger public safety and disrupt the orderly movement of people and traffic, be discontinued along with unlawful activities of any kind."

ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

"The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has as its prime mission that of building a strong economy, one that all Atlanta citizens might share. This it has been able to do because of the climate of harmony and cooperation that has prevailed here, and it will be able to successfully continue its efforts only if this climate continues. The future of Atlanta is too bright and too sure to be tarnished by hatred, strife and discord.

"The Chamber of Commerce will never allow itself to be placed in the position of trying to tell any proprietor how he should conduct his business. This choice belongs to each proprietor. On the other hand, all Atlanta is dependent on a healthy climate for survival. All Atlantans share an equal responsibility for developing and maintaining that climate.

"Therefore, the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce appeals to all businesses soliciting business from the general public to do so without regard to race, color or creed and to do so as expeditiously as good judgement will dictate.

"Atlanta has too much ahead of her that needs to be accomplished to allow her attention to be diverted to non-productive strife and conflict that can bring only chaos to the city and its people."

KNOXVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE:

(A statement circulated for voluntary signatures in Knoxville; about 3500 citizens had signed this statement as of June 3, 1963).

"Believing in the equal rights of all people...

And, believing that what is morally right is economically sound...

And, believing in observing the law of the land...

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to work peacefully for the prompt and orderly desegregation of all public facilities in our community.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
June 25, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from April 1963 through June 24, 1963, prepared by the Research Department of the Southern Regional Council. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA:

Attalla -- April 24 -- William Moore, a Baltimore postman hiking to Jackson on a one-man civil rights crusade, found murdered near here. His bullet-pierced body, still carrying anti-segregation signs, was discovered along U. S. Highway 11.

Alabama-Georgia Border -- May 3-10--Freedom marchers arrested as they entered Alabama to continue ill-fated march of William Moore. Found guilty of breach-of-peace charges in Fort Payne, June 3, fined $200 each and court costs. Their attorneys filed immediate notice of appeal.

Anniston -- May 12--Negro homes and a church fired into by a carload of whites. Former Ku Klux Klan member convicted for shooting into church (May 30), sentenced to 180 days in jail. City commission formed bi-racial committee of 4 Negroes, 5 whites, May 18.

Birmingham -- April 3 - June 21--Weeks of mass Negro demonstrations in which thousands were arrested ended May 10, when a truce was reached between prominent white businessmen and Negro leaders. Truce almost came apart May 11-12, when a riot broke out following 2 bombings of Negro property. Federal troops were alerted, remained near city until May 31. Initial steps taken in June to implement desegregation agreement included dropping of racial barriers in the fitting rooms of major downtown department stores and promotion of some Negro employees. Though unrelated to the agreement, three of City's four public golf courses slated to re-open June 29.

Gadsden -- June 18-21--More than 450 Negroes, many of them children, arrested June 18 for defying an injunction against sit-in demonstrations. Forty-two more arrested June 21. Several downtown churches accepted Negroes for services without incident June 16.

Mobile -- June 1 --Sheraton Hotel announced it will desegregate.

Montgomery -- May 27--Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced that papers will cease to print Negro editions, incorporate Negro news with white news, effective immediately.

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ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville -- June 17--Local restaurant association began a 60-day desegregation test.

Hot Springs -- April 4--Negroes attempted to integrate local bath house, 4 arrested.

Little Rock --- June 3--Arkansas Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional 4 state laws that NAACP contended had been adopted to suppress its activities. Theatres desegregated the following week.

Pine Bluff -- April-June--1,300 Negroes participated in a march protesting all segregation (April 1). Thirty-nine arrested April 25 in demonstration to integrate local theatre. Four Negroes served at Woolworth's and Walgreen lunch counters May 5. Bi-racial committee formed in early June.

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FLORIDA:

Bradenton -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Cocoa -- Late May - early June--Peaceful picketing of restaurants and hotels. Mayor has been meeting with owners.

Daytona Beach-- June 1-9--At least 7 street demonstrations, also picketing and sit-ins, involving in one instance over 100 persons, at least 12 arrests. Targets are theatres, hotels, recreation facilities and restaurants (beaches and some lunch counters are desegregated). Mayor has formed a bi-racial committee.

Gainesville -- June 2--Attempt of Negroes to buy movie tickets led to gathering of 1000 persons, some violence, 1 shooting, and mayor formed bi-racial committee during the 4-hour disturbance. Picketing of theatres and stores subsequently peaceful, continued.

Melbourne-- No demonstrations. Mayor has named bi-racial committee.

Miami -- May 25 - June 1 -- Peaceful picketing of chain stores for employment. All municipal facilities are desegregated. No demonstrations.

Palmetto -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Orlando -- June 8 -- City government forming a committee to meet demands and avert demonstrations, none to date.

Sarasota -- June 1 -- Picketing stores and theatres, peaceful, continuous to date.

St. Petersburg -- Theatre picketing threatened. No demonstrations. Has bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee -- May 23 - June 8 -- Large scale (75 pickets 1st day) demonstrations began, primarily aimed at theatres, but also chain stores (for employment). By May 28, 29, 30 protest marchers numbering 300 and 400, 500 arrests in 3 days, tear gas used. During the first week of June Court upheld the right to picket, limited number of pickets. Picketing subsequently continuous and with police guard.

Tampa -- Has had a bi-racial committee for some time, most facilities are desegregated, employment demands being met. No demonstrations.

Winter Haven -- June 1-7 -- Swim-ins, hostile white crowds, beaches closed.

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GEORGIA:

Albany -- May 7 - June 24 --Picketing and boycotting began May 7, with Negro employment the goal and lasted for three consecutive days, then sporadically through May 25, with over 100 arrests. On June 14, after Negro leaders had legally contested the sale and lost, the city sold one pool and tennis court to James Gray for $72,000, kept others closed. Early in day of June 19, 47 Negro ministers issued manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences. Late in day of June 19, 20, and 21, gathering to march and demonstrate, at least 140 Negroes were arrested, there was some violence. Negro stores were closed.

GEORGIA (continued)

Atlanta -- April 12 - June 24--After first sit-in attempt April 12, Atlanta had demonstrations - sit-ins, a prayer march (estimated 200 participants), kneel-ins, picketing - on at least 32 days from April 27 to the present, with at least 103 arrests. Demonstrations were usually in small groups, by June 7 drawing some crowds of hostile whites and occasioning one stabbing. Targets were restaurants and cafeterias. Highlights: 2 Negro Metropolitan Opera singers denied restaurant service May 5; Journal and Constitution dropped racial designations from obituaries, want-ads and amusements;and a night club integrated second week of May; students agreed to suspend demonstrations for bond issue vote May 15; Chamber of Commerce made public statement urging desegregation of accommodations May 29; city pools opened integrated June 10; 14 leading motels and hotels announced integrated policy June 20; leading restaurants expected to follow suit week of June 24. Some churches which previously turned away Negroes have admitted them to services. Mayor has met with Negro and white leaders without an official committee. Atlanta has a private, staffed Council on Human Relations.

Augusta -- April 5 -- A group of young people picketed municipal recreation facilities.

Brunswick -- June 20 -- Howard Johnson motel desegregation.

Columbus -- Demonstrations threatened, none to date.

Macon -- April 2 and 3 -- Two rows initiated by whites resulted in one stabbing, two arrests in integrated park. Mayor declined to close park, his mailbox bombed April 6. April 22, 5 Negro girls sat-in at segregated (some are integrated) lunch counter and were arrested. Has a Negro committee which has negotiated with whites with some success in past.

Marietta -- By mid-May reported to have a bi-racial committee. No demonstrations .

Rome -- April 2 -- Sixty-two high school students stood trial (51 of age received sentences) for lunch counter sit-ins of previous week, the first such activity in the northwest area of Georgia. June 12, 13, 14 - 15 students sat-in again.

GEORGIA (Continued)

Savannah -- June 3 - June 24-- Current wave of demonstrations -- marches, picketing, sit-ins, began June 3,continued daily through June 14, when the city announced some restaurants, theatres, and hotels had agreed to desegregate. (On June 4, 3 movies had desegregated for a few hours, then re-segregated after a protest demonstration by whites.) June 13 -- Negro home shot into. When owners reneged demonstrations resumed June 18, 19, 20. Over 1000 arrests in 2½ weeks. Four restaurants have been granted injunctions against demonstrators on their property. Mayor has been meeting with a recognized bi-racial committee formed during the month. June 20 -- Howard Johnson's desegregated.

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KENTUCKY:

Louisville -- April 9---May 16 -- The 11-member Louisville Human Relations Committee submitted to the Board of Alderman on April 9, an ordinance outlawing racial discrimination in public business places. The ordinance provided for fines up to $100 for violations. After three convictions, the City could get an injunction against the violator which could lead to jail sentence for contempt of court. The ordinance was passed on May 16, to go into effect in mid-September.

The new ordinance will include all remaining restaurants, barber shops, pool halls, and any other segregated public facilities. Public schools, parks, swimming pools, hotels, theatres and 268 of 410 restaurants have been desegregated in the past eight years, the restaurants two years ago after mass demonstrations and a Negro shopping boycott.

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LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- May 28 - June 4 -- City created a bi-racial committee, the first such group to be appointed in Louisiana (May 28). Committee met for first time May 31, following a march by 21 Negroes around the state capitol (May 29), and a sit-in (May 30). Negroes agreed to a 30-day truce June 4.

New Orleans -- April 3 -- Louisiana State University -- medical school cafeteria closed following a walkout by Negro employees after a Negro pre-med student was refused service.

April 26 -- State Attorney General Jack F. P. Gremillion declared there is no law in Louisiana which prohibits Negroes from occupying hotels or motels. But no hotels or motels accept Negro guests at the present time, with the exception of the airport hotel at New Orleans airport.

Shreveport -- June 1 -- Negro demonstration held.

Winnsboro -- May 30 -- Beaten by whites, a Negro teacher resigned his post.

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MISSISSIPPI:

Clarksdale -- May 4--June 22-- State NAACP President Aaron Henry's drugstore was damaged by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof; no one injured (May 4). A similar firebomb was tossed into Henry's home April 12 during a visit there by Negro Congressman Charles L. Diggs (D., Mich.). Negroes threatened to broaden their boycott of downtown merchants May 26, unless bi-racial talks were held. Henry announced the launching of a series of spot picketing and demonstrations in the city (June 22).

Greenville -- May 25 --City Council voted unanimously to consider the possibility of forming a bi-racial commission.

Jackson -- May 27 - June 24 -- After talks between 13 Negro leaders and Mayor Allen C. Thompson broke off, a series of demonstrations began May 28, resulting in more than 600 arrests by June 6, when a state judge issued an injunction barring further demonstrations. Same day two Negro men integrated the municipal golf course, teeing off without incident. Local NAACP leader Medgar W. Evers murdered June 12. Following his funeral services June 15, Negroes clashed with police in downtown area; Justice Department Attorney John Doar helped bring demonstration under control. Next day four young Negro women were admitted to a white Protestant church without incident. Mayor Thompson announced June 18 that city will hire 6 Negro policemen, Negro school-crossing guards, and seven Negro sanitation workers. A 42-year old fertilizer salesman, Bryan de la Beckwith of Greenwood, was charged with the murder

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

Jackson -- of Medgar Evers June 23. Jackson District Attorney William L. Waller said June 24 that he will seek the death penalty for Beckwith.

Lexington -- May 8 -- A Negro who attempted to register to vote reported that white men threw "Molotov cocktails" into his home about 3 a. m.; no one was injured.

McComb -- May 15 -- Injunction against CORE forbidding it to back sit-in demonstrations at local bus station struck down by Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Winona -- June 9--Two Negro women and a 15-year old girl beaten by police at the local jail after trying to use the white facilities at town's bus station. The women, who were released a few days later, have been active in voter registration work in Mississippi.

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NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 formed this spring. Five lunch counters and 3 drive-in restaurants desegregated in late June.

Charlotte -- April 19-May 30--Proprietors of segregated hotels, restaurants, and theatres warned of mass picketing unless they agreed to desegregate (April 19). Chamber of Commerce urged immediate desegregation of all public facilities May 23, and eight major hotels and motels dropped all racial barriers four days later. A permanent bi-racial committee was formed by the mayor in May.

Chapel Hill -- May 24-25--Chamber of Commerce issued statement opposing discrimination May 24. Two hundred and fifty Negroes demonstrated next day.

Concord -- June 7--Bi-racial committee appointed. Seven drug stores and 9 restaurants desegregated.

Durham -- May 18-June 5--1,400 were arrested during demonstrations May 18-20. Temporary truce agreed upon May 21, with the appointment of a bi-racial committee by the mayor. City Council desegregated swimming pools May 30. Twelve motels and hotels, 55 restaurants desegregated June 4. Following day mayor's bi-racial committee announced that 31 retail businesses and several industrial concerns would institute or continue practice of hiring and promoting without regard to race. Public

N. C. (Continued)

accommodations ordinance currently being considered. Charges against some 1,400 students arrested were dropped.

Enfield -- May 30--Local theatre picketed.

Edenton -- April 5--Three Negroes arrested for picketing a theatre in March were acquitted.

Fayetteville -- May 14-June 19--Police dispersed mobs of Negroes and whites with tear gas May 14. Demonstrations lasting over a week began May 19, with some 1,500 persons participating in daily marches. Mayor's coordinating committee recommended immediate desegregation of restaurants and theatres May 27. Demonstrations resumed June 11, continued several days. Nine-man bi-racial committee appointed by mayor following week. 12 Motels and hotels desegregated June 19.

Goldsboro -- Four parades of demonstrators staged during week of May 30.

Greensboro -- May 10-June 23--Mass demonstrations began May 10, resulted in the arrest of some 440 persons by May 15. 420 arrested May 19 for sitting-in at a Howard Johnson parking lot. Demonstrations continued through May 24, with approximately 1,500 arrested. Mayor appointed a 16-member committee on Human Relations May 22 and two days later city's governing body unofficially endorsed an 11-point resolution urging integration of businesses. Truce arranged May 25, but demonstrations resumed June 2. Official end of truce came June 6, was marked by another demonstration in which 278 were arrested. S&W cafeteria desegregated during week ending June 22. Earlier four indoor theatres had tentatively agreed to desegregate.

Hickory -- June 6--Mayor formed a bi-racial Community Relations Council.

High Point -- May 28-30--Mass demonstrations began May 28, mayor's bi-racial (11-member) committee appointed two days later.

Lenior -- May 24--Mayor appointed five-member bi-racial committee.

Lexington -- June 3-6--Mayor Sink appointed bi-racial committee of 10 members. June 3, 15 or more Negroes requested and received service at drug store lunch counter June 5; but they were turned away at theatre and bowling alley. Demonstration by approximately 50 Negro students met by anti-desegregation group of 500 whites; one person killed and seven arrested June 6. The First Methodist Church recently admitted Negro worshippers.

Lumberton -- June 6--Mayor Hedgpeth appointed tri-racial committee of Indian, Negro and white members.

Monroe -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 members formed sometime in May.

Mount Airy -- May 30--3 Negroes served in a drug store.

Oxford -- June 16--Truce declared after previous demonstrations.

Raleigh -- April 4-June 5--Demonstrations began April 4, continued for over a month. By May 10 some 250 had been arrested. Following day 1,000 demonstrated; May 14, 750 marched, were mocked and cursed by about 200 whites. 347 were arrested, with 15 charged with assault and one for carrying a concealed weapon. A 15-member bi-racial committee was appointed by the Mayor May 14, and the Raleigh Merchants Bureau adopted a resolution same day urging its 400 members to serve all persons. Demonstrations continued through June 3. Some 76 food and amusement concerns desegregated June 5.

Roxboro -- June 23--Mayor appointed a 20-member bi-racial committee.

Statesville -- June 9--Some restaurants and cafeterias voluntarily desegregated.

Thomasville -- May 10-June 1--Spontaneous sit-in by a group of teen-age Negroes at a restaurant May 10 followed by planned demonstrations beginning May 24. Two day later Negroes called off demonstrations until June 1, but 300 demonstrated May 30. City-owned pools opened on an integrated basis June 1; no incidents.

Wadesboro -- June 5--Windows of 2 business establishments, including one restaurant which had recently desegregated, were shot out in a pre-dawn shooting spree; no injuries.

Wilmington -- June 7--Some 75 high school students staged a protest demonstration at cafeterias and theatres; a bi-racial commiteee is studying the problem.

Winston-Salem -- May 21-June 5--About 25 students picketed theatre May 21, and mayor appointed an 18-member bi-racial committee. Demonstrations continued through May 27. Fourteen of 15 major restaurants, many smaller restaurants, and all hotels and motels desegregated June 5.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City -- May 31-June 4--Following sit-ins May 31 and June 1, Bishop's, a local restaurant, agreed to desegregate, was joined June 3 by city's largest downtown cafeteria. Three city hotels desegregated June 2, were joined by one other and 20 suburban motels June 3. City council approved appointment of a 15-member Community Relations Commission June 4. Two days later the board of managers of the Central YMCA recommended that Negroes be allowed to rent rooms at the downtown YMCA.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston -- During the week of June 17-22, Kress, Woolworth and W.T. Grant department stores desegregated their facilities, two weeks after marches, sit-ins, stand-ins, and picketing. No official bi-racial committee has been formed as yet. Local groups have announced that pressure for additional desegregation will continue.

Columbia -- June 7--City Council began meeting with Negro leaders.

Greenville -- On May 27 city officials met with Negro leaders, and on May 28, in less than 15 minutes, City Council repealed segregation laws but passed a "trespass" city ordinance making it unlawful not to leave a business after being asked to do so by the owner. The new law does not mention race.

On June 3, 11 lunch counters were voluntary desegregated, two weeks after the Supreme Court made a Greenville case the key to a series of sit-in rulings by overturning the trespass convictions of ten Negroes arrested at a lunch counter in 1960. Small groups of Negroes ate in the 11 places without incident.

Greenville is the second South Carolina city to desegregate lunch counters, Columbia having opened some lunch counters on a non-racial basis last August. The Greenville stores affected were: S.H. Kress, W.T. Grant, H.L.Green, Walgreen Drugs, Eckerds Drugs, and Belk-Simpson; in shopping centers, the K-Mart discount store and a Woolworth and Walgreen store. Desegregation was effected by a committee of variety and drug stores, and restaurant operators.

Rock Hill -- June 1--16 Negroes demonstrated in front of drive-in restaurant.

Spartenburg -- June 1--Unofficial meetings were held to consider desegregation. On June 5 most downtown lunch counters and restaurants desegregated and Negroes ate in several places without incident.

Sumter -- A suit to integrate the Carnegie Public Library (class action) was filed June 5 in U.S. District Court by three Negro plaintiffs.

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga -- June 7--Following a series of demonstrations by Negroes at 4 local restaurants and 1 theatre, mayor appointed a bi-racial committee, and Negro leaders agreed to a truce.

Clarksville -- May 28-June 7--300 Negroes sought service in a drive-in restaurant, were turned away (May 28). All public parks and pools desegregated June 7.

Knoxville -- May 9-28--Demonstrations began May 9, resulted in arrest of about 100 by May 11. Three hospitals agreed to desegregate May 19, and mayor appointed a bi-racial commission same day. Two thousand citizens signed a petition May 22, to desegregate all public facilities; petition sponsored by Chamber of Commerce. Four leading hotels and 2 motels voted to desegregate May 28.

Maryville -- June 24--A mountain training camp sponsored by CORE was found burned to the ground; no injuries reported. Camp had been raided by sheriff's deputies previous week; 28 whites and Negroes arrested.

Memphis -- May 1-June 10--Normad corporation announced May 1, that it will build an integrated motel. All first-class hotels and motels desegregated May 20, followed by desegregation of all public recreational facilities May 30, except swimming pools (as a result of Supreme Court decision May 27). Voter registration drive began June 10. Has permanent bi-racial committee.

Nashville -- May 8-June 5--Following demonstrations May 8 and 9, a clash between Negro students and white hecklers May 10, another demonstration May 13 in which two persons were hospitalized, a permanent bi-racial Metropolitan Human Relations Council was appointed by the mayor May 16 "to recommend actions by the business community." City parks and wading pools opened to all on June 5. Earlier (May 13), seven motels and hotels, eight restaurants desegregated.

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TEXAS:

Dallas -- June 2--South's first integrated hospital opened here, will have completely integrated facilities including an open staff of Negro and white physicians. Following day insurance executive George L. Allen became the first Negro namedto an important City Hall appointive body, the City Planning Commission.

TEXAS (Continued)

Denton -- April 6-Fifty Negro and white students from North Texas State University, picketed in the downtown area, carrying banners calling for the integration of local theatres.

Houston -- June 10--All city pools and municipal facilities desegregated.

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VIRGINIA:

Alexandria -- May-June--City Council banned discrimination in all municipal public facilities May 27, and instituted a merit hiring and promotion program for all city employees regardless of race. Movie theatres and some bowling alleys quietly desegregated June 14.

Arlington -- April-June--County Board established in Arlington County Human Relations Council in April. Arlington City Council eliminated all mention of race on job questionnaires June 3.

Charlottesville--May 25-30--Sit-ins began at La Paree restaurant May 25, but the main target became Buddy's restaurant near the University of Virginia, with groups of about 50 Negroes and whites demonstrating through May 30, when a local Negro leader was beaten up by two white men and hospitalized. The "stand-ins" were temporarily called off as a result of this incident. City's first Negro policeman was appointed in the midst of the demonstrations in which 5 persons were arrested. Efforts are being made to form a bi-racial committee, but have been unsuccessful this far.

Danville -- May 31-June 22--Fifty-sixty Negro youths started demonstrations to force hiring of a Negro policeman. Demonstrations continued through June 10, when 50 Negroes were arrested and a rally broken up by police using firehoses;about 45 persons were injured. City passed ordinance June 14 limiting number allowed to participate in demonstrations to 6; the following day 35 more Negroes were arrested. Ten leaders in the demonstrations, including 3 whites, were indicted by a special grand jury June 21 on a criminal charge of inciting to riot. Police seized three other leaders who had taken sanctuary in a local church June 22. Thus far, about 150 persons have been arrested. June 19, 29 demonstrators broke three-day truce by marching downtown; all were arrested. Mayor Stinson announced 10 Negroes had been assigned to white schools. Motel operators met to discuss desegregation.

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Farmville -- May 18--Small sit-ins staged, with no violence and no arrests.

Hampton -- April-May--A petition of 1000 signatures was sent to mayor April 1 charging "racial discrimination" and "police intimidation" after Hampton Institute students,10 of whom were arrested, attempted sit-ins. An 11-member bi-racial Council on Community Relations was formed May 18.

Lawrenceville -- May 29-30--Students quietly picketed downtown lunch counters.

Lynchburg -- May-June--Patterson's drug store announced May 22, following prolonged sit-in demonstrations,that it would serve anyone. Following week 10 restaurants voluntarily desegregated. In early June, 2 movie theatres and 2 bowling alleys also voluntarily desegregated.

Martinsville -- June 7--Martinsville - Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint official bi-racial committee.

Norfolk-Portsmouth-- Late May--Major movie theatres agreed May 25 to lower all racial bars after private meetings between white businessmen and Negro leaders. Norfolk City Council asked mayor to form a bi-racial committee May 28.

Petersburg -- April 25--Three Virginia State College students fined $25.00 and given 30-day suspended sentences for picketing.

Richmond -- May 28-June 18--Parker Field, local athletic stadium quietly admitted 9 Negroes to previously all-white section. All downtown movie theatres announced June 15, that they will desegregate by July 10. Three days later 35 of city's better restaurants agreed to serve all customers without regard to race. Another 25 restaurants had previously desegregated.

STATE ACTION

FLORIDA:

During the 1960 demonstrations there - Governor Fowler appointed the Statewide Fowler Commission on Race Relations. The Commission was not continued by Governor Bryant.

KENTUCKY:

Commission on Human Rights established under a General Assembly Act of March, 1960. Eleven members are appointed by the governors. Governor Combs stated June 4 he would "ask the General Assembly to pass a general civil rights act."

NORTH CAROLINA:

June 18--Governor Sanford moved on several fronts to head off North Carolina's growing racial crisis. In a statewide radio and television address (June 18) the Governor spoke sympathetically of Negro "requests and aspirations." He also asked for a halt to Negro demonstrations "to help avoid strife, ill will, danger to life and property, and damage to our state."

He announced he had called Negro leaders to the Capital for a meeting on June 25, "to place before the public in an orderly manner their requests and aspirations." He appointed retired Major General Capus M. Waynick, former commander of the N. C. National Guard and experienced in negotiating racial conflicts, to represent his office in continuing negotiations with Negro leaders. Two immediate targets are sought by the Governor's negotiators: statewide application of the "Durham Plan"; daily progress reports to local Negro leaders by city officials.

Also under intense negotiation: employing more Negroes in state jobs. In January of this year the Governor began naming of 24 prominent Negro and white citizens to the statewide North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

VIRGINIA:

May 29--Governor Harrison rejected a proposal for a statewide bi-racial commission.

SUMMARY

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville
Little Rock
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Miami

GEORGIA:

Atlanta
Brunswick
Savannah

MISSISSIPPI:

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville
Charlotte
Concord
Durham
Fayetteville
Greensboro
Lexington
Mount Airy
Raleigh
Statesville
Thomasville
Wadesboro
Winston Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Greenville
Spartenburg

TENNESSEE:

Clarksville
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

TEXAS:

Austin
Houston

VIRGINIA:

Alexandria
Arlington
Falls Church
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond

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ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE APRIL 3,1963

10,420

(The Southern Regional Council estimated the number of arrests during the February 1, 1960 through September 1, 1961 period of demonstrations in southern and border states at 3,600.)

NUMBER OF FATALITIES RELATED TO DEMONSTRATIONS SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

3

CITIES WHERE SOME DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden

ARKANSAS:

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Cocoa
Daytona-Beach
Gainesville
Lakeland
Miami
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Winter Haven

GEORGIA:

Albany
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Rome
Savannah

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi
Clarksdale
Greenwood
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Charlotte
Chapel Hill
Durham
Enfield
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Greensboro
High Point
Lexington
Oxford
Raleigh
Thomasville
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Rock Hill

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga
Clarksville
Knoxville
Nashville

TEXAS:

Denton

VIRGINIA:

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Hampton
Lawrenceville
Lynchburg
Petersburg

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ADDENDA

FLORIDA:

Lakeland -- June 6 -- movie theatre picketing.

Miami -- June -- leading hotels desegregated, (comparable to Miami Beach where they have been desegregated for some time).

KENTUCKY:

Covington)
Henderson)
Hopkinsville)---
Lexington)---
Louisville)
Paducah)

Local commissions on civil rights sponsored in these cities by the statewide commission.

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi -- June 23 -- attempted wade-in.

Greenwood -- June 24 -- six Negro girls attempted sit-in (the city's first) at a drugstore.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Sanford -- June -- bi-racial committee formed.

TENNESSEE:

Athens --) both cities have official bi-racial commissions
Oak Ridge --) and have had no demonstrations.

TEXAS:

Austin -- June 10 -- 38 restaurants (estimated 70% of total) desegregated.

VIRGINIA:

Arlington -- June 17 -- 4 movie theatres desegregated.

Danville -- June 13 -- moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new bi-racial committee to replace collapsed white City Council Committee. On the same date Negroes picketed a local mill for the first time, and pickets subsequently applied for jobs.

Falls Church --June 17 -- a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal)
Harrisonburg)---- Mid-April--Howard Johnson's in these cities
Waynesboro) desegregated.

Newport News -- June -- a bi-racial committee in operation.

Roanoke -- June -- a race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke in operation. There have been no demonstrations.

Woodstock -- June -- has a bi-racial commission of 8.

SOUTHERN CITIES THAT HAVE PASSED PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS ORDINANCES
Summer, 1963

KENTUCKY: statewide executive order June 26 by Gov. Combs banning racial discrimination in allpublic places of food, shelter, recreation and amusement.

Louisville: city ordinance passed by Board of Aldermen May 16, 1963 to go into effect mid-September outlawing racial discrimination in public business places. Fine of $100 and up for violations.

NORTH CAROLINA

Durham: public accommodations ordinance being considered; City Council desegregated swimming pools May 30.

TEXAS

Denton: June 28 - City Commission passed formal resolution declaring all public facilities desegregated, including library and hospital.

MARYLAND

Baltimore and 11 Counties--desegregated by Maryland legislation.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
September 5, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENT, III*

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period of July 24-August 28, 1963. It also includes events since April 1, 1963, not carried in the first or second synopses, dated June 26, 1963, and July 26, 1963, respectively. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 26 - Defense Secretary McNamara issued off-limits directive: "Every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents and to foster equal opportunity for them, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours." Local commanders must secure permission from the civilian service secretaries before invoking off-limits restrictions on racial grounds.

August 8 - The Defense Department made public a memorandum dated June 17 stating that all morticians holding armed forces contracts have been advised their contracts will not be valid in the event of racial discrimination.

August 28 - Police estimate 210,000 persons from a majority of the 50 states gathered in the Capitol to march briefly and hear leaders' speeches in affirmation of rights for Negroes.

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* This is principally compiled from newspaper sources.

ALABAMA

Birmingham - July 24 - (The day following city's repeal of its segregation ordinances) Two Negro youths arrested for attempting to enter a movie theatre and refusing to leave when requested. July 30 - 6 downtown variety and department store lunch counters integrated. July 31 - 4 white men arrested protest-picketing desegregated lunch counters;and 7 stores in 3 suburban shopping centers integrated eating facilities.

August 6 - The American Guild of Variety Artists Shows for Freedom - an integrated cast and program - held benefit performance for integrated audience at Miles College (use of city auditorium denied).

August 15 - Homemade tear gas bomb explodes in recently integrated department store.

August 20 - Disorder in the streets between an estimated 2000 Negroes and police follows the bombing of a Negro Attorney's home.

Gadsden - Atmosphere of tense quiet reinforced by presence of 100 state troopers in town until July 19 when downtown marches resumed with 15 arrests, Negroes charging state troopers with harsh treatment of demonstrators during subsequent week. August 3 - Approximately 700 marchers staged city's largest anti-segregation demonstration to date, over 300 arrests and use of electric cattle prods reported. August 4 - Over 100 Negroes sang in protest outside city jail. August 5 - 14 arrested seeking lunch counter service.

August 22 - 4 Prominent actors (white) fly in for church rally. City buses reportedly desegregated since late July.

Huntsville - August 8 - Representatives of 40 industrial firms with government contracts form Association and issue statement in compliance with the Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

Linden - June 29 - Baptist pastor resigns his church rather than "tear it up" over his support of granting membership to Negroes, should they apply.

Macon County - August 17 - Hires its first Negro deputy sheriff.

Mobile - July 26 - Negro leaders charge in telegram to Justice Department that a Negro army sergeant was arrested and beaten for seeking lunch counter service the day before.

ALABAMA (Cont'd)

Mobile (cont'd) - August 15 - Negroes file a petition with City Commission asking desegregation of public facilities and passage of anti-discrimination public accommodation ordinance.

July 26 - State Supreme Court refused to review Alabama Court of Appeals conviction of 11 clergymen arrested during May, 1961, Freedom Rides. The 11 have alternative of submitting to sentence ($100 fine, 10 days in jail) or appeal before federal judiciary.

Montgomery - August 3 - Police Department announces plan to employ 3 Negro policewomen as school crossing guards.

Selma - August 2 - Voter registration worker arrested on "false identity" charge ($500 bond set) 6 days before scheduled to testify at Justice Department hearings on voter intimidation.

Tuskegee County - August 13 - Hires Negro deputy sheriff.

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith - Defense Department* telegraphed by local civil rights organization that city recreational facilities and public accommodations unavailable to Negro servicemen at nearby Fort Chaffee.

Hot Springs - Following 12 weeks of negotiations, as of July 17 most theatres, restaurants, and lunch counters desegregated. By August 3, additional facilities, including thermal bath houses, following suit.

Little Rock - July - Included in a White Citizens Council boycott of desegregated facilities has been the Arkansas Travellers (have a star Negro outfielder) baseball park. (Gov. Faubus attended opening.) August 6 - Parade of about 25 around a motel protesting wages, working conditions of Negro employees.

Marion - July 17 - Negro youth suspected of rape shot by whites; sheriff's office later reported no rape; as of July 27 FBI investigating death.

* Pertinent to Defense Department directive, see page 1.

ARKANSAS (Cont'd)

Pine Bluff - July 24 - small-scale demonstrations resumed by youths after 3-month truce. A cafeteria desegregated. July 28 - August 7 - at least 5 separate demonstrations at segregated drive-in hamburger stand resulted in 62 arrests.

August 1 - 25 arrested in protest at main library over refusal to issue cards (Negroes had used Negro branch, been permitted to borrow from main library only non-fiction unavailable at Negro branch). August 5 - library announces "open to all" policy.

August 4 - Approximately 25 anti-segregation demonstrators marched at Arkansas AM&N College during Governor Faubus' appearance.

FLORIDA

Clearwater - Although all the city's public facilities have desegregated, on at least three occasions in July (14 and 21) swimming parties of Negroes have been advised to leave the public beach when whites threatened disorders .

As of August 1 - at least 4 restaurants desegregated.

Fort Lauderdale -

August 3 - Announcement made of desegregation by 47 members of the Restaurant Association; also, theatres and drive-ins. Police Department actively recruiting Negro officer trainees. Has 22-man biracial committee appointed in late May.

Jacksonville - July 22 - Picketing for Negro employment begun at Southern Bell.

July 24 - Negro leaders considering mass demonstrations after a year of little action via Chamber of Commerce's Committee on racial relations.

August 3 - 12 department and clothing stores hire Negroes.

Miami - Week of July 8 - Roosevelt Savings and Loan Association (board of directors - 7 whites, 5 Negroes) opens, reportedly first state-chartered integrated institution of its kind in South.

July 28 - Police Department integrated as "Negro precinct" abolished.

Miami (cont'd) - August 1-3 - Picketing at drive-in theatre protesting fence between Negro and white entrances. Manager announces all entrances open to all.

August 10 - Picketing of ice cream stand results in its closing, pickets sued.

Miami Beach - July 21-26 - Orderly groups numbering 20-30 picketed National Governor's Conference with signs urging integration.

Ocala - July 20-21 - Total of 46 arrested demonstrating in protest over jailing of leader who had launched restaurant picketing June 29. During previous week a biracial committee automatically disbanded when mayor resigned. While 5 chain store lunch counters desegregated, further picketing recommenced July 23. On July 25 jailed leader charges police brutality; police request mental competency examination (found competent July 26). As picketing continued, on the night of July 27 a Negro leader's home was fired into with a shotgun. July 30 - 21 pickets arrested, adult leadership joins demonstrators for first time July 31, pledge to continue. Arrests total 111 after 2½ weeks.

Orlando - July 23 - City Commission (acting on recommendation of city's interracial committee) votes to desegregate all city owned facilities except pools.

Panama City - July 20 - Total of 35 arrested picketing motels and restaurants.

August 1 - Negro leadership notifies Defense Department* that local public accommodations are denied Negro service personnel from Tyndall Air Force Base and Navy Mine Defense Laboratory.

Pinellas County -

July 23 - Biracial Committee elected four standing subcommitties to deal with executive matters, education, employment, and public accommodations.

St. Augustine -

Demonstrations for integration of accommodations and facilities continuous and peaceful from late June until week of July 15 when police began arresting juveniles and refusing to release them in custody of parents if latter refused to prevent them from demonstrating; threatened sending them to deliquents' home.
July 23 - Crowd of 300 gathered at jail to protest action.

St. Augustine - (cont'd)

July 25 - Jail demonstration repeated, 5 arrested trying to force release of prisoners.

St. Petersburg -

July 30 - Theatre picketing suspended pending a attempt at negotiated desegregation. A cafe which serves Negroes through a side window but denies access to main entrance picketed.

Tampa - July 20 - Members of Merchants Association announce training course designed to prepare 30 Negro applicants for sales positions September 1. August 5-6 - peaceful picketing at cafeteria, 3 arrests.

GEORGIA

State Action - August 1 - First Negro admitted to National Guard since 1905.

Albany - July 23 - Bullets fired into headquarters of student civil rights group.

During July - An Episcopal church announced it is "a house of prayer for all people" and that Negroes have attended.

Week of July 26 - Negro railroad flagman shot in back by a white Marine. Federal Appeals Court ruled city police cannot enforce segregation in publicly owned or regulated facilities.

August 6 - Federal grand jury indicts 9 persons previously active in local protest nvolvement on charges of conspiring against a white grocer who as a juror had voted against a Negro plaintiff in a federal suit: 3 for obstructing justice; 6 for perjury.

Americus - July 26 - Protest - marchers singing attempts to enter - aimed at only downtown movie theatre (segregated) and some lunch counters have been continuous since mid-June, arrests steady. After an August 9 mass meeting Negroes marched downtown, there was some disorder, use of hoses. As of August 17, an estimated 120 had been arrested in a month, no solutions arrived at.

Athens - July 30 - Demonstrations protesting segregated movies commenced here and one theatre admitted Negroes, continued through August 2 when 2 restaurants, 2 hotels desegregated, 5 arrests.

Athens - (cont'd)

August 6 - 138 arrested in protest march on city hall. New city ordinance prohibits more than 5 Negroes in one block at one time. August 9 - 2 advisory committees (white-15, Negro-10) appointed by and meeting with mayor. August 25 - A Baptist and a Methodist church each admitted Negroes to worship. August 26 - Picketing recommenced with 6 arrests.

Atlanta - July 26 - Several weeks concentrated picketing one segregated restaurant climaxed with arrest of 13 who sat down in street, were fined and started serving sentences July 29, released August 2. August 2 - Fulton County Grand Jury, following charge of Fulton Superior Court judge, returned indictments on 75 arrested in violation of Georgia's anti-trespass law. Estimated sit-in arrests April 27 to date: 116. Anti-integration pickets appearing regularly at 3 or 4 restaurants. Some restaurants reportedly resegregated.

August 5 - Approximately 250 Negroes peacefully marched to city hall largely in protest over poor city maintenance facilities in Negro neighborhoods.

August 28 - White pastor arrested during attempts to integrate church in June receives maximum misdemeanor sentence.

Employment protests: picketing has been continuous at Southern Bell. Picketing of Coca Cola Company threatened, has not materialized. Picketing of 4 liquor stores halted altogether August 27 as owners agree to employ Negroes.

Baxley - July 28 - Mississippi Governor Barnett discussed civil rights at a beauty pageant.

Calhoun - August 10 - Hires first Negro policeman.

Columbus - July 18 - Negro leadership agrees to suspend demonstrations (previously at pools, parks, libraries, schools) pending negotiations. July 22 - City Commission created biracial advisory committee (6 Negroes, 14 whites). August 14 - City hires first Negro policeman in 5 years, announces future employment of 3 more. August 21 - Full library desegregation announced for September 1.

Decatur - July 28 - Christian Church minister preached "The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church...must be open to all of God's children without restriction."

August 3 - Attempts to integrate lunch counters (successful) and movie (unsuccessful) and to swim at 2 DeKalb County pools. August 6 - Negro leaders met with County Commissioners to discuss grievances.

Fitzgerald - July 27 and 29 - Negroes attempted to use public library on 2 occasions, 21 arrests on the latter date.

Savannah - August 1 - Accord reached over October 1 desegregation of some motels, hotels, bowling alleys, and theatres and suspension of demonstrations for 60 days. Only one arrest made - August 7 - of demonstrators who reportedly eluded arrest during June-July protests. Also August 7--50 Negroes convicted on varying charges arising out of previous protests.

Terrell County -

August 19 - Demonstrators arrested in Americus (Sumter County) reportedly being held at Terrell County Work Camp, one of the state prison facilities officially closed following clean-up in May.

Valdosta - July 28 - 18 Negroes arrested protesting segregated movie theatre. July 29 - 2 carloads of white youths who tried to force a car of Negroes off the road sentenced in court. July 31 - Mayor plans to form biracial committee.

KENTUCKY -

Hazard - July 25 - Reports all its recreational facilities (pool closed since 1959) desegregated.

Henderson - July 26 - 5 of 13 pickets seeking restaurant desegregation arrested.

Lexington - July 24-August 2 - Several small scale demonstrations and a city hall march, all without incident, culminated on the latter date with the arrest of 9 sitting in a department store aisle protesting discriminatory employment. August 3 - Judge dismissed charges.

LOUISIANA -

Baton Rouge -

July 25, 26 - Picketing City Park and pool without incident until August 3 when some disorder in attempts to enter pool, 5 arrests.

Baton Rouge - (cont'd)

August 1 - 3 Negro policemen commence duties.

August 6 - Lunch counters at 13 downtown retail stores and in 2 suburban shopping plazas desegregated.

Belle Chasse -

August 10 - Plaquemines Parish Council president Leander Perez urges children of Navy personnel at nearby Collendar Field be barred from parish schools and adult personnel from parish public accommodations, in response to Defense Department directive (page 1).

Buras - August 27 - Catholic school which had attempted to integrate in fall, 1962, shattered by midnight explosion, its third.

Clinton - August 2 - White voter registration worker arrested at courthouse while assisting Negroes in registering.

New Iberia - August 3 - White man charged with kidnapping and intimidating 2 Negro employees of Sanitation Department (which had recently hired 3 Negroes for the first time).

New Orleans -

August 1 - Federal court orders desegregation of city's 106 recreational facilities and on August 8 upheld desegregation of the luxury restaurant and cocktail lounge at the airport (only coffee shop and snack bar previously integrated).

August 1- Firemen doused a burning cross on statue of former Supreme Court Chief Justice Edward Douglas White.

August 8 - Angry groups of whites and Negroes scuffling in parks dispersed twice by police.

July 21 - At nearby Lake Pontchartrain Beach 8 persons unsuccessfully sought access to private amusement park.

Plaquemine -

Mid-July - Start of fairly continuous chain store picketing. July 26 - White man arrested for tearing down "white" and "colored" signs at Iberville Parish courthouse restrooms and water fountains. July 29-August 3 - Week-long voter registration clinic.

August 11 - 25 arrested seeking desegregated seating aboard a Mississippi River ferryboat. August 19 - Police permitted one downtown march, turned tear gas on the second wave, and arrested 16. Downtown marches continued August 20-22, with over 200 arrests. City obtained anti-picketing injunction.

August 25 - 2 white churches admit Negroes, 2 turn them away.

Shreveport - July 20 - Following several days of lunch counter sit-ins, 12 arrests, police patrolled downtown, arrested 4. July 22 - Local Negro minister arrested (he had not participated in sit-ins). On August 6 Negroes presented city council with list of grievances, and second formal request for biracial committee.

Rayville - July 31-August 1 - During the night a total of 45 crosses burned throughout Richland Parish.

MISSISSIPPI -

Clarksdale -

July 30 - Largest protest demonstration to date results in arrest of 52, including Negro leader whose wife was dismissed in the past month from her teaching job with the Coahoma Board of Education. July 31 - 15 more marchers arrested. (In both cases, small groups were parading separately.)

August 8 - An interdenominational group of ministers from other parts of the country tried without success to call upon the city government, effect a resolution of differences.

Greenville -

July 17 - 4 sat-in at drugstore counter, without success or incident. July 20 - After obtaining parade permit, a group of 16 held orderly downtown march calling for boycott of stores on their placards. August 3 - 21 persons paraded again.

Greenwood - August 6 - A total of 50 Negroes staged a "vote-in": appearing at city hall in groups of 5, they filed affidavits protesting their omission from poll lists, and cast ballots.

Jackson - July 17 - In first anti-segregation in over a month, 12 Negro youths arrested attempting to integrate 2 city parks. July 19 - Over 150 attempted night march downtown, were stopped by police, who made no arrests. July 24 - 10 arrested parading before city hall. July 27 - 14 demonstrators arrested at 3 different sites.

August 9 - 5 additional Negro policemen hired (1 hired earlier). On same day 11 teenagers protesting before department stores arrested.

McComb - July 27 - Group of Negroes asked to leave white railroad station waiting room, refused lunch counter service in city's first racial demonstration since 1961.

Ruleville - August 6 - 3 Negroes arrested for "unlawfully attempting to procure registration."

NORTH CAROLINA

Ahoskie -- July 22-28 - Negro and white preachers jointly conduct week-long, nightly series of integrated services and meetings.

Asheboro -- August 2-5 - Two movies integrated on consecutive nights, following which loitering white (4) and Negro (4) youths involved in dispute, shotgun fired, all arrested. Police chief termed it "hoodlum trouble, not racial trouble."

Chapel Hill --July 14-August 9 -- Continuation of daily marches of 100 or more demonstrators resulting in first mass arrests (34 on July 19) in the city. Committee for Open Business is organizing marches and picketing to urge passage of public accommodations ordinance by town council. (14 stores maintain segregation.)

Charlotte -- July 22 - Municipal clerical staff integrated with hiring of Negro billing clerk.

Dunn -- July 17 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee named by mayor held first meeting.

July 18, - Pickets at supermarket and funeral home reported struck by cars.

July 25 - One arrest for picketing without permit.

August 5 - Cross burned before business of Negro member of Committee.

August 7-16 - Twenty arrests (including local leader) for sit-ins and picketing at cafe, bakery.

Durham -- In July a school for retail sales clerks established as part of Negro training program.

Elizabeth City -- Week of July 8 - First two Negro policemen employed.

July 19 - Mayor appoints 18-member bi-racial committee.

Enfield -- August 7 - Restaurant picketed, 11 arrests. (Earlier anti-segregation demonstrations at town's only movie resulted in its closing.)

Goldsboro -- Early August - Demonstrations which were halted in late June pending action from bi-racial committee resumed, leaders charging some establishments had resegregated

August 7- Thirty-two arrests out of 300 demonstrators included personnel from nearby Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

August 9-12 - At least 209 arrested during city's greatest display of protest (over 400 persons per march).

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Greensboro -- July 25 - Announcement made of desegregation of 41 restaurants (25% of total seating capacity, 30 of 41 integrated prior to recent protests), 4 theatres, all bowling alleys.

July 30 - Human Relations Commission appointed 6 subcommittees on recreation, hotels and motels, employment, eating places, education, and progress and information.

Havelock -- July 25 - Approximately 95% of merchants agreed to desegregate, forestalling threatened demonstrations and following protest to Defense Department* (Havelock is near Cherry Point Marine Air Station).

Henderson -- July 17 - Vance County commissioners reject Negroes' petition for public accommodation ordinance and school and employment integration.

High Point -- July 27 - March protesting segregated movies cancelled when Mayor agrees to confer with theatre owners.

July 30 - Bi-racial Committee announces desegregation of all lunch counters (most motels, hotels and restaurants integrated early in July), public facilities including pools, and appointment of Negro to civic service commission to insure merit employment.

August 24 - During singing march of 50 persons, 15 arrested.

Hillsboro -- August 1 - Bi-racial committee (5 Negroes, 5 whites) held first meeting.

Lexington -- July 14-18 - After 200 staged protest march, swimming pool desegregated, then damaged by vandals unknown. Re-opened integrated when repaired.

August 1-10 - Daily picketing at movie theatre, 26 arrests.

August 20 - Three Negroes indicted on murder charges in connection with a death during June 6 riot. Police have several times dispersed crowds outside jail where the prisoners are held.

Monroe -- July 30 - Three integration leaders report their car was fired upon by four other cars.

Mount Airy -- August 3-4 - Thirty-Seven Negroes arrested in two sit-in protests at drugstore lunch counters, which are desegregated but will not serve groups of Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

New Bern -- Late July demonstrations at segregated drive-in during which 9 Negro Marines (from nearby Cherry Point) were arrested prompted wires to Defense Department*, investigation by Justice Department, and mayor's plan to name bi-racial committee.

Oxford -- Early August - Picketing of firms protesting discriminatory hiring. Bi-racial committee is active.

Raleigh -- July 12 - Cross burned (second this summer in North Carolina), before home of woman assisting in interracial project.

July 27 - State's Young Democratic Club shifts summer meeting from segregated to desegregated hotel.

Rockingham -- July 13 - Mayor appoints City Council-approved, bi-racial Good Neighbor Committee (4 whites, 3 Negroes).

Rocky Mount --Week of July 8 - Restaurant picketing peaceful and simultaneous with Negro leaders-businessmen negotiations. Some restaurants and municipal facilities, including pools, desegregated.

Statesville --August 5-6 - Attempts by Negroes to use city pool prompt its closing.

Thomasville-- July 18 - Shot fired into Negro church during rally.

August 19 - First meeting of bi-racial committee held. Desegregation of movie theatre is principal demand.

Williamston --July 30-August 1 - Twenty-eight arrested during picketing and marches which climaxed a month of demonstrations (approximately 200 persons per day), aimed at restaurants, pool (now closed), and library.

August 2 - Arrival of Governor's race relations troubleshooter produced truce and talks between bi-racial committee and city leaders.

August 6 - City employment practices integrated and race signs removed from municipal facilities. Commissioners claim they lack authority to desegregate library (private) and pool (leased to private operator).

Wilmington -- During July - Pool integrated.

Wilson -- July 13 - City Commission agrees to remove race signs from municipal facilities.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Winston-Salem --July 13 - After arrest of 55 persons July 12, protesting at cafeterias, Negro leaders suspend demonstrations pending negotiated desegregation.

July 23 - August 4 - Picketing of cafeteria resumed and continued daily after one in the chain desegregated, with 50 arrests. On some evenings during this period there were singing marches through downtown to the jail.

August 6-7 - Nighttime prayer marches to city hall.

August 8 - Demonstrations suspended by Negroes to allow businesses to desegregate "without pressure."

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City--July 24 - Private amusement park resegregated after a month of integrated operation.

August 24 - Negro youths attempted to attend Services at 20 churches and were turned away at 3.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Statewide -- August 20 - Forestry Commission announces all state parks to be closed September 8 in avoidance of court ordered integration by September 10.

Anderson -- July 31 - City had its first racial incident in 18 months when white men attacked 2 Negroes who were among 50 being served at 8 formerly segregated lunch counters.

Charleston --July 29 - Following some lapses in demonstrations while businessmen negotiated with Negro leaders, protests, currently over unwillingness of some merchants who will integrate to identify themselves, entered eighth week. By August 3, 107 merchants publically agreed to extend equal courtesies to Negro and white customers and commence equal hiring practices; selective picketing of others which have not has continued.

August 7 - USO announces it will integrate August 15, substituting arts and crafts, discussion groups, etc., for hostesses.

Columbia -- August 27 -Dynamite explosion at Henri Monteith's home.

Florence -- August 2 - City's month-old bi-racial committee and city officials under attack from Citizen's Council.

Orangeburg-- August 2-3 - Picketing of chain grocers and sit-ins at restaurants took place without arrests.

Sumter -- July 19 - The city which has been without racial demonstrations in 2 years witnessed prayer groups at city hall and courthouse.

Sumter (Continued) - July 22-26 - Chain and variety stores picketed all week, climaxed July 26 and July 27 by nighttime marches of 100 to 200 persons.

August 6 - Fifty-two downtown paraders arrested in the afternoon, 300 marched without incident in the evening. Mayor has announced he will name a liaison committee to meet with Negro representatives.

Whitmire -- August 9 - Mayor reports town has been placed off limits to nearby military personnel (Swift Strike III maneuvers) after several Negro soldiers refused to leave a poolroom when asked to.

TENNESSEE

Statewide -- July 30 - State parks' director discloses all state parks have been integrated without announcement during the summer season.

Brownsville-- August 3 - Twelve demonstrators routed from courthouse by police using fire hoses, 1 arrest. (Haywood County has bi-racial committee.)

Chattanooga --August 5 - When denied admission to pool owned by city and leased to private operater, 8 Negroes picketed the facility without incident.

Humboldt -- July 21 - Bi-racial Committee announces the library is desegregated.

August 1 - Thirty-six arrested during march.

Jackson -- July 21 - After unsuccessful presentation to 150 business leaders of Negroes' petition for desegregation of public facilities, integration leaders have urged a boycott.

Knoxville -- August 4 - Three hospitals (Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic) announced their simultaneous desegregation during previous week.

Nashville -- July 30 - Federal district court ruled against segregation in private businesses in government-financed renewal areas (case involved a Nashville motel which voluntarily desegregated a month ago).

August 15 - Druggist Association votes to integrate all drugstore lunch counters.

Oak Ridge -- July 27-28 - Laundromat which has denied service to Negroes picketed.

Somerville -- July 20-26 - Week of protest saw marches, sit-ins, 110 Negro students leaving school, 43 arrests, crowds dispersed by smoke bombs, and ended with establishment of 10:00 p. m. curfew.

TEXAS

Austin -- July 29 - Integration leader spent 24-hour vigil in Governor's office seeking appointment, which was granted. Conference fell through when other leaders wished to attend. Picketing of Governor's mansion continued through August 7. Negroes are protesting his anti-civil rights bill testimony.

Dallas -- July 20 - Negro attempting to be served in segregated cafe, slashed with broken bottle when he refused to leave.

August 4 - City's racially-mixed South Oak Cliff area launches (white sponsorship of 5 churches) neighborhood program to promote community development and inter-racial cooperation.

La Porte -- August 5 - City Council votes to establish bi-racial committee to study desegregation of public facilities.

Galveston --August 16 - County Commissioners appointing county-wide (Galveston) bi-racial committee to deal with desegregation in all unincorporated areas.

VIRGINIA

Statewide --August 6 - Commanders at Camp Pickett (Nottoway Co.), Camp A. P. Hill (Caroline Co.), and Ft. Lee (Prince George Co.) have been directed by Defense Department to report by August 30 what steps they have taken to comply with late July order that they advise military personnel of their legal right to send children to integrated schools.

Danville -- July 25 - August 28 - With minor exceptions demonstrations have subsided as last of jailed civil rights leaders released, 100 remain jailed, and over 300 await court hearing on charges of violating temporary anti-demonstration injunction.

July 28 - Seventy-seven were arrested during midtown march and observing newsmen threatened with jail if they did not leave scene.

July 29 - Negro leader arrested at 4:00 a. m. and brought to court barefoot and wearing bathrobe. Injunction, to have expired on this date, extended on day-to-day basis.

July 31 - 275 appear on appeal from lower court convictions.

August 2 - Court made permanent previous temporary injunction. Negro leaders have turned to pushing voter registration (400 registered July 11-August 5).

August 5 - Trials of demonstrators moved to 6 state courts outside Danville.

August 6 - Nine arrested for lying down in street.

August 7 - Trial of demonstrators declared mistrial.

Danville (Continued)

August 8 - Federal court enjoined city from trying demonstrators pending September ruling on validity of city law. City continues arrests, 7 on this date.

August 9 - City officials begin receiving "freedom"phone calls.

August 10 - Three picketed without incident.

August 13 - A city Councilman offers resolution for a bi-racial committee.

August 15 - Out of several groups of pickets, 6 arrested for not walking far enough apart.

Farmville --July 25-August 1 - First protest action since June sit-ins began with downtown march of 60, followed by daily demonstrations for a week with 33 arrests.

August 3 - Demonstrators paraded despite denial of permit, 12 arrested.

August 5 and 7 - 25-35 secured permit and picketed without incident.

August 10 - Fifty paraded with permit for area slightly outside downtown. Subsequent protests have followed same pattern

Fredericksburg -- August 6 - City Council names 4 Negroes, 4 whites to new bi-racial commission on race relations.

Lynchburg --August 1 - FBI clears city police of brutality charged in July 13 arrest of 5 sit-in demonstrators, who were given suspended sentences.

Manassas -- August 14 - Over 20 restaurants and the only theatre in the area agree to desegregate following Chamber of Commerce Committee's negotiations with owners.

Norfolk -- July 23 - Citizens Advisory Committee (bi-racial) announces that over 75% of motels and hotels agree to integrate.

Petersburg --August 8 - Police department hires first Negro patrolman.

Portsmouth--July 31 - Mayor intercepted group of Negroes enroute to sit-in at restaurant, promised further desegregation (10 establishments agreed to integrate previous week), from talks with businessmen, and denied need for bi-racial committee.

Richmond-- August 3 - Additional 17 restaurants desegregated, since June 18 (when 35 agreed to integrate).

August 6-9 - Picketing around city hall protesting discrimination in municipal employment climaxed by delivery of grievances petition to City Council.

Richmond -- (Continued) August 17 - Seven arrested during sit-in at segregated restaurant.

Staunton -- August 9 - Negro petition on grievances in housing, education, and public facilities and accommodations presented to 6-member (3 Negro) bi-racial Community Relations Committee.

Suffolk -- July 18 - City asked by Negroes to form bi-racial commission.

August 1 - County (Nansemond) asked to form joint bi-racial commission with city.

Waynesboro--August 2 - City hires first Negro policeman.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

ARKANSAS

Little Rock
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Jacksonville*
Miami
Miami Beach
Ocala
St. Augustine
St. Petersburg
Tampa

GEORGIA

Americus
Athens
Atlanta
Decatur
Fitzgerald
Valdosta

KENTUCKY

Henderson
Lexington

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Plaquemine
Shreveport*

MISSISSIPPI

Clarksdale
Greenville
Greenwood
Jackson
McComb
Ruleville

NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill
Dunn
Enfield
Goldsboro
High Point
Lexington
Mount Airy
New Bern

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Oxford
Statesville
Williamston
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Orangeburg
Sumter

TENNESSEE

Brownsville
Chattanooga
Humboldt
Oak Ridge
Somerville

TEXAS

Austin

VIRGINIA

Danville
Farmville
Portsmouth
Richmond

*Cities starred had demonstrations or desegregation prior to July 24 not included in previous synopses. See text on preceeding pages for exact date.

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Macon County
Montgomery
Tuskegee County

ARKANSAS

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Clearwater
Fort Lauderdale
Miami
Orlando
Tampa

GEORGIA

Athens
Calhoun
Columbus
Savannah

KENTUCKY

Hazard

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Iberia

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro
Charlotte
Durham
Elizabeth City
Greensboro
Havelock
High Point
Rocky Mount
Williamston
Wilmington*
Wilson*

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Charleston

TENNESSEE

Humboldt*
Knoxville
Nashville

VIRGINIA

Manassas
Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Richmond
Waynesburg

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE JULY 24

2,043

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December 31, 1963

CIVIL RIGHTS: YEAR-END SUMMARY

During 1963 an estimated 930 individual public protest demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in the 11 southern states.

More than 20,083 of the persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated have been arrested.

Ten persons have died under circumstances directly related to racial protests.

And 35 known bombings have occurred.

On the positive side some progress toward integration has taken in an estimated 186 localities in the 11 southern states. In an estimated 102 of these cities, towns, and counties biracial committees with varying degrees of official sanction are currently working toward the achievement of further integration.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December 31, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IV*

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from September 1963 through November 1963. It is principally compiled from newspaper sources. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA. (Statewide)

September 6 - Legislature appropriated $25,000 for two years to its joint Commission to Maintain the Peace, created earlier in the year to investigate subversive elements in racial disturbances.

Anniston: September 15-16 - Two Negro ministers beaten by over 25 whites during attempt to use library; following day they were escorted by city officials to the Anniston library, which then integrated.

Atmore: August 18 & 30 - Six separate attacks committed upon Negroe By September 20, six whites, aged 18 to 23, from Florida charged with assault with intent to murder.

Birmingham: September 4 - Bombing of Arthur D. Shores home set off riot in which one Negro was killed.

September 8 - A. G. Gaston home bombed.

September 15- Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombed, killing 4 Negro girls; two Negroes killed in subsequent clashes.

September 18 - Brief, 3-block long demonstration halted during funeral for 3 of the 4 dead.

September 25 - Two consecutive bombs exploded in early morning on street of Negro residential area.

President Kennedy met with separate Negro and white delegations in Washington, sent his own mediators to city. No further Negro demands - employment of Negro police, desegregation of facilities - have been met. There have been no bombing convictions. No further demonstrations. A biracial subcommittee has held meetings.

October 3 - Bombing of Negro store front admitted by Negro.

Florence: In October - city government approved plans to hire first Negro police, none hired as yet.

Gadsden: In September - Negroes filed suit in Federal District Court seeking integration of municipal building, auditorium, tennis courts, swimming pools, recreation center, schools. September 13 - Grand Jury did not bring indictment against grocer held in slaying of Freedom Walker William Moore. November - Store hired 2 Negro butchers and a cashier following economic pressure from community.

*(Includes events prior to August 29, 1963, which were not reported in previous chronologies. Does not deal with school desegregation.)

ALABAMA (Cont'd).

Huntsville: August 31 - City Council approved 9-man bi-racial committee.

September 29 - Seven motels and a leading hotel integrated.

Mobile: Mid-November - City's picketing ordinance ruled unconstitutional by circuit judge.

Montgomery: September 5 - One of 3 Negro members of 50-man integrated Kansas high school drum and bugle corps en route to Florida beaten by two unidentified white men in lunch counter of Trailways Bus terminal.

September 15 - Clash of whites & Negroes outside segregated movie controlled by police, with no arrests.

Selma: September 16 - October 16 -- Demonstrations began September 16 when high school students cut classes, attempted sit-ins marched downtown, 67 were arrested. Protests originated over Birmingham bombing, then focused early on voter registration and segregated facilities.

September 17 - Twelve arrested.

September 23 - Fifteen arrested, parade attempt halted.

September 24-- 132 arrested during two marches and kneeling at housing project. Justice Department lawyers arrived.

September 25-- 28 arrested picketing court house.

September 29 - Four Negro women integrated First Presbyterian Church.

October 1-2 - Six pickets at court house and post office arrested.

October 7 - Over 200 Negroes stood in line all day to register (under 40 applications processed). Two Negroes attempting to take sandwiches to registrants arrested and two newsmen received rough treatment from state troopers and police.

October 15-16 - Smaller groups of Negroes attempted to register.

White leadership has refused negotiation. Charges were parading without permit (permits applied for have been denied), truancy, contributing to delinquency of minor, unlawful assembly, interfering with officer, picketing without license, disorderly conduct.

Tuscaloosa: September 10-- 3 Ghanaian students, a white student, and a white minister from out of state driving through the city were taken into custody by police, released, later stopped on highway and beaten.

November 17,18,19 - 3 Separate bombings, 2 of them near University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS.

Benton and Conway: September - Drive-in movies integrated.

ARKANSAS (Cont'd).

Fayetteville: Summer - Theatres, some motels, most restaurants, and municipal swimming pool integrated.

Fort Smith: August 12 - Negroes picketed supermarket without incident, seeking employment.

Helena: November 16 - 32 arrested during drugstore and restaurant sit-ins, reportedly town's first demonstration.

FLORIDA. (Statewide)

A 1957 statute (Section of the Hotel and Restaurant Commission Act) declaring public lodgings and food service establishments "private enterprises" found to block passage of municipal "open" public accommodation ordinances.

Late October - Florida National Guard integrated by first Negro member.

Bradenton: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Clearwater: September 9 - Movies integrated, with one exception.

Jacksonville: October 5 - Over 1,000 staged peaceful march asking jobs, bi-racial committee, desegregation of accommodations. (On September 5 all but two restaurants pledged open policy, but no integration to date.)

Miami: September 15 - Over 1,000 marched in Birmingham memorial procession.

Ocala: September 21 - The Florida Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, holding hearings, was refused motel accommodations, heard testimony on harassment of Negroes advocating integration.

St. Augustine: July 23-October 25 - Demonstrations which began in June have gradually come to a standstill. Police dispersed a Labor Day protest march in the tourist section, have permitted some subsequent picketing. A few lunch counters and one restaurant have integrated. Mayor refuses to name bi-racial committee. Four juveniles arrested July 23 during drugstore sit-in are still held in state reform school. An atmosphere of unrest has been accentuated by some violent incidents, including 2 Negro homes and 2 Negro juke joints shot into, car tires slashed and cars turned over.

August 31 - Eight arrested during drugstore sit-in.
September 2 - Thirty-two arrested in city park for holding a public meeting without a permit.

September 12 - City manager issued indefinite ban on parades and open air mass meetings.

September 19 - Four integration leaders severely beaten at Ku Klux Klan rally (which was held in the open air). (Charges against one of the Negroes dismissed in November after complaining Klan witnesses twice failed to appear.)

Week of October 21 - Four bombs thrown at integration leader's home.

October 25 - One of 4 white men driving with a rifle through a Negro neighborhood slain.

November 7 - Two Negroes arrested in connection with shotgun deaths of 2 whites, including October 25 incident.

Sarasota: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee: September 13-16 -- 248 college students arrested in renewed picketing (after 2 month lay-off) of movie theatre. Approximately 475 marched to jail protesting arrests and 104 of those arrested in their effort to pack jail.

November 7 - Negro student at Florida A & M University shot in arm while walking near campus.

Mid-November - Students have been picketing restaurants adjoining Florida State University campus. One has subsequently served Negroes.

Tampa: September 9 - All movies integrated.

GEORGIA:

Albany: Library recently integrated on stand-up basis.

Americus: August 8 - November 2 -- Four workers in the efforts of voter registration and integration of library, movies and municipal facilities arrested August 8 and 17, charged with insurrection, held 70 days until November 2, until suit brought in Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals secured their release and prohibited further prosecution under the capital charge.
October 22 - Two arrested for picketing movie in only overt protest activity since August.

The 20-man Urban Renewal Committee has 5 Negro members.

Atlanta: September 7 - State Senator Leroy Johnson's office picketed.

As of October 1 - Most drive-in movies integrated after previous 30-day test period.

October 7 - An estimated 500 Negroes picketed Governor Wallace's speech.

October 21 - 25 picketed First Baptist Church.

October 29 - Mayor named bi-racial panel to study Negro municipal employment.

November 3 - Atlanta Summer Leadership Conference (9 organizations which united in October) asked negotiation of Negro goals with no threat of demonstration.

Week of November 11 -- Lovett School picketed.

November 13 - Negro leadership met with Chamber of Commerce and Board of Alderman. Chamber issued public statement urging end to discrimination in business and employment.

A Sierra Leone visitor, State Department official, and two Atlantans refused service at one restaurant, police called when they refused to leave.

Atlanta (Cont'd)

November 14 - Board of Aldermen refused to permit Mayor to speak, refused to endorse resolution for voluntary desegregation.

November 19 - Retail Merchants Association joined Chamber of Commerce in endorsing voluntary end to discrimination in public accommodations.

November 21 - Approximately 400 Negroes picketed Rich's seeking employment of Negroes among extra holiday sales personnel. Negro leaders and hotel owners conferred.

Augusta: During late summer - Mayor appointed bi-racial advisory commission. Parks and library integrated. A Negro bus driver hired.

Late September - Merchants began hiring Negroes in non-traditional jobs.

October 9 - Polling places integrated for Mayor's election.

Columbus: September 2 - Library integrated

September 4 - 25-Member (15 whites, 10 Negroes), bi-racial committee named by City Commission.

During October - Movies integrated.

Decatur: During October Municipal Recreation Center used for first time by integrated group (had previously been integrated in principle).

DeKalb Co.: During September an unofficial bi-racial study committee organized to stimulate voter registration.

Fort Valley: November 12 - Negro comm nity formally requested open public accommodation ordinance and integration of municipal facilities.

Griffin: November 9 - Integrated group of 21 Peace Marchers arrested. Main library has integrated recently.

Jekyll Island: September 24 - Suit filed for integration of state park facilities here.

Macon: September 22 - Vineville Baptist Church admitted Negro to church membership; is reportedly first Southern Baptist congregation to do so.

As of October - More than a token number of Negroes have been employed in mercantile jobs. Library integrated recently.

Rome: September 24 - Sorority cancelled scheduled October Air Force Band concert. (Earlier in month Air Force barred its personnel's participation in events before segregated audiences.) Defense Department announced other service arms were doing likewise.

Library recently integrated.

GEORGIA(Cont'd)

Savannah: October 2 - Two motels, two hotels, andthree downtown movies integrated.

A Negro delegation to the City Council officially protested five fatal shootings of Negroes by police during the year. (In addition, one Negro woman's home has been shot into seven times within year with no convictions made.)

October 29 - One integrated movie tear-gas-bombed simultaneous with picketing by 15 Klansmen.

Tifton: Library recently integrated.

Valdosta: September 5 - Mayor appointed bi-racial (14 white, 10 Negro members) committee held first meeting. Library subsequently integrated.

Warner-Robbins: September 5 - Integration requests formally presented to mayor by Negro committee.

During October - Although city recently passed a picket-proscribing ordinance, a supermarket has been regularly picketed without incident.

October 19 - Seventeen arrested during drugstore sit-in.

KENTUCKY.

Hopkinsville: Late August - Many restaurants, movies, and bowling alleys voluntarily integrated.

Lexington: August 31 - Over 250 demonstrators marched downtown carrying signs saying newspapers discriminate.

During August - 4 private businesses and secretarial schools integrated.

Louisville: September 12 - Ordinance prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodations went into operation; carries fines up to $100 for violation, injunction for public nuisance after 3 convictions. Bowling alleys have all publicly announced compliance. Tavern owners have brought suit challenging ordinance's constitutionality.

By September 15 - Negro leaders reported tests showed 80 restaurants integrated.

LOUISIANA.

Baton Rouge: October 1 - 4th Negro policemen (3 hired in August), joined force.

Large number picketed food store where clerk allegedly threatened 2 Negroes with gun.

Clinton: October 12-13 -- Twenty-six arrested for picketing. At the city's request, a state court issued injunction banning racial demonstrations.

October 22 - Federal Court extended indefinitely a stay of injunction.

Gonzalez: Late August - A Negro arrested for disturbing the peace when refused restaurant service in bus station.

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Hammond: September 5 - Approximately 275 marched to City Hall, attempted 2 sit-ins, in city's first racial demonstration. School suspended for a week participating students (who had cut classes).

September 7 - Mayor met with Negro leaders.

September 8 - Some students returned to school and accepted work penalties in lieu of suspension.

September 9 - Students picketed their school protesting suspension. Mayor agreed to name bi-racial committee and Negro leaders to no further demonstrations.

September 17 - Commission Council passed resolution creating bi-racial committee on community relations (8 whites, 8 Negroes), reportedly second such committee in state (other in Baton Rouge).

September 18 - Committee held first meeting.

Newly formed Association for Preservation of Constitutional Government began efforts (meeting with 115 attendance) to have Mayor recalled.

Jena: September 29 - A KKK rally of 5,000 in a pasture.

New Orleans: August 13 - 10 Negroes hired by Sanitation Department as garbage collectors (job previously unavailable to Negroes).

September 4 - A Methodist church made public announcement that worship services were open to "any and all."

September 10 - 3 leading hotels and 1 motel agreed to accept Negroes as convention delegates.

September 18 - City announced it will appeal July 1 Federal Court order to integrate Municipal Auditorium.

September 19-20 - Students marched before City Hall protesting discriminatory voter registration practices. 83 arrested on the 20th.

September 30 - Parade permit and police protection granted City Hall march of approximately 5,000.

November 4 - Three arrested at City Hall cafeteria (sit-ins have been held here regularly).

November 5 - Five arrested outside Mayor's office and 4 arrested in restaurant protesting segregation.

November 7 - Six arrested in City Hall cafeteria included a Negro Catholic nun.

Opelousas: September 3 - Approximately 300 attended meeting decrying Negro "second class treatment," asking negotiation with city government.

Plaquemine: September - Demonstrations began here August 19 when annexation to the city of 2 Negro neighborhoods (one of which is nearly surrounded by the city) and bi-racial committee denied. A second temporary restraining order

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Plaquemine(Cont'd):

(first was stayed by 5th Circuit) issued by U. S. District Court judge on September 1 failed to halt demonstration that night in which 68 were arrested protesting alleged police brutality in smaller protest the night before. Tear gas, electric cattle prods, fire hoses, and mounted police were used to drive retreating demonstrators, including 6 ministers, from a church.

Negro students refused to eat in school cafeteria in protest over firing of lunchroom worker who participated in demonstrations.

September 26 - In response to Negro suit, Federal District judge did not lift, but extended, demonstration ban through October 10.

October 4 - Approximately 500 students held "freedom song" demonstration in high school; 35 students suspended indefinitely.

October 7 - Protesting suspensions, 400 students attempted to protest at school board office, met road barricades and tear gas.

October 8 - Sixty students dispersed from attempted sit-down at white school.

October 9 - A tear gas grenade thrown into a Negro church during protest meeting.

October 10 - Approximately 40 students dispersed from a demonstration at their own school with tear gas; 2 arrests. Nine students dispersed from restaurant sit-in with cattle prods.

October 11 - Individual students served with copies of the anti-demonstration injunction.

October 26 - A scheduled civil rights meeting broken up when arriving participants met at church by armed police.

In long-range efforts, Negroes are attempting to do most of their buying in 20-mile distant Baton Rouge; have offered a full slate of city and parish candidates for December 7 primary.

Pointe a la Hache:

October 10 - Plaquemine's Parish Council authorized Leander Perez to lease an old fort as a stockade for racial demonstrators, and to take Martin Luther King, Jr., into custody should he "visit the Parish."

Shreveport: September 22 - Parade permit denied for a Birmingham (church bombing) memorial march. (By contrast, large marches took place in North Little Rock, Ark., Miami, Fla., Columbia, S. C., and Raleigh, N. C., to name a few places.) When some Negroes attempted to march, police dispersed them with tear gas, arrested one teacher and one student after group took refuge in a school.

October 9 - Four Negroes arrested attempting to register at motel.

MISSISSIPPI.

Indianola: October 22 - Fourteen youths, including 2 Yale students, arrested for distributing literature without a city permit during write-in election drive for Mississippi Negro leader Aaron Henry for governor.

Jackson: October & November - City has been the scene of repeated attempts by integrated groups to worship at white churches, only 2 of which (Catholic and Episcopal) have admitted them.

October 6 - Two Negro and 1 white Tougaloo female students arrested on charges of disturbing public worship at Capitol Street Methodist Church.

October 12 - National Council of Churches, on coeds' behalf, filed suit contesting law which permits arrest of persons trying to integrate church services.

October 13 - Same 3, with a white minister, turned away at same church; no arrests.

October 20 - Twelve arrested at 2 churches.

October 27 - Two ministers arrested when, after police had turned them away from church, they knelt on sidewalk.

November 17 - Ten, including 5 clergymen, 3 of them white, arrested at 4 churches.

Other events have included:

September 4 - U. S. District Court judge released the city as defendant in suit seeking to enjoin it from enforcing segregation under state and city laws.

September 7 - U. S. District Court judge ordered city to remove segregation signs outside 3 terminals. (The 2 bus and 1 railroad company had already removed their own signs inside building. Also, the same judge had earlier refused so to order the city, but his decision was overturned by 5th Circuit.)

September 17 - Two Negroes served on trial juries, reportedly for first time in state in recent years.

October 15 - A Negro shot to death a white service station attendant in argument over use of "white only" drinking fountain.

November 19 - Two white youths arrested for setting fire to drive-in restaurant because owner recently employed Negro car hops and waitresses.

During November - Three Negro girls drew irate crowd of students when they integrated Millsaps College's Christian Center for a play performance.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont'd)

Meridian: August 30 - Three busloads of Negroes, returning from Washington March, refused service at "white only" bus station facilities; some beaten by white bystanders.

October 5 - Four additional Negro policemen hired (previously one on force).

Natchez: August 30 - One Negro arrested for using "white only" service station restroom; complained to Justice Department he was beaten by sheriff's deputies.

Winona: September 9 - Justice Department brought suit charging police with brutality in custody of 5 who sought bus terminal restaurant service last July.

Yazoo City: November 5 - Police met and dispersed election workers, warning them of ordinance against circulating handbills without a permit.

NORTH CAROLINA. (Statewide)

Governor Sanford keeps personally informed of racial demonstrations via statewide telephone reports from State Highway Patrol ever 24 hours.

Ahoskie: September 10 - Town Council passed ordinance regulating picketing.

Charlotte: November 22 - All 14 (a 15th is all-Negro St. Andrew's) white Lutheran churches announced January publication of a self-study asserting the churches are open to all.

November 25 - Home in white neighborhood which owner-incumbent had sold to a Negro, shot into 4 times.

Concord: September 10 - Negro youths demonstrated before 2 movies, staged a subsequent protest, and on third day, Nov. 16, drew a crowd of 500 hostile whites whom police dispersed.

September 19 - Mayor dissolved 2-month old bi-racial committee saying the demonstrations violated the terms of its formation. Negro members of the committee denied any agreement not to demonstrate.

Dunn: September 20 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee issued progress report of desegregation, cited integrated drugstore lunch counters and agreement of 11 firms to commence merit hiring. An official truce had been in effect, August 13 through November 13.

November 26 - Negro leadership denied "anything concrete" accomplished in 90-day period.

Elizabeth City: September 14 - Approximately 250 students staged orderly anti-segregation march in reportedly city's first protest of the year.

September 15 - Approximately 450 participated in peaceful prayer march to courthouse.

September 16 - Another march of 150-200, without incident.

September 20 - Negroes made formal announcement of objectives; integration in churches, schools, employment, public

NORTH CAROLINA (CONT'D)

Elizabeth City (Cont'd):
accommodations and municipal facilities.

September 25 - Mayor's bi-racial Committee on Human Relations agreed to negotiation with suspension of demonstrations through November 9.

Enfield: August 31 - 1,200 demonstrations clashed with police as violence erupted over failure of bi-racial committee's negotiations and passage of picket-regulating ordinance.

September 4 - Governor's race relations aide visited city but failed to break deadlock.

September 7 - Department store pickets protesting discriminatory hiring arrested as fast as they appeared until jail was filled.

Gatlinburg: October 15 - AFL-CIO's Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights meeting here noted all leading motels, hotels, and restaurants are integrated.

Gastonia: During November - Protests initiated asking integration of movie theatres.

Goldsboro: November 18 - Bi-racial Council announces formation of also bi-racial Woman's Good Will Committee to improve communication across race lines.

High Point: Demonstrations which began in mid-August, and reached a crescendo in early September have centered on public accommodations and employment and resulted in the arrest of over 1,000 by September 10.

September 1 - Seventy-five Negroes marched through downtown and converged on segregated drive-in restaurant.

September 2 - Three leaders of singing march of approximately 120 arrested.

September 3 - Nearly 50 of 200 demonstrators arrested in 3rd consecutive night at drive-in.

September 4 - 225 marching on drive-in met by about 800 angry whites, 2 of whom were arrested for inciting to riot.

September 6 & 7 - Cafeteria, 2 movie theatres, & drive-in picketed.

September 8 - Mass meeting of 900 at City-County Building and downtown march of 380.

September 9 - 363 arrested in 3 waves of theatre-restaurant protest.

September 10 - Mayor requested, Negro leaders rejected moratorium on demonstrations, pending negotiations, 10 of 700 marchers arrested as police restrained 2,000 onlookers from near clashes. To date police had kept order, drawn praise from Negro leaders.

N. C., High Point (Cont'd)

September 11 - A hail of rocks, eggs, and tomatoes thrown from crowd of 3,000 at approximately 500 marchers caught some innocents in crossfire; police used tear gas to keep order, arrested 9 for trespass.

September 12 - Negro leaders agreed to 90-day (through December 6) suspension of protest actions and City Council deferred passage of severe anti-demonstration ordinance. A permament 11-member human relations commission planned to replace bi-racial committee.

September 30 - Women's Good Will Committee held integrated luncheon.

November - Two Negro firemen hired in recent weeks and negotiations with bowling alley owners in progress.

Kenansville: November 8 - Two Negroes served on Superior Court jury in criminal trial (burglary and rape) of a Negro.

Kinston: October - Two Negro firemen hired.

Laurinberg: October 15 - First Negro policeman hired.

Monroe: September 4 - Approximately 125 marched around county courthouse protesting school segregation.

Murfreesboro: During September - Board of Commissioners approved naming of Advisory Committee on Bi-racial Affairs.

Raleigh: During September - A permanent Community Relations Committee succeeded temporary group named in May.

Southern Pines: September 1 - Town's first Negro policeman hired.

Statesville: September 19 - Voters in recall election elected 6 new city councilmen pledged to holdrreferendum on status of swimming pool integrated during summer.

November 19 - Mayor named additional members to expanded bi-racial human relations committee.

Wadesboro: September - Negro community formed its own Economic Development Corporation, established shirt factory providing new skilled jobs.

Washington: September - Bi-racial committee established and second Negro policeman hired.

Williamston: August 29 - After a week-long truce and city's enacting an anti-picketing ordinance, 11 were jailed in violation of it.

August 30 - Approximately 400 Negroes, protesting previous arrests, met phalanx of police. All in all, demonstrations had been held almost daily for 32 days through....

October 15 - When Negro leaders telegraphed the governor to intervene, staged a peaceful march of about 100 persons.

November 17 - Fifteen white ministers from Boston area arrested while protesting with local citizens and jailed in Greenville and Washington (N.C.) where Williamstonians regrouped and protested November 18.

N.C. Williamston (Cont'd):

November 21 - Seventy Negroes, 11 white ministers, and several white seminarians marched in protest despite Superior Court restraining order issued in the morning.

November 22 - Further demonstrations planned for weekend cancelled because of President's death.

Wilmington: October 2 - Approximately 100 arrested demonstrating at movie theatre.

November 16 - An estimated 1,000 persons attended Ku Klux Klan rally 6 miles from city.

Wilson: September 1 - Negroes assembled to sing on courthouse steps; whites formed a counter demonstration with some minor incidents, 5 arrests.

September 2 - Two downtown marches of approximately 125 persons each before movie theatres conducted peacefully.

Winston-Salem: September 3 - Picketing resumed (first since August 28 Washington March) at downtown cafeteria without incident. Bi-racial committee appointed sub-committee to evaluate integration; Negroes claim restaurants are foot-dragging.

September 7 & 8 - Drive-in restaurants with heavy Negro patronage picketed with demands for Negro employment.

September 10 & 11 -- Cafeteria and drive-in picketed, 2 arrests.

September 12 - Largest demonstration - 55 persons - since August as pickets sang in front of cafeteria.

SOUTH CAROLINA. (Statewide).

September-October -- A legislative committee chaired by Representative James C. Arrants held 11 hearings throughout state to take testimony on whether state should maintain open or closed its 26 state parks after federal court ordered integration (parks closed indefinitely by Forestry Commission on September 8). The consensus was for open parks. The Arrants committee will make its recommendations to the General Assembly in January.

Anderson: November 28 - The Ministerial Association, sponsor in past years of the Annual Thanksgiving Day ceremony at the city's recreation center, asked the City Council for permission to hold an integrated program. When the request was denied, the Association, which this year admitted 6 Negro clergymen, withdrew its sponsorship.

Charleston: August 30 - A supermarket and automobile company picketed by approximately 25 Negroes.

September 1 - Picketing. It was announced by Negro leaders on September 7 that this and other demonstrations would be discontinued indefinitely. Unpublicized negotiations reportedly taking place with the bi-racial committee.

S. C. (Cont'd)

Columbia: September 9 - City's first anti-segregation demonstration of the year was a 4-block, few minutes march of 17 youths. Later, on two occasions, at noon and in late afternoon, 23 were arrested trying to integrate movie theatres.

September 10 - Fifty-two participated in theatre demonstration; no arrests.

September 14 - One youth arrested at theatre aroused 20 marchers to sing before jail.

Florence: September 16 - Twenty-member Bi-racial Community Relations Committee under fire from Citizen's Council, drew declaration of unequal support from City Council.

Greenville and Newberry: Bi-racial committees have been formed.

Orangeburg: Communications lapsed here following an August 20 formal presentation of 10-point integration program by Negro leaders to city officials.

September 28 & 29 - Three downtown marches comprising about 200 persons each - 1 on Saturday and 2 on Sunday - resulted in arrest of nearly 500. State law officers and highway patrolmen reinforced local police in city's first large protest action since 1960. (To date this year there had been intermittent sit-ins, fewer than 50 arrests on trespass charges.)

September 30 - During the morning 12 arrested at restaurant sit-ins as 190 paraded downtown and were also taken into custody. During afternoon, 130 marched by jail without incident.

October 1 - 262 demonstrators arrested attempting a second parade. Police had permitted a march of over 100 earlier in day but warned against repetition.

October 2 - With approximately 1,000 arrested in less than a week, Negro leaders met with city officials. Mass demonstrations halted, but single pickets were out.

October 10 - Approximately 80 arrested picketing schools, where partial boycott of classes continued for several days and one teacher was dismissed for protest activities.

October 23 - After a two-week lull, 50 youths arrested during march to police station to register for picketing as required by new ordinance.

By November - Arrests in 2 months of protest have surpassed 1,500 and there has been no resolution of problems.

Seneca: During September - A movie theatre and some lunch counters integrated. A bi-racial committee was formed earlier in summer.

Sumter: August 19 - Two Negro women attempted to integrate a courtroom during trial of 6 ministers charged with trespass for sit-ins. The two served 12 hours in jail on contempt

S. C. (Sumter Cont'd)

charges rather than pay fine.

October 6 - Forty-four arrested during attempted prayer gathering at courthouse in memorial of Birmingham bombing.

October 13 - 102 who were singing and hand-clapping arrested in protest march. Similar but silent marches have occurred in recent weeks without incident.

TENNESSEE.

Chattanooga: Mid-September -- Mayor and City Commission formally declared Chattanooga an "open"city.

October 8 - A vacant house in a predominantly white neighborhood which had been shown to prospective Negro buyers wrecked by dynamite.

Franklin: During August - Bi-racial committee established.

Jackson: November 4 - Seven Negroes arrested in attempted restaurant sit-in.

November 23 - Twenty-five, including 4 white students, arrested in attempt to be served at 4 different restaurants.

Johnson City: September 5 - Members of the City Commission and Chamber of Commerce, as individuals, signed and circulated for public approval a resolution calling for complete integration of public facilities.

Memphis: August 31 - Approximately 400 Negroes marched downtown protesting double shift school day.

September 12 - Sit-in at segregated, privately leased restaurant in railroad terminal.

Smithville: September 3 - Shotgun and pistol fired into home and car of Negro family whose two children integrated the elementary school. Sheriff and a former sheriff arrested on warrant sworn out by the parent. Charges dismissed September 9.

TEXAS.

Austin: August 28 - Eleven persons reportedly paraded in White Citizens' Council counter-protest to civil rights march which took place later in day with several 100 participants.

During October - City Council took under advisement a public accommodations ordinance.

Dallas: October 1 - A Marine color guard scheduled to participate in woman's club meeting did not attend because of armed services directive against participation in segregated gatherings.

Galveston County: September 4 - Fourteen members appointed to biracial committee to deal with racial problems in county

government employment, service at county hospital, and in public accommodations in unincorporated areas.

Marlin: August - Established a bi-racial committee.

Prairie View: November 9 - Boycott of football game and home-coming requested by students of the Prairie View A & M student body and alumni to support efforts to integrate nearby Hempstead effective as about 100 persons attended (attendance in previous years: 9,000).

November 15-16--White ministers joined students picketing restaurants in Hempstead.

VIRGINIA

Statewide: Oct. 15 - Two Negro applicants passed examinations for National Guard but have not been inducted to date.

Charlottesville: Sept. 22 - Peaceful Birmingham memorial march.

Covington: Sept. 3 - First Negro policeman hired.

Danville: August 30 - Twenty-five arrested for parading without permit.

September 1 - An Episcopal church Holy Communion service integrated.

September 17 - More than 80 participated in peaceful public prayer meeting (for those who died in Birmingham) on Post Office Building steps.

October 16 - First Negro policeman hired.

November 21 - A League of over 200 white citizens petitioned mayor to approve a biracial committee.

Eastville: September 5 - Negro ministers from state's two eastern shore counties, Accomack and Northampton, formally requested biracial committee in first such action in area.

Farmville: September 5 - Picketing and selective buying had been fairly continuous to date when three merchants pledged to employ Negro sales personnel.

September 7 - Fifty staged singing protest before movie theatre without incident.

September 12 - A fourth merchant agreed to open jobs. Picketing continued before those who have not agreed.

Fort Lee: During September - A biracial committee and an equal employment opportunity committee formed.

Fredericksburg: October 11 - Biracial Commission reported several large motels and hotels in the area have integrated eating and sleeping accommodations.

Virginia cont'd

Hopewell: September 18 - City's first Negro policewoman hired as school guard.

Martinsville: During August - A bi-racial committee established. First Negro policeman joined force thereafter.

Norfolk: September 19 - More than 2,000 Negro students paraded before Norfolk School Administration Building and a student delegation presented list of grievances about the city's only Negro high school to the school superintendent.

Petersburg: September 19 - Over 1,000 Virginia State College students marched 8 miles carrying coffin labeled "Birmingham Justice."

Portsmouth: November 20 - Full integration of hospital medical staff to be recommended at hospital board meeting in December as a result of meeting with Negro leaders. No action taken on request for integration of facilities.

Radford: A bi-racial committee has been established.

October 1 - Public roller skating facilities integrated and Recreation Department announced its basketball program would in integrated at season's opening in December.

Richmond: September 4 - Twelve-member Bi-racial committee held its first meeting.

Staunton: September 28 - Hired first regular Negro policeman.

Tappahannock: A 12-member bi-racial committee has been established.

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CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SEPTEMBER - NOVEMBER, 1963

ALABAMA

Anniston
Birmingham
Selma

FLORIDA

Jacksonville
Miami
St. Augustine
Tallahassee

GEORGIA

Americus
Atlanta
Warner Robins

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Clinton
Hammond
New Orleans
Plaquemine
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Concord
Elizabeth City
Enfield
Gastonia
High Point
Monroe
Washington
Williamston
Wilmington
Wilson
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Columbia
Orangeburg
Sumter

TENNESSEE

Jackson
Memphis

TEXAS

Austin
Hempstead

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Norfolk
Petersburg

* *

CITIES WHERE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD INTEGRATION HAS OCCURRED

ALABAMA

Anniston
Florence
Huntsville

ARKANSAS

Benton
Conway

FLORIDA

Bradenton
Clearwater
St. Augustine
Sarasota
Tampa

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Augusta
Columbus
Decatur
Macon
Savannah
Valdosta

KENTUCKY

Louisville

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Hammond
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson
Meridian

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Dunn
Gastonia
High Point
Laurinberg
Murfreesboro
Southern Pines
Washington

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Greenville
Newberry
Seneca

TENNESSEE

Franklin
Johnson City

TEXAS

Galveston County
Marlin

VIRGINIA

Covington
Danville
Farmville
Ft. Lee
Fredericksburg
Hopewell
Martinsville
Radford
Richmond
Staunton
Tappahannock

Estimated number of arrests in 11 Southern states since August 28, 5,125.

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments, V

This synopsis covers the period December 1-23, 1963.

ALABAMA - In Birmingham on December 9 a meeting of the National States Rights Party called off when only 12 persons attended. On December 10 a window in the home of a Negro civil rights attorney was smashed by a steel ball. On December 12 a U.S. District Court judge ordered integration of the Birmingham Airport Motel.

In Tuscaloosa on December 19 and 20 five National Guardsmen were arrested on charge of setting off three November explosions near the University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS - In Helena on December 6 three integration workers were arrested.

FLORIDA - In Ocala on December 7 12 white students and teachers who were picketing with Negroes (who were permitted to continue) were arrested.

In Tallahassee on December 12 a petition signed by 116 Florida State University faculty members asking integration of off-campus restaurants ran as a full-page ad in FSU student newspaper.

GEORGIA - In Americus on December 5 one of the four rights workers who had been held and later released on insurrection charge was convicted of assault with intent to murder.

In Atlanta there was considerable activity highlighted by the following:
-Dec. 3 - Board of Aldermen voted 10-4 in favor of open public accommodations resolution;
-Dec. 9 - Federal suit filed by Negroes against segregated motel built in Urban Renewal area;
-Dec. 15 - Outdoor civil rights rally of approximately 2,500;
-Dec. 16 - City's remaining segregation statutes invalidated by Board of Aldermen;
Dec. 21 & 22 - A total of 21 arrested in two restaurant sit-ins;
-Dec. 22 - First Baptist Church congregation voted to admit Negroes to worship.

In Dawson at about midnight on December 8 a Negro home which had been used by registration workers was shot into and bombed.

LOUISIANA - In Baton Rouge on December 12 a Negro integration leader from nearby Plaquemine was convicted on a bad check charge. A suit seeking the integration of the city's Parks and Recreation Commission's facilities is pending; to be heard January 17.

In Clinton on December 4, 5, & 6 a total of seven pickets at segregated businesses were arrested.

In Monroe on December 13 a resolution calling on state's Congressional delegation to oppose civil rights legislation introduced at meeting of the state bar association's house of delegates.

MISSISSIPPI - In Jackson the following events occurred:

-Dec. 11 - Six Negro housewives were fined $500 each and sentenced to six months in jail on charges stemming from their picketing a downtown store December 6;

-Dec. 13 - Citizens Council advocated a $6,000 a year raise for mayor for "a job well done" on racial problems;

-Dec. 15 - Two Negro and two white ministers arrested attempting to enter Methodist churches.

Also, during the month, Britain's Manchester Guardian criticized conductor Sir Malcolm Sargent and revealed a white British student was arrested for attempting to attend a segregated Royal Philharmonic concert here with a Negro.

NORTH CAROLINA - North Carolina Good Neighbor Council on December 10 reported increase of Negroes in non-traditional jobs, both commercial and municipal, in Asheville and Buncombe County, High Point, Gastonia, Winston-Salem, Ahoskie, Alamance County, Goldsboro, Laurinberg, Fayetteville, Greensboro, and Rocky Mount.

Alamance County Board of Commissioners on December 13 refused to give county's human relations council power to negotiate with local businessmen and other groups, but agreed to increase council's membership from 24 to 28.

Goldsboro in early December reported more than 100 Negroes had been employed by local stores, 92 (including three policemen) by city itself, and 121 by a local manufacturing firm employing a total of 383 workers.

Wayne County appointed its first Negro deputy sheriff December 12.

In Winston-Salem on December 9 three sat-in at a coffee shop; left when owner called police.

OKLAHOMA - In Tulsa public hearings on a proposed public accommodations ordinance ended December 12. Fifty person spoke in favor of it; 33 against.

SOUTH CAROLINA - In Columbia Main Street movie theatres and a luxury motel quietly integrated in late November. A biracial drive to integrate all local motels, hotels, and restaurants launched in early December. Dec. 16 - Over 100 marchers arrested.

TENNESSEE - Nashville's Metropolitan government adopted a non-discriminatory hiring policy for all local government workers in December.

TEXAS - In Austin on December 20 20 students picketed Lynda Bird Johnson's dormitory at the University of Texas protesting segregation of coed dorms.

The Dallas News reported on December 12 that the hiring of Negroes has "become normal employment practice in a broad spectrum of Dallas stores."

VIRGINIA - In Danville on December 10 9 of 20 demonstrators were arrested at a theatre and restaurant in city's first racial incident since last summer. Fifteen more demonstrators were arrested December 11 and 12. A fair employment ordinance prohibiting discrimination in hiring of city employees was passed by city council on December 10.

VIRGINIA cont'd.

In Norfolk the Virginian-Pilot reported December 13 that two Negro leaders are expected to run for the city council next June.

In Roanoke two Negro firemen were hired during December.

The Washington Post
WASH D.C.
.212

2-22-64

Race Relations Interns

To Put House in Order

By Sue Crouk

TWENTY-FIVE YOUNG Americans began training yesterday for jobs described as "working at the raw guts of the problems of a democratic society."

From 12 states and the District of Columbia, they assembled in Washington as interns in a pioneer program for race relations workers sponsored by the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation.

Welcoming them to a 10-day orientation session, Frederick B. Routh, executive director of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO), told them they are entering "a field in which you'll be working, hopefully, the rest of your life."

Ninety per cent of America's 2500 to 2800 full-time professional race relations workers have been employed since 1944, according to David Danzig, associate director of the American Jewish Committee.

THE DEMAND for these workers — by Government, industry, civil rights groups, labor unions, church organizations, state and municipal human relations commissions—far exceeds the supply.

After their Washington orientation period, the interns will spread out through the East, Midwest and South to spend a year training with such organizations as the Human Relations Council of New Haven, Conn., the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago and the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

When they complete their training, they can expect to readily find jobs at an average salary of $8500. "We could place 100 of them right now," Routh said.

Selected from 243 applications by NAIRO's Career Service Board, the 25 interns are the first of 150 that the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation hopes to train over a three-year period.

THEIR AVERAGE AGE is 25, most have backgrounds in the social sciences, and six are former Peace Corpsmen.

Each is receiving a $5000 grant for the year—$2500 from the Foundation and $2500 from the agency that has accepted him or her for training.

The Foundation, which created the internship project as part of its broad human rights program, is paying all expenses of the Washington orientation period, which is being conducted for NAIRO by the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations.

With the exception of free Sunday mornings, the interns will spend from 9 a.m. to 9:30 p.m. daily in seminars, group discussions and case studies to be held at the Potomac Institute.

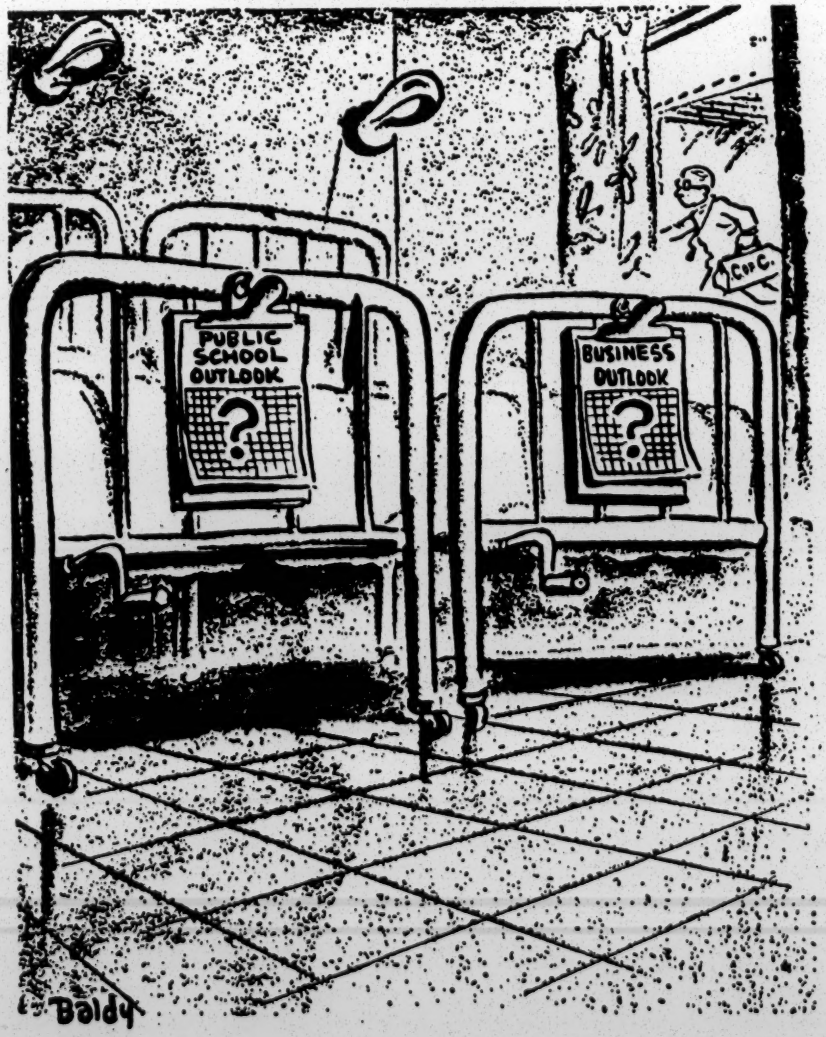
IN ADDITION to studying such subjects as discrimination in housing and employment and desegregation school segregation, they will look at religious friction and the problems of man in ethnic minority groups.

Speakers will include Housing Administrator Robert Weaver, Census Bureau Director Richard Scammon, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor Patrick Daniel Moynihan, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) and Rep. Henry Gonzales (D-Tex.).

Myer Feldman, Deputy Special Counsel to the President and a trustee of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, yesterday told the interns that although Congress "is about to give a new definition to our public and national policy on civil rights, no law is self executing."

"The critical test is going to be what we do to make these policies work," he added. "It will take trained workers. It will take all the organizational resources we can muster to hasten the orderly establishment of equal status for all Americans."

Roommates



The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith wishes to thank Clifford H. "Baldy" Baldowski and the Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., for permission to use the two editorial cartoons reprinted in this pamphlet. Appreciation is also expressed to the Southern Regional Council for its assistance and cooperation in the preparation of this pamphlet.

The goals of all must be to accomplish peacefully and with dignity what we are required to do. Anything less will not change the ultimate result, but will exact a terrible price that will not be paid in full for a generation.

DR. JOHN LETSON
Superintendent of the Atlanta Public School System, Atlanta, Georgia

Without discussing the political, moral, social or religious issues involved, the integration decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 has given the South its greatest single problem since the War between the States, and the unsettled general conditions, particularly the lack of stability of the public school system, are a major economic deterrent. The manner in which this problem is handled will have a tremendous effect on the ability of the South to attract new industry and to encourage existing industries to expand their present facilities. For instance, North Carolina, with legal compliance with the Supreme Court decision and little social unrest, had new plant investment in 1958 totaling $253 million, while Arkansas, with its massive resistance and unsettled conditions, had only $25.4 million in 1958 compared with $44.9 million in 1957 and $131 million in 1956.

PRESTON T. HOLMES, *Vice President, State-Planters Bank of Commerce and Trust, Richmond, Virginia, "Credit in the Development of the South," The University of Virginia News Letter, October 15, 1959:*

THE HIGH COST OF CONFLICT:

A Roundup of Opinion from the Southern Business Community on the Economic Consequences of School Closings and Violence

The following pages provide a body of information and opinion about the *economic questions* that are facing the Southern business community because of school closings, violence, and the substitution of private school systems for public education. Since Southerners themselves, and the Southern business community in particular, are in the best position to estimate and provide evidence on the cost of this struggle, the material contained in these pages has been taken almost exclusively from the Southern press, particularly in those states and communities whose economic well-being has been directly affected by the conflict over desegregation of their schools. This roundup of Southern opinion, therefore, draws heavily on the statements of industrialists, bankers, real estate men, plant-site and development experts, and small businessmen, as well as of economists, newspaper editors and reporters.

This survey begins with the general situation affecting the economic expansion throughout the South and then moves to the evidence from authorities in such states as Virginia and Tennessee whose economic growth has suffered because of violent or "massive resistance" to school desegregation. Following this, attention is focused on reports from the two communities most drastically affected by opposition to desegregation — Little Rock and New Orleans. Next, information and testimony is provided about the economic — as well as educational — price in these communities of replacing the public school system by a private one. The survey concludes with a presentation of the potential economic consequences of school closings, violence and private school systems as interpreted by the business and civic leaders of Atlanta, Georgia, during the time this city prepared to desegregate its public schools.

THE GENERAL SITUATION

The Wall Street Journal of May 26, 1961 makes the following observations:

> **Precision is impossible in any attempt to measure the pocketbook impact of racial problems. But several economic indicators show that the South, too busy building and booming to notice the recessions of 1953-54 and 1957-58, definitely felt the recent downturn — perhaps, in the view of some economists, even more than the rest of the nation. And many Southerners are inclined to attribute this situation at least partly to racial unrest.**

One indicator that the South was more severely affected by the recent recession than other areas is the decline in new construction. *The Wall Street Journal* report cites the following information provided by officials of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, which serves six Southern states:

> **. . . in the first quarter, these contracts ran 11% below the level of the like quarter of 1960 in the six Southern states served by the Atlanta Federal Reserve while nationally there was an 0.2% rise. Similarly, non-residential construction contracts, which include new plants, fell 7.5% in the first quarter in the six-state area from the like period of 1960, as compared with a nationwide gain of 9.4%.**

Another indicator used by *The Wall Street Journal* report is the reduced offerings of stock and bonds by Southern firms. According to a Federal Reserve economist in Atlanta:

> **"... corporate offerings of securities by businesses headquartered in (Atlanta Federal Reserve) district states declined 13% from 1959 to 1960 to a level of $456 million."**

* * *

The direct economic effects of violence and school closings have been evidenced by several Southern states. Below are reports from some of these states.

ALABAMA

During the recent anti-integration violence in Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, the *Anniston* (Alabama) *Star* in May, 1961, stated that:

> **... unless we can get more protection from our constituted officers of the law in our cities and counties, we might as well close up our Chambers of Commerce and similar institutions; for no thoughtful person wants to come to a place where both human and property rights are held in such low repute.**

The same point was developed by the *Montgomery* (Alabama) *Advertiser* on May 18, 1961:

> **The most obvious injury is to the cause of those who seek to entice new industry to Alabama to create payrolls and provide the material**

blessings so long denied by the Civil War and its aftermath.

The police dereliction in Birmingham probably shrank business in every firm in the city.

There are a lot of fundamental reasons why a city and state cannot tolerate violence in any circumstance. But the most obvious reason is that riotous conditions blight profits and payrolls — and, politically, make the South's plight worse than before.

The Business Community

Business officials in Alabama corroborate this view, according to *The Wall Street Journal.* The *Journal* interviewed Snyder M. Smyer, president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, and came away with this view:

> He and many Alabama businessmen are convinced the State's industrial and commercial growth will be stunted for months or perhaps years by the violence which greeted the integrated band of "Freedom Riders" bent on destroying segregation barriers in interstate transportation facilities. Some Alabama businessmen report they have already run into instances of firms dropping or reconsidering plans to set up operations in the state because of the racial disturbances.

In the same report of May 26, 1961, *The Wall Street Journal* found examples of the immediate economic effects of the violence in Birmingham:

> "We've been hurt and hurt bad," declares a top official of one of the city's largest banks. "In the last few days, I bet I've spent more than $50 in telephone calls trying to convince a big Ohio company that it

should locate a pilot plant in Alabama. But I'm afraid we've lost it to New England and lost it strictly because of the unrest down here.

"The pilot plant in its first stage was scheduled to cost about $3 million," continues the banker, "and if it had worked out, the company was thinking in terms of a further investment of $40 million to $50 million." He pauses and then adds: "Well, we asked for it, and now we're getting it."

And, from the same report, a real estate agent tells a similar tale in Montgomery:

"Last Friday I rented an office building to a St. Louis company planning to begin operations here," he relates. "But the contracts weren't to be signed until after the week end. Now the fight has scared them, and we don't know whether they're going to rent the space or not. It would have meant about $12,000 a year in rentals for my client."

TENNESSEE

In a special article for the *Atlanta* (Georgia) *Journal-Constitution* on March 30, 1958, Joe Hatcher, staff writer for the *Nashville Tennessean*, reported that the violence that accompanied school desegregation in the state created similar problems. Tennessee officials involved in the economic facets of the state government revealed the following experiences in an interview with Hatcher:

George L. Benedict, Jr., traveling representative of the Tennessee Industrial and Agricultural Development Commission [said]:

"You try to sell a man on moving an industrial plant to Tennessee. But he knows about those acts of violence, and he doesn't want to move into that kind of thing."

Benedict related that he was in Detroit talking with an industrialist about a plant in Tennessee when the [Hattie Cotton] school was bombed. "What kind of a state have you got down there that they're blowing up schools?" the industrialist asked, and rejected all arguments for locating in the state.

State Budget Director E. J. Boling says the violence is threatening the state's fine credit ratings.

"We go up to New York to talk to investment bankers . . . They start off talking about such things as these dynamitings. Sometimes that's all they talk about . . . they only want to know about all the acts of violence."

State Comptroller William Snodgrass verifies the fact that such action works against the state's credit rating. It may add a small fraction in interest rates here and there where there has been violence or it may be threatened, and it adds up to millions eventually.

VIRGINIA

In Virginia, according to the *St. Petersburg* (Florida) *Times,* the policy of closing schools that had been ordered to desegregate had similar effects on the state's industrial growth. In an article of July 24, 1960,

Frank Trippett supplied the following facts:

> **In 1951-52-53, the first three years of the decade, before massive resistance and school closing had been thought of, Virginia increased the average number employed in manufacturing by 31,400.**
>
> **In 1957-58-59, the last three years of the decade, during which massive resistance was legally formulated and tried, Virginia increased the average by a net of 5,100, or roughly one sixth as well as it had done in the earlier three years.**
>
> **This list of 11 such plants ["put up by bluechip national concerns"], employing up to 1,650 today, shows none obtained for 1958 and 1959, one for 1957, one for 1956 and all the remainder in the first half of the decade . . .**
>
> **In fact, the concern of the Virginia business community that it might face a mortal blow if massive resistance wasn't abandoned is perhaps the best evidence of all of the serious impact the school situation was having on the state's economy.**

A number of Virginia industrialists have made much the some correlation between the state's economic growth and the stability of its public school system. Below are three representative quotations from leading Virginia businessmen:

John W. Landis, Assistant Manager, The Babcock and Wilcox Company, Lynchburg, Virginia, April 16, 1959:

"The Babcock and Wilcox Company, as one of the new and growing organizations in the community, considers it obvious that we would have trouble securing and retaining qualified technical personnel if the public schools were closed."

O. B. Newton, Jr., Vice-President and Sales Manager, C. B. Fleet Co., Inc., Lynchburg, Virginia, before the House Privileges and Elections Committee, General Assembly of Virginia, April 17, 1959:

"Two of our most recently acquired industries have, within the past few weeks, expressed themselves to the effect Virginia would not even have been considered as a location for a new plant had there *not* been the guaranteed certainty of a free public school system for the children of their employees."

Dr. Louis Rader, manager of the General Electric plant near Waynesboro, Virginia, in an address at Thomas Jefferson High School, Richmond, Virginia, March 15, 1959:

"A strong system of public education is very important among those factors that attract new industry into a state and that keep industry already here from moving away."

And in a speech to the Rockingham Development Corporation on April 6, 1959, John P. Fishwick, Vice-President of the Norfolk and Western Railway, summed up Virginia's economic interest in its public school situation as follows:

> "The second point in Virginia's industrial development program should be a prompt and sound solution to the school situation based on the principle that excellent free public schools will be maintained. To the extent possible, we must accommodate our solution to the deep feelings of those who live in the areas most critically affected. But, at the same time, we must recognize that most of us hope to give our children a better education and to open the door to greater opportunities than we have had."

The response of state officials in Virginia to the viewpoint of its business community on school closings is evidenced by a recent speech by Governor J. Lindsay Almond, reported in the *St. Petersburg* (Florida) *Times*, July 31, 1960:

> Gov. Almond, addressing what was billed as the largest economic development conference in Virginia history last year placed "adequate schools" at the top of his list of community cultural and economic factors in attracting industry.

ARKANSAS

Virginia's efforts to provide an adequate solution to the school desegregation problem, and the high cost of violence and school closing in Arkansas were linked together by Erwin L. McDonald, Editor of the *Arkansas Baptist*. On February 21, 1959, he told his readers:

> Arkansas is like a person incapacitated from loss of blood and who is still bleeding. In such a situation anything that fails to check the flow of blood is worthless to the patient. And anything that opens new wounds is deadly. Let us follow the wise course of the great Southern state of Virginia and face the reality of the only course open to us — reopening our public school system of the entire state.

The *Arkansas Gazette* commented on the problem facing Arkansas' economic life, particularly in the industrial sector of the state's economy. An editorial on January 4, 1960, diagnosed the problem as follows:

> Industrial corporations don't want to risk substantial capital in a turbulent situation such as Little Rock had in the 1957-58 school year, and they are not likely to consider locating where the public school systems end with the ninth grade, as it did in Little Rock in the 1958-59 year after Governor Faubus shut down the high schools.

Industry in Little Rock

Just how much the industrial development of Little Rock itself was affected during this period is made clear by the following survey.

This data was compiled by the Little Rock Industrial Development Company, the official body charged with attracting new industry to the city, and appeared on May 31, 1959, in the *Nashville* (Tennessee) *Tennessean*:

Year	New Plants	Value	New Jobs	Expansions	Value	New Jobs
1950	7	$ 835,000	143	6	$2,110,000	...
1951	7	945,000	255	3	475,000	...
1952	6	295,000	163	9	2,150,000	...
1953	2	100,000	30	7	820,000	...
1954	3	1,350,000	150	1	500,000	...
1955	5	1,393,000	565	8	1,250,000	194
1956	2	325,000	70	8	1,350,000	212
1957	8	3,092,000	1,002	3	913,985	70
		September 1957 — Trouble at Central High School				
1958		None		1	325,000	50
1959		None		1	268,000	...

Business in Little Rock

On January 24, 1959, the local branch of the American Association of University Women asked Little Rock businessmen:

> "Has the Little Rock school situation affected your business?"

The results:

adverse effect — 44 or 51.8%
no effect — 35 or 41.2%
favorable effect — 6 or 7.0%

Those surveyed were also given the opportunity to explain their answers. Some representative responses, reprinted verbatim, appear below:

President of real estate and insurance firm:

> It has very definitely hurt the real estate business — just about killed it, as a matter of fact. That's particularly in the house sales. First,

we're not getting *any* new people into Little Rock. (2) A lot of them are moving out — particularly engineers, and people like that with industrial plants here. The minute it starts affecting their children they leave. (3) The people who are not leaving are upset about the situation and are hesitant to spend their money. We have plenty of cases where people are sending their kids out of town to school — paying expenses and tuition — and can't buy because they are on too tight a budget.

Salesman for large real estate firm:

Real estate is slow now — roughest I have ever seen. I have some desirable residential property near school that used to sell before you could run an ad. I don't even get any "bites."

Manager of mortgage financing company:

The Little Rock school situation has adversely affected our business. Many of our customers with children have or are considering selling their properties and moving, saying that they cannot afford private schools and the education of their children is now a paramount problem with them.

Merchandise executive:

If any man does not recognize that the current situation has hurt local business, he has rocks in his head!

Executive of manufacturing firm:

> We have been sorely hurt in our recruiting. We need specialists who are only available from outside the city. We have had repeated turndowns, which is understandable, as you can't expect people with children of school age to move into Little Rock with the school situation as it is.

Bank executive:

> Yes, it has affected business. I personally know of a firm employing several hundred people which had taken the preliminary steps to move to Little Rock. A poll of key employees led them to abandon the plan when wives of the executives feared that public school opportunities would be denied their children.

One of the few respondents who indicated that his business had been improved by the school crisis was an executive of a long distance moving company. He declared:

> I regret to say that to some extent our business has been *bettered* by the situation. We are moving families away from Little Rock faster than ever before. Incoming moves are predominantly government personnel rather than large corporations.

The Consumer Public in Little Rock

The effect of school closings and violence on the buying power of the Little Rock community is demonstrated by the data below, which appeared in a survey, "Little Rock Report: The City, Its People, Its Business," issued in August 1959, by the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools:

Fewer families are moving into Little Rock — one-third fewer than in 1957:

1957 — 3342 families
1958 — 2952 "
1959 — 2376 "

More families are moving out of the city — almost twice as many as in 1957:

1957 — 1280 families (2062 net gain)
1958 — 1623 " (1329 net gain)
1959 — 2507 " (131 net loss)

The average Little Rock family had 7% less buying power in 1958 than in 1956.

The average U.S. city family, in contrast, had 2% more buying power in the same period.

The decline in Little Rock family income was sharper than in all of the 26 leading Mid- and Southwest cities surveyed, except one.

Little Rock fell from 202nd to 268th place among metropolitan county areas ranked according to family buying income.

Metropolitan Little Rock's total buying income failed to keep pace with other U.S. cities. Little Rock — North Little Rock slipped from 102nd to 112th place among metropolitan areas.

The Business Community Polled

Some thirty months after violence and school closings began in Little Rock, a poll of the Chamber of Commerce revealed the following results:

Question #1 — "Do you favor Little Rock's continuing with closed public high schools?"

Yes — 230 or 26.7% of those responding
No — 632 or 73.3% of those responding

Question #2 — "Do you now favor the reopening of the Little Rock public high schools on a controlled minimum plan of integration acceptable to the federal courts?

Yes — 819 or 77.0% of those responding
No — 245 or 23.0% of those responding

Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas, March 3, 1959

George McMillan, in a pamphlet published by the Southern Regional Council entitled "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," explained the difference between 1957, when school desegregation was accompanied by violence, and 1959, when there were virtually no incidents:

> Little Rock had learned its lesson. It had learned the hard way the economic cost of chaos.
>
> . . . it was the economic and business leaders of the community who played the leading part, helped by many civic and religious leaders. It was a determined consensus of Little Rock "power structure" opinion that brought about the change.

NEW ORLEANS: Predictions of the Cost

During the summer and fall of 1960, prior to the opening of the city's schools on a desegregated basis, one group of citizens, the Committee For Public Education, predicted the effects of school closing on New Orleans business in a pamphlet called "We No Longer Have A Choice":

> Almost immediately, the economic health of our community will suffer an incalculable blow. Real estate volume and retail trade will decrease appreciably when the schools are closed. New industries will be discouraged from coming into a troubled community where no public education is provided. Recruitment of employees will be seriously hampered. Skilled workers, technicians, college educators, professional men will not choose to settle in a city where there are no public schools.

Another group, called Save Our Schools, in a pamphlet entitled "Our Stake in New Orleans Schools," pointed out some of the consequences in terms of the schools' financial indebtedness:

School bonds: The bonded indebtedness of New Orleans public schools, as of December 31, 1959, was $43,870,000.00. If the schools were closed, this debt would still have to be paid. Also, when schools are threatened with closing, school bonds may decline in market value.

Short-term loans: This figure varies from week to week, but as of June 17, 1960, it stood at $5,273,000.00. Naturally, any default on either loans or bonds which might result from school closing would bring losses to banks and other lenders and bond holders, most of them in the New Orleans area.

Still, it remained for a newspaperman, Robert N. Kelso of the *New Orleans States-Item,* to illustrate the situation in detail both for New Orleans and for the state. In the seventh article of a series called "The Problem Ahead," published August 8, 1960, he reported the findings of four Tulane University economists, Dean of Business Administration Howard Schaller; former dean Paul Grambech; Clarence N. Danhof, professor of economics; and W. David Maxwell, associate professor of economics. Kelso wrote:

Tulane University economic experts think the community would suffer a cumulative loss running into millions of dollars if the public education system were disrupted or destroyed to maintain segregation.

These experts put Louisiana's eventual loss, if all schools in the state were to close, in the billions.

They cite two prime factors they say would cripple economic

growth and lower total buying power if schools were to close:

1. National publicity about schools closing would strongly deter new industrial or business development from outside the state . . .

2. The community would suffer substantial losses in earning power as thousands of youngsters enter the labor market without a high school diploma and the pay checks of other thousands who resume school and graduate start a year behind-hand.

Whatever the picture in Little Rock may imply, the effects of schools closing for a year in New Orleans would be felt to the tune of something like $2.4 million . . .

Also imperiled is $6.3 million in new school construction and equipment purchases scheduled for the coming year . . .

But each and every month during a school shutdown, New Orleans firms who normally service the school system, will lose some $265,000 in sales . . .

This would hit a broad cross-section of New Orleans business . . .

If New Orleans schools were closed for a year, say the Tulane men, the cumulative loss in earnings to the 45,000 white students affected could run into millions of dollars over their working lifetimes . . .

The Tulane economists contend long-range economic effects of closing schools would eventually hit the pocketbook of every citizen,

regardless of whether his own education or that of his children was affected.

They say that closing schools could "actually sterilize" the rate of New Orleans' economic growth. They believe this growth would "slow down to zero" if schools were permanently closed.

Some Examples of the Cost

Violence and boycotting of the public schools began last fall. While it is still too early to calculate the long term effects that have been produced in the city's economy, some of the immediate costs are indicated in *The Wall Street Journal* of November 18, 1960. James Harwood uncovered the following reactions among local businessmen:

> Demonstrations and downtown street skirmishes have left many stores practically deserted. "You could have shot a cannon off on the main floor here yesterday and not hit a person," says an executive of a big downtown department store. An official in the drapery section of another emporium reports his department's sales have been running at less than 50% of the $3,000-a-day business usual at this time of year.
>
> "They sure picked a terrible time to start trouble," remarks I. Leon Sears, manager of Metner's clothing store off Canal Street. "The past five weeks have been bad but this week is even worse. Negroes are afraid to come downtown and the whites aren't out much either."

At Maison Blanche, New Orleans' largest department store, merchandise manager E. Jones says: "Our sales were running about 10% below a year ago until last Monday, but they dropped this week 20% to 30%." As a result, he said, the store has made some quick adjustments: Advertising outlays this coming week end have been slashed 50%; all buying of merchandise has been halted for fear of an excessive Christmas inventory; plans for hiring extra sales personnel for the usual Christmas rush are being reconsidered.

A partner in one advertising agency here reports: "Many of my clients don't think it's wise to spend lots of money now. They're very pessimistic over sales prospects for the coming months . . ."

"Business has stopped cold," reports H. B. Lawrence, manager of Home Finance Service. "This time last month we were lending $800 to $1,000 more each day than we were taking in, which is a good sign of better potential earnings for us. Yesterday the difference was down to $397. The day before that we took in $381 more than we loaned, which is really bad."

And some weeks later Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison addressed himself to the subject of the school crisis as it reflects on New Orleans' economy:

"The citizens of New Orleans have devoted years of time, hard work and money to advertise our community and its business, industrial, convention and tourist attractions.

"And now there is a very real danger that much of the results of our dedicated effort could be swept away in the months to come through irresponsible actions. Because of this, it is more than ever necessary that we remember our individual and collective responsibility to protect and promote the welfare of our beloved city."

Quoted in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, December 30, 1960.

The Cost of a Private School System

In certain Southern communities, a private school system has been substituted for public education. What has this meant in economic terms? The experience of Little Rock, as detailed by the Save Our Schools group in "Our Stake in New Orleans," is revealing:

> The biggest private school [in Little Rock] was Thomas J. Raney High. Its student body varied between 714 and 827 students. Classes met in several buildings, some rented and some purchased by Raney. There were some 32 teachers, all with bachelors' degrees, but some were totally inexperienced, others were elderly. (All of the regular high school teachers in the city went to their empty classrooms all through the year, and were paid regular salaries; a court order enjoined them from service at the temporary schools.) The curriculum was limited. There were no foreign languages, no general mathematics, no art nor music nor vocational classes other than typing or shorthand. Only about one-fourth as many courses were offered as were given at Central. Facilities

were inadequate: there was one laboratory, combined for physics and chemistry, poorly equipped for 1959 needs, and a library with 1900 books plus some sets, all donated. Crowding was ever-present . . .

Financial problems proved to be acute. No tuition was charged, but appeals for funds — reaching nation-wide proportions — produced a sum put at $300,480.43. In addition, the state contributed $71,907.50 in student-aid money to individuals. In February 1959 Raney purchased a 20-acre tract, and announced plans for construction of a million-dollar school building. In August, however, the school revealed that it was bankrupt and would not reopen.

The Save Our Schools group found much the same problems at Baptist High School in Little Rock:

Some 370 students were charged $20 tuition per month, a figure raised to $25 during the year. Some 70 students were unable to pay, but were admitted anyway. Classes were far too large for good teaching. While Spanish and Latin were offered at Baptist, courses and facilities remained at a minimum. As in Raney, the fast and slow worked side by side, there being no grouping by ability. Monthly income was $6500, whereas $8500 was needed. Although there was no building cost, as operation took place in rooms of a Baptist church, funds were always low. When by July 20, 1959, only 22 paid registrations were received for the fall semester — of a minimum 75 needed for efficient operations — Baptist High closed its doors.

In conclusion, the pamphlet estimated the direct costs of both schools as follows:

> **What are some of the further consequences, aside from inferior schools — when schools are closed? Financially, the costs of these two schools alone could be estimated at $475,000 for the year — above and beyond the fixed costs of the regular schools (the regular teachers were being paid, debt payments had to be kept up, etc.)**

The Save Our Schools pamphlet also surveyed the experience of Norfolk, Virginia, with a private school system:

> **Three Norfolk junior high and three high schools closed in September 1958, and were closed for one complete semester. Some 9950 pupils were affected. The most fortunate were 948 students who attended almost regular classes in a South Norfolk high school — from 4 to 9 p.m. Another 270 enrolled in a private school (much like the two in Little Rock) run by the Tidewater Educational Foundation; here again, teachers were recruited from outside the ranks of Norfolk's regular teaching staff. An estimated 4400 children attended "tutoring classes," meeting in churches, stores, garages, etc. Moving out of the city to study elsewhere were an estimated 1620 youth. Finally, 2700 pupils were receiving no education whatever. The tutoring groups charged (usually) $20 per month fee. The closed schools still required disbursements of $172,000 per month.**

The financial liabilities to the Norfolk community, according to the New Orleans group, is brought home by the following episode:

> **. . . in January 1959, full-page advertisements were taken in the two Norfolk papers by 100 leading businessmen of the community, calling for reopened schools for business as well as educational reasons. Shortly thereafter, all six schools opened their doors.**

Another area that set up private schools was Prince Edward County in Virginia. "Our Stake in New Orleans Schools" described the situation there in these terms:

> **While this was a local option situation and local teachers *could* be used, local school buildings and equipment could not. Some 15 buildings, such as churches, were used, rent free, together with such equipment as folding tables and chairs. Laboratory, library and other equipment were minimal, and the children were dismissed at 1:30 p.m.**
>
> **Moreover, Prince Edward has decided it *must* seek state aid for 1960-1961, as well as raising its school taxes by 20 per cent to a new all-time high.**

The Price of Missed Education

The *Southern School News* for February 1961, reported that of the 1019 pupils who had formerly attended the two New Orleans schools which had been ordered to desegregate, some 286 (or nearly 30%) were unaccounted for. Similarly of the 9,950 pupils affected by the closings in

Norfolk, about 2700, were "unaccounted for and presumably not receiving formal education," according to the *Miami* (Florida) *Herald* of January 19, 1959. One consequence of this is spelled out by Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke of Emory University in a recent publication:

> **School closing obviously entails curtailment of educational opportunities. The South is the region least able to afford this. The problem of adult illiteracy is greatest in the South. Even with the system of public schools — admittedly inadequate in some areas — such illiteracy ranges from 14 per cent in Florida to a high of 29 per cent in Louisiana . . . As we have shown, private schools will mean *more* totally uneducated, and more only half educated people.**
>
> "If the Schools Are Closed: A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan."

The probable economic effects of missed schooling were brought out in the study made by the four Tulane economists as reported in the *New Orleans States-Item* article by Frank Kelso (see above). Writing of students who miss a year of their education, they observe that many students

> **. . . probably would never finish the high school training. Each of these, in his lifetime working career, would lose $60,000 — the amount the average high school graduate earns above that made by persons lacking a high school diploma.**
>
> **The thousands more who would finish their high school training if schools reopened would lose $5000 apiece in lifetime-average earnings, because they would start their work careers a year late.**

Summing Up

It is interesting to note, in light of the preceding information, that as early as September 29, 1958, the *Wilmington* (Delaware) *Journal* had predicted the probable consequences of school closings and the cost of operating private school systems:

> **In the "massive resistance" states of the South, the future now holds chaotic prospects of schools closing and opening and closing again, of pupils shuffled from school to school, of inferior education in makeshift "private" schools, of skyrocketing costs and higher taxes. Most Southerners with strong convictions about the desirability of racial segregation have been willing to gamble that the politicians could keep their promises. Now the awakening is beginning . . .**

GEORGIA: The Immediate Future

The public schools of Georgia experienced the initial problems of desegregation in 1961. In anticipation of these problems, many citizens of the state have expressed their opinions in the hope of avoiding the conflict and economic costs of violence, school closings and the creation of a private school system. On this last point, two faculty members of Emory University in Atlanta set forth the following facts in the publication, "If the Schools Are Closed: A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan":

Per Pupil Costs of Public and Private Schools

Type of Schools	Average Per Pupil Cost for One Year	Costs not Included
8 private schools in Atlanta area 1958-59	$625	Books, transportation, and food for 3 of these schools
17 other private schools in 4 Southeastern states 1957-58	475	Books, transportation, food, laboratory fees, etc., for at least 10 of these schools
Georgia public schools 1958-59	265	Value of surplus government food and supplies, about $10,000,000

The authors, Donald Ross Green and Warren E. Gauerke, then continued:

> **It would be completely unrealistic to believe that the figures for non-public schools given in the table reflect what would be the costs if the public schools were to be abandoned completely. It is almost certain such a private "system" would be even more expensive, assuming again that an equivalent quality and variety of school programs are to be offered to the children.**

Among the factors that would increase the cost of the private plan in Georgia, the authors listed the following:

> **1. The loss of federal funds. The federal government currently contributes directly to Georgia public elementary and secondary schools about $18,000,000 excluding surplus foods . . .**

3. Costs of raising funds to purchase buildings and equipment and to construct new buildings would be higher . . .

5. Next to capital plant and equipment the most difficult problem facing a private system would be to supply the special services to students now offered by the states and the large city systems . . . Probably a private system would have to abandon any thought of such services.

6. It is highly probable that if a large number of private schools is established, and a tuition grant system inaugurated, the general level of legal and supervisory controls of expenditures will deteriorate.

Industry in Georgia

A number of public officials and economic experts have studied the threat to the state's industrial expansion. On January 19, 1959, Jim Montgomery, Business Editor of the *Atlanta Constitution,* spelled out the problems in a talk to an adult course on "The Crisis In Our Schools," established by Emory University:

> Public education itself is a big business. If it is abandoned in Georgia, the economic impact will be staggering.
>
> Obviously, then, the loss of even a small percentage of the highly skilled technical management personnel now employed in Georgia would impair the operating efficiency — the essential competitive ability

— of many industries now located in Georgia. And should such plants be forced to close down or cut back production as a result of losing key personnel because of public school closings, hundreds — possibly thousands — of other employees willing to stay on would wind up jobless. Furthermore, there would be a sharp decline in state tax revenue based on the income of these industries and workers. Depending on how long the public schools remained closed, these losses would have a snowballing effect on Georgia's entire economy — gradual, at first, but eventually affecting nearly everyone.

As Montgomery went on to point out, the threat of school closings had already produced noticeable effects:

> Meanwhile, the very uncertainty that clouds the future of Georgia's public school system is having an adverse effect on the recruitment of qualified technicians, teachers and management-level personnel needed right now by the universities and some industries.
>
> Clearly, then, if Georgia abandons its present system of public education, it will lose new industry, as well as hurt industry that is already located here.
>
> My own opinion is that to whatever extent Georgia abandons its present system of public education, it will:
>
> 1. Arrest the economic progress of the past two decades.
> 2. Undermine its present economic strength.

3. Cause the abandonment of its otherwise bright opportunities — for continued — and still desperately needed — economic growth.

In the Georgia Assembly, House Speaker Frank Twitty issued this statement on the potential economic consequences to the state's industrial community:

> "Lots of [letters] say that Georgia is on the threshold of economic growth and that closing the schools would set us back 100 years. As a matter of fact, I had a letter from a banker in north Georgia saying that the school crisis already had cost his community industry and that, in his opinion, unless the matter is settled at once, it will cost Georgia many more industries."
>
> *Atlanta Journal*, Atlanta, Georgia, January 17, 1961

Much the same sentiment lay behind the following petition signed by nearly one thousand businessmen throughout Georgia, as reported by the *Atlanta Constitution* on January 22, 1961:

> Whereas, we believe that disruption of our public school system would have a calamitous effect on the economic climate of Georgia; and,
>
> Whereas, we further believe that immediate legislative action is urgently needed to insure the orderly progress of our economy and the continued education of Georgia's youth in an atmosphere of calm and stability;
>
> . . . we whose names appear hereon do support the enactment of

such legislation in the 1961 General Assembly as may be necessary to effect the uninterrupted operation of the public schools in Georgia.

H. McKinley Conway, Jr., publisher of "Industrial and Development Manufacturers Record," which specializes in selecting Southern sites for new industry, spelled out the reasons why the rest of Georgia was vitally interested in Atlanta's response to the Federal order to begin desegregating its schools:

> **"As the center of the Southeastern market, Atlanta will attract a certain number of facilities which could not logically be situated elsewhere. But many plants which need only find a suitable site in a small community . . . can and will ignore the offers of small Georgia communities in preference for similar locations in other states where the school problem is being handled more smoothly."**
>
> *Atlanta Journal*, January 17, 1961

Georgia's Businessmen

Below are some representative responses to this situation by important business officials in the state:

John W. Dent, President of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce, as reported in the *Atlanta Constitution*, February 5, 1961:

> **"The sensible settlement of the school issue and continued absence of violence will undoubtedly contribute to the healthy economic outlook in Georgia this year."**

Clifford M. Clarke, Jr., Executive Vice-President, Associated Industries of Georgia, cited in the *Atlanta Constitution,* December 2, 1958:

> **"There can be no industry without good schools."**

W. R. Bowdoin, Senior Vice-President, Trust Company of Georgia, from the *Atlanta Journal,* January 20, 1960:

> **"I have heard any number of representatives from national manufacturing firms now located in Georgia express grave concern on the question of retaining and obtaining highly skilled and technical personnel necessary for the continued operation of industries that provide employment for thousands of our people, unless educational facilities are available for their children."**

Martin R. Gainsbrugh, chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board, as reported in the *Atlanta Constitution,* February 27, 1959:

> **"I have heard them [business firms] eliminate from further consideration areas which have this school problem, because of the friction involved in them and the difficulty of getting top personnel to move to such places with their children."**

And speaking before the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce in Atlanta on May 22, 1961, General Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the board, Continental Can Company, said:

> **"Another problem which can not be ignored is the desegregation**

issue. Employees being transferred to Georgia worry about the school conditions for their children. Manufacturers worry about the conditions which could develop within their plants. Today, almost every major manufacturing company is engaged to some extent in contract operations for the government subject to the anti-discrimination laws. Most of us like to feel that we are a part of the community where we are located and that accordingly we must respect and accept local customs and traditions. None of us want to locate in areas where there is serious risk of conflict between local custom and Federal law. We need the good will of the community, and yet we must obey the law."

ATLANTA

The focus of uncertainty over the school situation in Georgia has been Atlanta, where the city's economic investment in a stable school system has been scrutinized carefully. H. McKinley Conway, Jr., made this analysis of the economic consequences for the city and the county:

> "Conservatively estimating, school closing here [Atlanta] would cost DeKalb County some 30 medium-size units over a three year period. We would then tally these losses:
>
> — 9000 fewer people would move to DeKalb;
> — 3360 fewer homes would be built;
> — $18 million less gross income would come into the county;
> — $8 million less would be deposited into banks;
> — 3310 fewer automobiles would be registered;

— 6200 job opportunities would be lost;
— 120 potential new retail stores would not open;
— $11 million potential increase in retail sales would not be enjoyed.

"Obviously, everyone who does business in DeKalb County would be affected. There would be substantial losses in potential revenue for building contractors, subcontractors, for distributors of building materials, and for countless service organizations.

"Those who do not have children in the public schools may think that they are not involved in our present great debate. Certainly these figures indicate that nothing could be farther from the truth. We are all involved."

Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tennessee, December 7, 1960

Atlanta's Business Community

Leaders of the city's industrial and financial complex have actively endeavored to make certain that violence would be prevented and that the schools would remain open. Below are two statements:

Malcolm Bryan, President, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, speech before Rotary Club of Atlanta, January 23, 1961:

"If the government of our states are so ill-advised and so oblivious to reality as to fail in their responsibilities to maintain law and order, the investment of that capital or the location of that plant with us is dangerous; for all rational men know that a mob turned loose on one

man, or on one class of men, or on one property, or class of property can also be turned loose on another man, or other men, or other properties. I trust that no one here will be under the slightest illusion on this score. A failure in the South to maintain law and order can cost bitterly in the job opportunities and the wealth that we so much need to increase if our citizens are to be well served."

James V. Carmichael, President of Scripto, Inc., to the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce, as reported in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution,* March 16, 1961:

> "If it had not been for the courageous action of the governor and the legislature in clarifying the school situation [*i.e.*, passage of 'open-school' legislation], Lockheed [Marietta, Georgia, plant] would not have received the contract [$1 billion federal contract for construction of a military transport plane]."

The role of Atlanta businessmen in the school situation was perhaps best summed up by Boyd Ridgeway, an executive of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, when he made this comparison of the two cities:

> "The solution to our crisis in education came as it had to from the community leaders — the top business, professional and educational people — best represented by the Chamber of Commerce . . . I think the Atlanta chamber has a responsibility to be completely informed on this issue so that it will be in a position to provide leadership.

Preventing interruption of public education is completely dependent on the community's leaders."

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia, November 5, 1959

Other Statements of Opinion

The *Atlanta Constitution* has declared:

> Technicians, skilled workers, engineers and white collar employees of government plants and installations will not want to go where public education is nonexistent and the schools are in chaos. Private corporations are beginning to reflect the same sentiment.
>
> December 9, 1958

> Big corporations will not want to send their executives into a new Southern plant when there is likely to be no schools and when bombings and outrages of this sort occur. So there will be fewer new plants as long as the situation exists.
>
> Harm to the South will not be immediate. But it will come, despite all our wishful thinking to the contrary, unless we soon face the facts and rid ourselves of the weight of violence, lawlessness and the apparent determination to abolish our public schools. We must understand that the price will be heavy.
>
> October 14, 1958

Religious, educational and legal leaders have also spoken out on these matters:

Dr. William R. Cannon, Dean of the Candler School of Theology, Emory University, as cited in the *Atlanta Constitution* on January 20, 1960:

> **"Georgia cannot under any circumstances or condition afford to close her public schools even for a day. We in Georgia seem to be debating whether we will even have public education or not when the crisis of the times is how can we improve the wonderful system of public education we now have and make it comparable to the ever mounting demands of our times."**

Three hundred and eleven ministers from the Atlanta area, representing some sixteen denominations, issued a Manifesto warning that destruction of the public school system would result in the

> **". . . impoverishment of countless lives, and the loss to our section from a purely economic viewpoint would be a tragedy of the first magnitude. It is not likely that the South would ever recover fully from the consequences of such action . . ."**
>
> *Atlanta Constitution*, Atlanta, Georgia, November 24, 1958

The Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Atlanta, as cited in the *Atlanta Constitution* on December 12, 1959:

"Although our first thought in this matter must be of the children who would be affected and of their parents, we would deplore with equal earnestness the inevitable harm and the disrepute which would come to the State of Georgia through the closing of the public schools."

School Superintendent Jim Cherry of DeKalb County, Georgia, as cited in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on March 23, 1959:

"How can we imagine that if we remove public schools from the picture, parochial and private schools can do the job that all three are not now doing adequately?"

Superior Court Judge J. L. Renfroe of Georgia, as cited in the *Atlanta Constitution* on January 27, 1959:

"I don't think there's anything that could take the place of our public education system. The majority of our people could not afford a private system."

Judge Virlyn B. Moore of the Fulton County, Georgia, Superior Court, as cited in the *Atlanta Constitution* on May 4, 1960:

"To close the public schools for a time would be unfortunate; to abolish the public school system would be a calamity."

The Results of a Poll

The *Atlanta Constitution* surveyed 129 administrative, research and engineering personnel in universities and "new-type" industries as to their willingness to send their children to integrated schools. The results were reported on November 30, 1958:

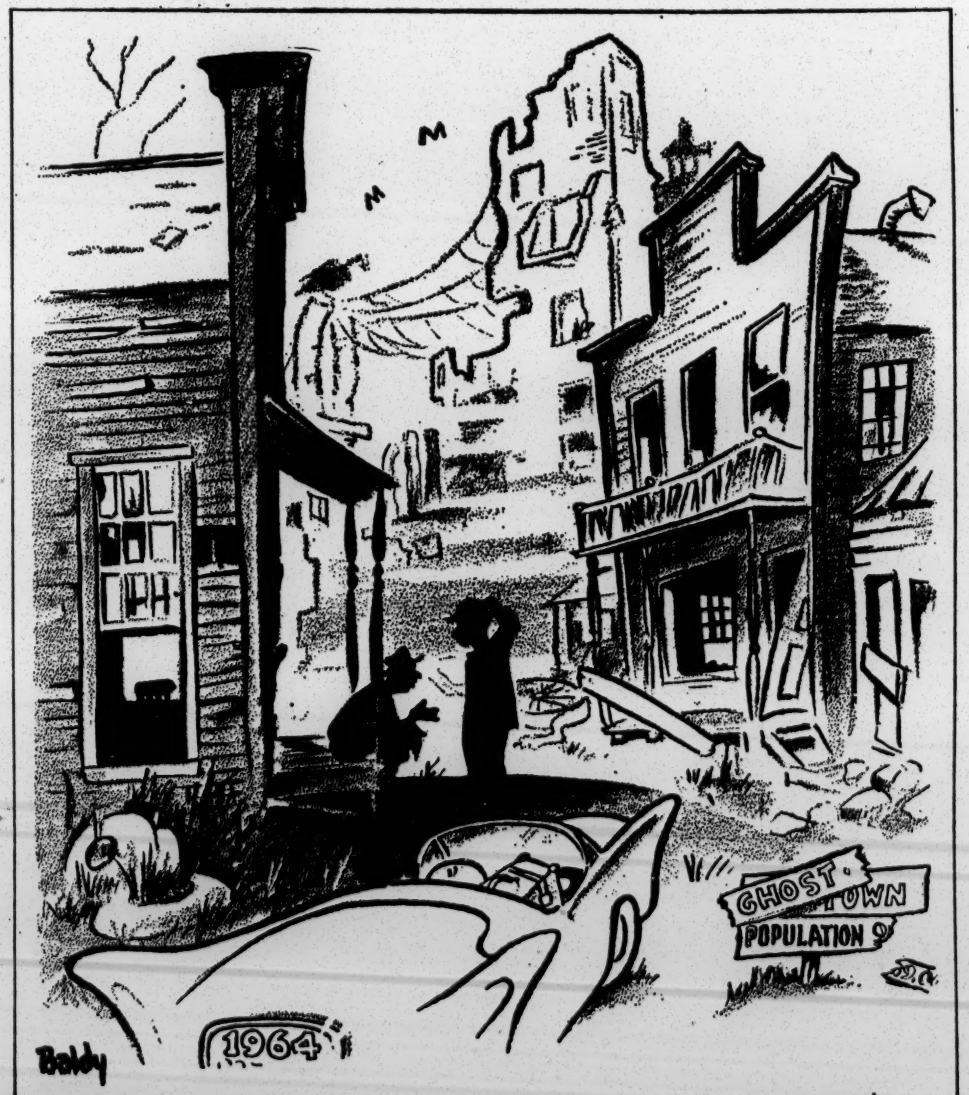
Question #1 — "If the courts order integration in Georgia, would you be willing to send your child to an integrated school?"

a) Yes — 78 or 60.5%

b) Yes — if Negro enrollment is kept at 10%, or no disorder resulted, or academic standards were maintained —
21 or 16.3% Total Yes — 76.8%

c) No — 30 or 23.2%

426



"FIRST WE CLOSED OUR SCHOOLS, THEN ONE THING LED TO ANOTHER!"

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia, November 21, 1958

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH • 515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE REGION

Elementary and High Schools

6,141 Districts: 3,028 With Negroes and Whites; 1,140 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	10,909,919	3,412,799	14,322,718
Teachers*	406,473	110,607	545,847

*Maryland not included in racial breakdowns.

Colleges and Universities

195 Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	240	52	292
Enrollment	774,237	73,391	847,628

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The region has 6,141 public school districts—3,113 are either all-white or all-Negro districts, and 3,028 have both Negro and white students enrolled. Of those districts having both races, 1,049 have Negroes attending the same schools with whites, and the other 91 are desegregated in policy but have no biracial schools. About 985 of the desegregated districts acted voluntarily, and the remaining 155 acted only after a court order. (See table "Analysis of Desegregation") The table below shows that 23.9 per cent of the region's total enrollment is Negro, 42.9 per cent of the Negroes are in desegregated districts, and 9.3 per cent of the Negroes are in desegregated schools. Of the Negroes in desegregated districts, 21.7 per cent actually attend schools with whites. The table also provides separate statistical breakdowns for the 11 Southern states and for the border area. The South has a public school enrollment that is 26.8 per cent Negro, 33.5 per cent of the South's Negro students are in desegregated districts, and 1.06 of the Negroes actually attend schools with whites. Of the Negroes in the South's desegregated districts, 3.2 per cent actually attend schools with whites. The border area has a public school enrollment that is 14.6 per cent Negro, 96.6 per cent of the border area's Negro students are in desegregated districts, and 56.2 per cent of the Negroes actually attend schools with whites. Of the Negroes in the border area's desegregated districts, 58.2 per cent actually attend schools with whites. Comparing the two areas, the South has 85 per cent of the region's total Negro enrollment, and the border area has the other 15 per cent. But of the region's 318,039 Negroes in desegregated schools, only 9.7 per cent of these are in the South, and the other 90.3 per cent are in the border area schools. Mississippi remains the only state with no initial desegregation at the level of grades one through 12. The increase in desegregated districts this year represented the largest since 1956, and the increase in the percentage of Negroes in schools with whites was the greatest since SERS first began reporting this figure in 1960. (See tables "Statistical Developments from 1954"). A few districts quietly admitted Negroes to schools with whites before the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the first believed to have been Baltimore, Md., which accepted 12 Negroes at an advanced high school in 1952-53, before the district began its regular desegregation program in 1954-55. Several districts already have announced plans or been ordered to desegregate in 1964-65. (See table "Desegregation Planned or Ordered")

State	School Districts: Total	With Negroes & Whites	Deseg.	Enrollment: White	Negroes	In Desegregated Districts: White	Negro	Negroes In Schools With Whites: No.	%
Alabama	114	114	4	539,996**	287,414*	106,199**	70,896**	11	.004
Arkansas	415	228	13	328,023**	112,012**	66,752	18,643	1,084	.968
Florida	67	67	16	964,241*	237,871*	669,375	130,667	3,650	1.53
Georgia	197	181	4	689,323	337,534	95,731	77,599	177	.052
Louisiana	67	67	2	460,589**	301,433**	68,700	79,077	1,814	.602
Mississippi	150	150	0	304,226**	291,971**	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	171	171	40	802,900*	346,746*	367,764*	133,164*	1,865	.538
South Carolina	108	108	1	368,496*	258,955*	3,108	9,539	10	.004
Tennessee	154	143	44	687,902*	164,940*	374,621*	119,547*	4,466	2.71
Texas	1,421	899	244	2,045,449*	326,409*	1,290,000*	186,000*	14,000*	4.29
Virginia	130	128	55	728,259*	236,386*	486,231	145,658	3,721	1.57
SOUTH	2,994	2,256	423	7,919,404	2,901,671	3,528,481	970,790	30,798	1.06
Delaware	86	86	86	79,024	18,422	68,321	13,976	10,209	55.4
Dist. of Columbia	1	1	1	19,865	117,915	19,803	117,915	98,813	83.8
Kentucky	204	165	163	611,128	54,874*	492,701*	54,874*	29,855	54.4
Maryland	24	23	23	540,667	160,946	535,691	160,946	77,816	48.3
Missouri	1,597	212*	203*	793,000*	95,000*	NA	90,000*	40,000*	42.1
Oklahoma	1,180	241	197	529,500*	42,916*	317,670*	34,898*	12,048	28.1
West Virginia	55	44	44	417,595*	21,055*	417,595*	21,055*	18,500*	87.9
BORDER	3,147	772	717	2,990,515	711,128	1,851,781††	493,664	287,241	56.2
REGION	6,141	3,028	1,140	10,909,919	3,412,799	5,380,262††	1,464,454	318,039	9.3

*Estimated
**1962-63
†Number of Negroes in schools with whites compared to total Negro enrollment
††Mo. not included

TEACHERS

Public school teachers remain completely segregated in seven Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. Some teacher desegregation has begun in four Southern states—Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—plus all the border states and the District of Columbia. In four states—Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and West Virginia—a sizeable number of Negro teachers lost their jobs in the early stages of the change to desegregation. Teacher desegregation is an issue in many of the school desegregation cases now pending in the courts, and federal judges in Kentucky and Florida have ordered them to begin desegregating at this level.

10-Year-Old SERS Began as 'Unique Experiment'

SOUTHERN EDUCATION Reporting Service is 10 years old.

When it was established in 1954, its founders described it as a "unique experiment in American journalism." They believed that the experiment would have run its course within one year. But the job they set for themselves has not yet been completed.

The idea for SERS was conceived in Washington in April of 1954 at a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. A group of Southern editors gathered to discuss the impending decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *School Segregation Cases.* Their principal interest lay in the reporting of the events that would follow the decision.

They agreed to the desirability of establishing a central source of factual, objective, accurate information that would be readily available without bias or editorial opinion. From this meeting emerged Southern Education Reporting Service, supported financially by the Ford Foundation, and with a board of directors composed of prominent Southern editors and educators.

Purpose of SERS

Purpose of SERS was—and is—to collect and disseminate facts on the school segregation-desegregation situation in the area where laws prior to 1954 had required that the races be separated in the public schools. This was the case in 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, the monthly publication of SERS, is the principal medium for providing these facts. It works with a staff of leading newspaper editors and writers. The paper is circulated in all 50 states and 44 foreign countries to people of many interests and persuasions. In addition to news media, the subscribers include many who are on the firing line in school issues—judges, government officials, attorneys, educators, school board members, students, clergymen and other religious leaders, sociological researchers and concerned laymen. SERS has many unsolicited letters testifying to the paper's value and its unique success in maintaining objectivity on a highly controversial subject.

SARRATT

BALL

SHOEMAKER

McKNIGHT

Three awards for journalistic achievement have come to SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS: In 1956 the National Newspaper Publishers Association Russworm Award "in recognition of outstanding achievement"; in 1962 the "layman's citation for distinguished service in the public journals" from Texas Southern University; and in 1963 the Lincoln University Board of Curators award for "significant contributions to better human relations."

The monthly paper is just one of the publications and services of SERS. In 1959, the agency was assigned management functions for *Race Relations Law Reporter,* a quarterly edited by the Law School of Vanderbilt University. The *Law Reporter* contains the complete texts of court decisions, legislative acts and administrative rules, regulations and orders in the field of race relations throughout the United States.

Periodically, SERS publishes a revised edition of its "Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States." This pamphlet, which grows with each edition, contains complete enrollment statistics, broken down by race, for all the public schools and colleges of the 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. Among the other information presented in capsule form are lists, by states, of all laws enacted to deal with the school segregation issue and of all court decisions handed down.

The SERS staff has produced two books. The first was edited by Don Shoemaker and published in 1957 under the title "With All Deliberate Speed." The second, published in 1959, was edited by Ed Ball and Pat McCauley and was entitled "Southern Schools: Progress and Problems." Most of the writing for these books was done by SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS correspondents.

The manuscript for a third book now is being written, with Reed Sarratt and Chester Davis as co-authors. It will tell the story of the decade of school desegregation, 1954-64.

Informational Services

In addition to its publications, SERS performs other informational services that are in constant use. The backbone of this service is the library. Unlike SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS the library embraces every phase of race relations in the United States. Approximately 50 daily newspapers are clipped, together with very nearly every news magazine and journal of opinion published in the United States. These materials are indexed under more than 500 separate subject headings. Also collected for the library are books, pamphlets, reports, surveys, studies, texts of speeches, laws, court decisions and numerous miscellaneous publications dealing with race relations. Altogether more than one million items have been placed in the library since 1954.

At the end of each operating year most additions to the library collection are microfilmed, complete with the card catalog. The microfilm through June 30, 1963, filled 124 rolls of 35mm film. It has been purchased by more than 50 major libraries scattered across the country.

Dr. Felix Robb, president of George Peabody College for Teachers and a member of the SERS Board, has called the SERS library and publications "the most magnificent piece of documentation of human behavior that this country or any other country has had on such a scale." Similar statements have been volunteered by others.

Regularly, the SERS headquarters office in Nashville receives requests for information, and these are handled promptly and without charge. Hundreds of such questions are answered in a year's time.

Press Releases

Each month, press releases based on SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS are mailed to publications that have requested them. From this direct mailing list and the principal news services SERS-gathered facts are widely disseminated.

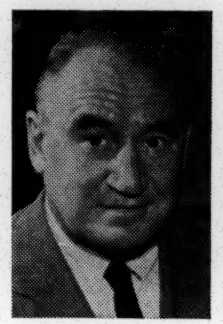
A new service added in 1962 is the supplying of Xerox reproductions of materials collected for the library. Since the service was inaugurated, more than 150,000 of these reproductions have been supplied.

Reed Sarratt, former executive assistant to the publisher of the Winston-Salem (N.C.) *Journal* and *Twin City Sentinel,* has served as executive director of SERS since 1960. Tom Flake is director of publications and Jim Leeson is director of information and research and editor of the Summary.

Previous executive directors were Edward D. Ball, now editor and publisher of the Venice, Fla., *Gondolier,* from 1958 to 1959; Don Shoemaker, now editor of the *Miami Herald,* from 1955 to 1958; and C. A. (Pete) McKnight, now editor of the *Charlotte Observer,* from 1954 until 1955.

McKnight, who established the SERS offices, was elected chairman of the board of directors on March 14, 1964.

Other chairmen of the board have included Bert Struby, general manager of the Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph* and *News,*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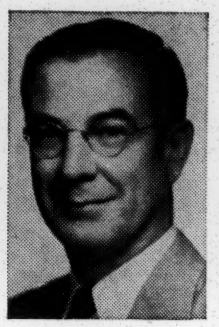
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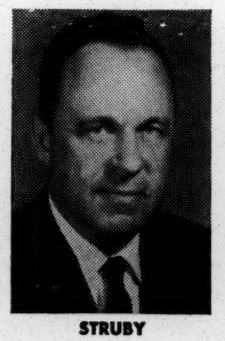

STRUBY

from 1962 to 1964; Frank Ahlgren, editor of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* from 1957 to 1962; and Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* from 1954 to 1957.

Dr. Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, in March was elected vice-chairman of the board, succeeding Thomas R. Waring, editor of the *News and Courier,* Charleston, S. C., who had held the post since the inception of SERS.

In addition to McKnight, Dr. Heard, Sarratt, Struby, Shoemaker and Waring, the Board of Directors includes Dr. Luther H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; Charles Moss, executive editor of the *Nashville Banner;* Dr. Felix C. Robb, president of George Peabody College for Teachers, which serves as fiscal agent for SERS; John Seigenthaler, editor of the *Nashville Tennessean;* Henry I. Willett superintendent of schools, Richmond, Va.; Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University, Nashville; and John N. Popham, general managing editor of the *Chattanooga Times.*

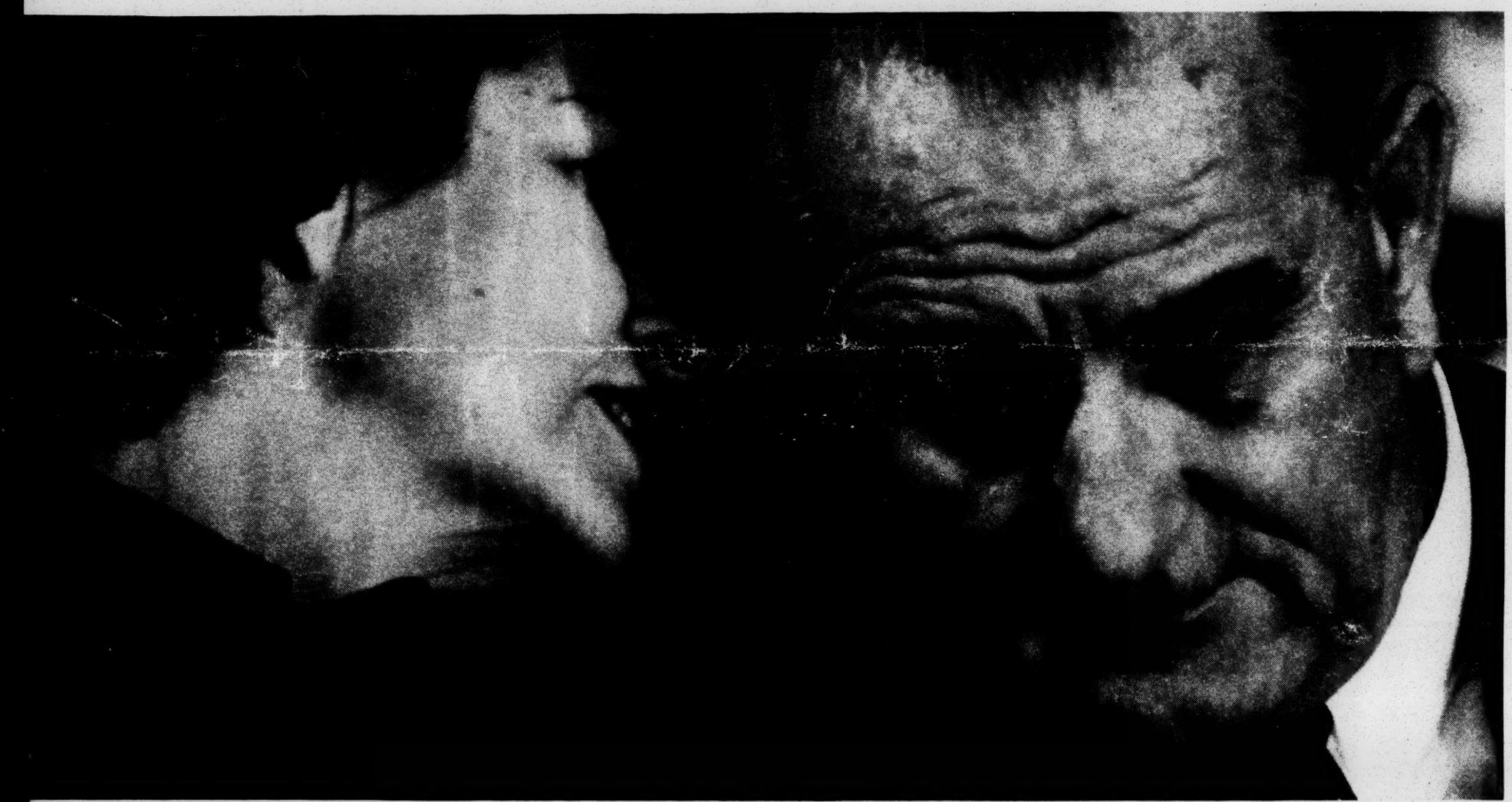
The first grant to SERS from the Ford Foundation was for one year. Ford grants to date total approximately $1,800,000, and the latest one will take the service through June 30, 1965.

In March, the SERS board appointed a committee to "re-examine the purposes and programs of SERS."

Look
3-10-64

A NEGRO VIEW: JOHNSON CAN FREE THE SOUTH

BY LOUIS E. LOMAX



Many Negro leaders feel that Mrs. Johnson has broadened the President's views on civil rights. Her mother was a fighter for racial justice in Alabama.

As soon as Lyndon Johnson finished his speech before Congress," Negro comedian Dick Gregory quipped, "twenty million of us unpacked." Nothing more accurately describes the deep anguish and apprehension that enveloped this nation's Negro community during the days just after the assassination of John F. Kennedy. We watched our new President on television and remembered that he comes from a state that has had 47 lynchings since 1920. We could not recall a single time when he had spoken out against these murders of our brothers. As we listened to him talk, the cracker twang in his voice chilled our hearts. For we know that twang, that drawl. We have heard it in the night, threatening; in the day, abusing; from the pulpit, sanctifying segregation; in the market place, denying us opportunity; everywhere, abrogating our human dignity. Yes, we know that twang. And we reacted.

"Dear God," cried a 12-year-old Negro girl in an integrated Tennessee classroom. "What is going to happen to us now!" Then Johnson told the nation that the immediate enactment of the civil-rights bill was the greatest monument we could erect to John Fitzgerald Kennedy. He stood before the United Nations and asked that racialism be banished from civilized society. We unpacked. Indeed, it now appears that a confluence of the times and his own personal commitment to racial justice will fashion Johnson into the most effective civil-rights advocate ever to occupy the White House.

The affair between Johnson and the American Negro is an uneven experience. For Johnson, it has been an almost pushy effort to convince us that his is the desegregated heart. For the Negro, the affair has been an exercise in polite suspicion. Our deep doubts about

continued

"Lyndon Johnson has never been afflicted with racial prejudice."

Lyndon Johnson are a result of his penchant for compromise on critical issues—and our congenital distrust of Southern white men. We Southern Negroes knew scores of families like the Lyndon Baines Johnsons of Johnson City, Texas. The President has never been afflicted with racial prejudice. But he seldom, if ever, challenged those who made civil wrongs and human abuse as much a part of our lives as hominy grits.

Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, as far as we were concerned, was much, much the better part of the bargain. She comes from aristocratic Alabama stock. Her mother read books, loved the arts and was an ardent fighter for woman suffrage and racial justice at the turn of the century. Lady Bird Johnson was *raised right*. Those who know the First Family agree that she has labored through the years to broaden and give honest substance to the President's views on racial matters.

The Johnsons are what we used to call "Good White People," a phrase that distinguished those white people who did not abuse and lynch us from those who did. We accepted most white people as our enemies, and treated them with the fearful respect and contempt any unarmed person gives his foes. But there was—and still is—a small coterie of white people who, in general terms, were our friends. They worked tirelessly, and in the face of being called "Nigger Lovers," for Negro schools, churches and hospitals. If we were hungry, we could find food at their back doors; if we were in trouble, we could tell the authorities that we knew Mister So and So and we would be bailed out; if we were trying to work our way through college, they would encourage us; they would, if necessary, make jobs for us. They gave, with deep Christian spirit, of their time, money and personal effort.

But white people like the Johnsons were not to be completely trusted. In times of acute racial tension, in the hour of beatings, abuse and lynch mobs, their knees would buckle under the weight of the status quo. Their hearts were with us, but they would pull down the shades of their many-columned homes, leaving us to stand unprotected and alone before the wrath of the Night Riders. We knew this. We understood this. We forgave them. But we never completely trusted them.

We were always pained when white men like Lyndon Johnson entered politics. I remember standing with my father in Valdosta, Ga., as the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge made one of his famous "nigger speeches." He called us apes and coons. Snapping his red suspenders as the electorate clapped and yelled, he sounded the call for all good white men to come to the defense of their wives and daughters. Father's face paled. "Look, son," he said, pointing to the platform of cheering, coattail-grabbing minor politicians. "There's Mr. Branch. I never knew he was *that kind* of white man!" Mr. Branch (and that is not his real name) was, of course, not that kind of white man. He had been my father's lifelong friend. Mr. Branch knew us, we knew him—at least we thought we did. He knew we were not apes and coons. He knew damn well there was no need to protect his wife from my father, or his daughter from me. Father was trying to make a living, and I was trying to get an education. As for Mrs. Branch and her daughter, Father and I couldn't have wanted either of them less.

"Lyndon Johnson did what every white Texas politician had to do at that time," the President's most trusted adviser for 20 years told me. The big issue in 1937, when Johnson made his first bid for office, was the exclusion of Negroes from the Democratic primary in Texas. The Negroes were excluded, but Johnson captured the primary—then tantamount to election—duly won his seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and was well into his third full term on Capitol Hill, when, in 1944, the NAACP won a Supreme Court decision that integrated the white primary. There is nothing in the record showing that Johnson blazed Texas trails in behalf of emasculated Negro voters. On the contrary, as the head of one civil-rights organization put it, "Johnson's record as a congressman and a senator was not good."

Tracing the differences between Congressman Johnson and President Johnson, Lomax says, "Lyndon Baines Johnson is this nation growing up."

"But," the President's long-time adviser argued, "there wasn't much for Lyndon to vote on during those years. The only civil-rights questions that came up in Congress were poll-tax and anti-lynch bills. And these did not come to a vote on merit. The vote was always on procedure, on cloture, whether or not to shut off debate." Allied with the Establishment, Johnson voted to uphold rules that allowed racists to filibuster measures that would have given us the freedom to exercise our right to vote. Crouching behind the procedural question, the man who is now President stood mute while bills that would have made lynching a Federal crime were talked to death. He prospered in Washington, and became his party's leader in the Senate.

I never met Lyndon Johnson while he was majority leader. But I knew him. I knew him in terms of another Southerner, the late Sen. Walter F. George, from my own state of Georgia. Senator George was a brilliant legislator, a giant in foreign affairs. He was a kind and good white man. He would have gone far, maybe to the White House, had he not been from the South. I met Senator George during my days as a cub reporter for a Washington, D. C., Negro newspaper. One night, we talked about how being from Georgia had crippled us both. He was allied with those who were fanatic about keeping me in what they deemed to be my place; this meant Senator George had to stay in his place, rooted—God help him if he ever attempted to broaden his base—in the racialism of our home state. So I understood Johnson when I met him during the Democratic National Convention of 1956. He had come there in search of the Presidential nomination. Like Walter George, and for much of the same reasons, he didn't get it. Johnson returned to Capitol Hill and piloted two civil-rights bills into law.

"I am the first senator from Texas to vote for civil rights since 1875," Johnson told us as he again sought the nomination in 1960. Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell spoke up for Johnson, told us he was a brother. Meanwhile, Johnson had been trying desperately to scrub up his image. He made friends with liberals and sat in on the caucus of Western legislators. None of this helped. LBJ was tainted

continued

"Had the Democrats lost in '60, LBJ would have been one of the reasons."

with the racialism of his Southern cronies. Lady Bird wept as the Presidential nomination once again—and almost forever—passed him by.

Nominee John F. Kennedy wanted Johnson for his Vice-Presidential running mate. We didn't want him. The bitter memory of 1952 was still with us. Alabama's Sen. John Sparkman was Adlai E. Stevenson's running mate that year. To allay our fears, the Democrats had trotted out Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, then a highly respected Negro spokesman, who told us we had nothing to fear from John Sparkman. We gave them our votes, but the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket lost. Two years later, the Supreme Court rendered its school-desegregation decision. John Sparkman was first in the list of senators who signed the "Southern Manifesto" denouncing the Court edict. Had Stevenson won, Alabama's Sparkman would have been within a heartbeat of the Presidency at the time when Martin Luther King led the Montgomery bus boycott.

THE EXPLOSIVE sit-ins reached their peak in 1960. The Negro revolt, which turns on the tactical premise that the man in the White House will come to our aid, was already well into its second major skirmish. And when the Democrats offered us Johnson as a Vice-Presidential candidate, we replied, "No thanks, you-all. But we'd rather not." Johnson cost the Democrats thousands of Negro votes. Had the ticket lost, Lyndon Johnson would have been one of the reasons why. Three years later, an assassin's bullets, in a deed that he above all other men abhorred, gave Johnson what he could not have gotten any other way.

As Vice-President, Johnson helped draft the civil-rights bill now pending in Congress. He was chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. He did most of the work that led to the lowering of racial barriers in many industries handling Government contracts. During the racial crisis of last spring and summer, President Kennedy summoned white church and business leaders to the White House. Johnson was the main speaker.

"I was there," Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, the man who heads the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, told me. "Lyndon laid it on the line. He told them that segregation was morally wrong. He said it was legally wrong. He also made them understand, perhaps for the first time, that it was also economic waste."

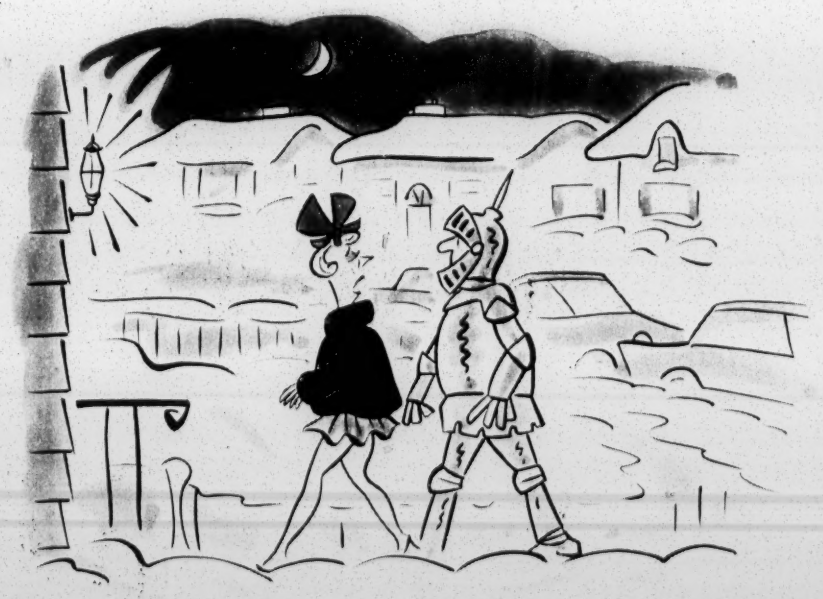
Even so, Vice-President Johnson was less than pure on racial matters. At the very time he was pressuring industry, one of his daughters was enrolled at the University of Texas. The university admitted Negro students only after a long, and costly, fight. More, his daughter was quartered in a rigidly segregated dormitory at the very moment Kennedy was gunned down. This set off deep concern and panic among White House advisers. Lynda Bird, now engaged to be married, has withdrawn from the University of Texas and will complete her education at a completely integrated school in Washington.

"We did not discuss civil rights with Lyndon Johnson the moment he became President," White House adviser Lee White told me. "There was nothing to discuss. As Vice-President, he had been in on all our planning. We knew how he felt about this issue. We simply finished preparing the position papers we were writing when Kennedy was assassinated." During two days of talks with President Johnson's civil-rights advisers, I was deeply impressed by the fervor and determination that envelop them as they plan their strategy. Everywhere—in the Justice Department, the Labor Department, at the White House—the word is firm: Get the civil rights bill passed at all costs. Should the bill pass intact, discrimination will be outlawed in most places of public accommodation; the first national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will come into being; and the Justice Department will have new weapons with which to combat discrimination at the ballot box. The quiet feeling is that Johnson will get the bill he wants. The Justice Department has already drafted a budget request that will give it sixty additional field workers whose job will be to make the new law effective. Johnson's Southern cronies will, of course, fight him to the bitter end. They will be led by Georgia's Sen. Richard B. Russell, one of the men who guided Johnson to the Senate leadership. But the odds are that Johnson will overcome.

The times are with Lyndon Baines Johnson. The world, this nation, is tired of being what it once was. And there is no longer reason for Johnson to be some of the things he once was. Some of his old friends with twangs in their voice will taunt him. The civil-rights bill will be filibustered for a while, and some senator who once horse-traded votes with the President is sure to ask him what would happen if a Negro tried to marry one of his daughters. Let it be said now, loud and clear, that we Negroes do not want Lyndon Baines and Lady Bird Johnson as in-laws. We ask only that their knees not buckle this time; that they stand with us against the dogs and fire hoses.

Lyndon Johnson has several factors working in his favor that the late President Kennedy did not enjoy. The nature of Kennedy's murder was such as to cause this nation to recoil from all forms of hate and violence. We—and Johnson as our advocate—are certain to profit from this new mood of national concern and conscience. Further, Johnson has inherited what White House advisers called the Kennedy payoff. The civil-rights sessions at the White House last spring and summer have begun to bear fruit. Borderline congressmen are aware of this. And Johnson is still the maneuverer of old. These are the facts behind the cautious optimism among the President's civil-rights advisers.

Lyndon Baines Johnson is this nation growing up. He is the white Southerner shaking off the shackles of his beginnings; he is the Negro learning that he who would be loved must himself not hate; he is the white Northern liberal realizing that prejudice, whether it be racial or sectional, is wrong. But most of all, Lyndon Baines Johnson is Lyndon Baines Johnson. He is a man of strengths and weakness. The evolution of our republic has clearly made it possible for him to do and say all the things he appears to have always believed, but dared not do or say. And the prospects are good that next November he will win on personal merit the high office and "awesome burden" sectionalism so long denied him. More than any of America's Negroes, Lyndon Baines and Lady Bird Johnson now have reason to part the curtains of their new home, look out over its rolling green and sing, "Free at last. Free at last. Thank God Almighty. Free at last." END



LOOK 3-10-64 BRAD ANDERSON

"Remember, now, don't ask me for a dance until you're at room temperature."

April 15, 1964

Mr. Jon Aaronson
Box 402 - Harpur College
Binghamton, New York

Dear Mr. Aaronson:

Under separate cover we are sending you a few things which may be helpful to you in your research project on political power in the South as related to the demographic characteristics of the region. The map locates the regions where Negro population is most dense; the two pamphlets on voting registration do include some differences between black-belt and non-Black-belt counties.

I can suggest a couple of books and news articles:

Vo.O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, 1950
Ralph McGill, The South and the Southerner, 1959
H. William Nicholls, Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, 1960.

The latter two books have chapters on southern politics which would be helpful to you.

Wall Street Journal, 6-10-63, "Shift in the South: Dixie Voters Display a Growing Preference for Moderate Officials," by Wm. R. Clabby.

Several inquiries from other college and graduate students with a similar thesis or project have used voter registration figures, resistance to voter registration in some areas, etc. to illustrate differences of commitment of populations to segregation and reasons for the change in political attitudes in some states. If you find you cannot get enough material for your project as is, you might consider this; if so write us again and we can give you further information and suggestions for sources.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright, Research

Box 402-Harpur College
Binghamton, New York
April 10, 1964

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am in my last year of undergraduate work in political science. For the past two years I have been investigating the general problem of segregation and the possibilities for peaceful desegregation in the South.

Presently, I am attempting to formulate a research project dealing with political power in the South as related to the demographic characteristics of the region. More specifically, I am looking for differences between black-belt and non-black-belt counties and differences among the black-belt counties themselves, which would suggest differences in the commitment of the populations of these areas to segregation. Since our library in quite limited, the direction of this project will be largely determined by the map data that is available.

I am writing to you for all free materials which you might send me and a catalogue of other publications which are not cost-free.

Thank you for your trouble.

Respectfully yours,

Jon Aaronson

Jon Aaronson

Gone But Not Forgotten 5-4-64 Nat'l Observer

Some Southerners Talk About Dixie And 'The Old Man' Gets a Cuffing

TUSCALOOSA, ALA.

It was almost as if the Deep South were a real person stretched out silent and suspicious on the psychiatric couch. By turn, the analysts poked and punched or muttered reassurances.

The occasion was a symposium on the future of the Deep South. Held last week here on the campus of the University of Alabama, where Gov. George C. Wallace made his famous stand in the school door, the symposium brought together college professors and social scientists from all over the region.

Tom Johnson, author of this report to The National Observer, is a Southerner and a Montgomery, Ala., newspaperman.

But the longer they talked about the South, the more the resemblance to the scientific world of psychiatry faded. And one got another impression of the gathering—that of a large and querulous family reunion in honor of a patriarch who is lovable much of the time, but who still embarrasses the family by going on profound benders.

Hodges Takes His Turn

One night kinsman Luther Hodges, the North Carolinian who is also Secretary of Commerce, took his turn at the old man. "I yield to no one," said Mr. Hodges, "in my love for the people of the South, in my hopes for our future well-being, in my deep belief in our mental, physical, and moral capabilities." But—.

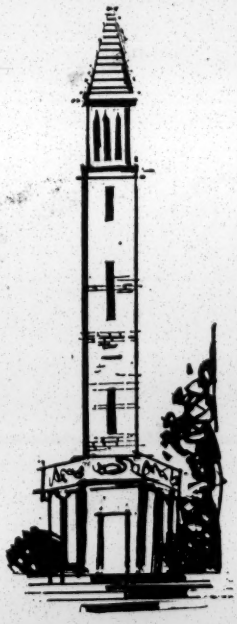
That was a word—"but"—that recurred again and again, because it seemed the participants couldn't utter an unqualified superlative about the South without feeling the necessity to balance the books by reciting some less attractive feature.

Though each of the speakers was certain of his knowledge of the South, they were far from agreed on even such basic questions as whether the South is distinctly different from other regions.

Mr. Hodges thought the South is becoming more like the rest of the country and that it is different only in the sense that New England or the Midwest "have a flavor all their own."

'A State of Mind'

John S. Ezell, professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, said flatly there does not exist "an identifiable Deep South, except that it be as a state of mind." This peculiar state of mind, he said, derives partly from the past and partly from a shared "siege mentality — the feeling of being surrounded by a hostile world."



But Donald S. Strong, an Alabama political scientist, was certain that the South is "outside the mainstream of American life" and that it is "distinct, both socially and politically."

Whatever it is and whatever forces made it, the South has never suffered for want of attention. Ernest M. Lander, a South Carolina writer, quoted William Chapman to make the point:

"The professional Southerner may fret that he is oppressed, maligned, and

Please Turn to Page 14, Column 1

Some Southerners Talk of Dixie, How It's Changed

'Jeffersonianism' Fades; Is The Deep South a State Only Of the Mind?

Continued From First Page

misunderstood, but he can never complain that he is ignored. The urge, among historians and journalists, to interpret the South and its people is irresistible . . . if Dixie is gone she is not forgotten."

The result is that there have been almost as many interpretations as interpreters. Some have attributed the South's distinctiveness to its devotion to "Jeffersonianism" and its belief that the purest democracy had agrarian roots. Others, said Mr. Lander, charge it to "poverty amid national abundance, failure amid national success, a preoccupation with guilt amid the nation's wonderment at its own innocence, slavery in a land which was 'born free.' "

But to Mr. Lander the "central theme" of the South is the presence of the Negro. He doubts that the South, left to its own devices, would have abolished slavery to this day.

"It is inconceivable to me," he said, "that any ambitious politician would have been rash enough to stand up in the legislative chambers of Mississippi or South Carolina, for example, in 1860 or 1880 or 1900 or 1940 or even 1964 and mildly suggest that perhaps slavery was unjust and that the legislature should begin to consider its abolition."

The Central Theme

As the symposium proceeded, this "central theme" of the Negro lay at the bottom of almost every discussion, though the symposium was not called expressly to consider the South against the background of civil rights.

For example, Rembert Patrick, author and history professor at the University of Florida, ripped the concept of "state sovereignty" that is dear to many Southerners. He said he was "criticizing with hopeful heart the land I like and the people I love."

"The Deep South politician who refers to his sovereign state utters nonsense," said Professor Patrick. "No politician is so ignorant as to attribute sovereignty to Alabama or any other state for any reason other than to befuddle his listeners.

"In the Deep South, state's rights have become synonymous with the desire of a white majority to perpetuate a caste system."

But change, however reluctant and slow, is seizing the region, most dramatically its economics, most of the symposium agreed. In 25 years, said Secretary Hodges, the Southern economy has changed from one geared to agriculture to one that approximates the national mixture of farm and non-farm employment. The per capita income, which was 53 per cent of the national average in 1932, is today 76 per cent of the national

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A Change in Literature

Dr. Hudson Strode of Tuscaloosa, who is noted for his creative-writing classes at the university and a famous biography of Jefferson Davis, finds change creeping into literature.

"Southern writing today," he said, "is no less Southern, it is merely Southern in the new or modern way. The Gothic school, which Faulkner carried to its greatest expression, has passed. The decaying old plantation house, the involved family connections, the degeneracy and tragedy and horror, with comedy grotesquely farcical, have lost their savor. The note now is less aristocratic, more plebeian or small-town middle class, with the rednecks getting paler."

For social scientists in the South, last week's symposium was an introduction to Martin ten Hoor Hall, a $1,250,000 structure that will house the Arts and Sciences Department of the university. Here, in a building that is larger than a football field, social scientists will study the society around them.

One of them will be Professor Strong, who went into some of the hardships imposed on social science by the South's bad "image."

The Compassion Fades

Though "foundation money" is essential to all serious research, said Professor Strong, he thought he had seen a change come over "those who control the purse strings of the great foundations." Instead of regarding the South with compassion, they looked upon it as representing sin.

"The reasoning goes like this," said Professor Strong. "Segregation is morally wrong; hence, those who live off segregationist taxpayers aid and encourage evil. No fine distinctions are drawn here. The same taxpayers feed Southern social scientists and Southern police dogs. Therefore, both groups must share the same attitudes."

Perhaps they think, the professor added with gentle irony, that all self-respecting scientists and police dogs should "seek employment in a more moral environment." The dogs could be retained "for seeing-eye responsibilities."

But there are plenty of subjects to be studied by the social scientists, and Professor Strong listed some of them—the change of party loyalty by long-time Democrats, the role of violence in politics ("Only in the South in recent years has the value of law and order been considered debatable"), the behavior of judges under pressure, the decline of free-trade sentiment, the connection between religion and Southern politics.

But to some at the symposium, the most significant thing about it was the fact it was held—held on a tax-supported Deep South campus, participated in freely and uninhibitedly by tax-supported speakers, and sheltered by a brand new building erected with public money, and though the Old Man took a cuffing, there was not a whisper of public disapproval.

—TOM JOHNSON

5-9-64 Const.

Text of Johnson's Speech: 'The New South Is Here'

Prepared remarks of the President at the legislative breakfast in Atlanta:

I am glad to be here as a President of the United States who feels at home in Georgia.

This day has been a long time coming. The second president of Texas was a son of Georgia—Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar. It has taken Texas a hundred years to return the service.

Coming to Georgia is a homecoming for me. My grandfather, Jesse Johnson, was elected sheriff of Henry County, Ga. Later the people of McDonough elected him sheriff of the Inferior Court. Thus, the Johnson family got its start in politics.

I am sure you never imagined what you were starting.

Sitting Right Here

In fact, had my family stayed in Georgia, who knows, I might be sitting in this legislature in my own right, instead of merely being an invited guest.

Mr. Johnson, married a Georgia girl of 18, Lucy Webb Barnett—who, of course was as beautiful as all Georgia girls are.

Although I've never noticed that I inherited any of that particular Georgia characteristic.

I speak to you today as an American and as the President of a united nation.

My office is not a trust for a single section or a single state. The people it serves occupy one continent. They are ruled by one Constitution.

As I am President of all the people, you are part of all the people.

I speak to you not as Georgians or Southerners, although those are proud titles to be proudly borne.

Rather, I speak to you as men who helped shape the more spacious design of a larger destiny. There have been days of discord. But the liberty of our entire land has been consecrated with the lives and the labor, the dedication and the daring, of the sons of Georgia.

Powder, stripped from the warehouses of Savannah, shipped in a cargo of rice to the North, fired the muskets on Bunker Hill.

Some of those sounds heard round the world were Georgia sounds.

The story of our victories is words seemed less a hopeful prophecy than a hollow promise. Old ways had crumbled—carrying with them that which was fine as well as that which was flawed — replaced by a blighted land and a bitter people.

Franklin Roosevelt sent me and others to survey that South. He sought to turn the conscience of the nation to the cares of its neighbors.

Many of you are old enough to know what we found. Your families, your neighbors, your towns, were among the victims.

That South was a forgotten and forbidding land. Its mills were idle and its banks were shut. Misery was on the faces of its farmers and hunger scarred the faces of its children. What little wealth there was trickled North, leaving the South barren of its own bounty.

Can you remember now with me those days of darkness?

The average income was little over $300 per person. It was little more than half that of the North and West. Most people lived on farms. And white farm families not on relief averaged $390 a year. They spent $49 for the food they bought — $31 a year on clothes — $12 a year on medical care—$1.00 a year on recreation—$2.00 a year on education.

The wages of factory workers were 30 to 50 per cent below the national average. Almost 10 per cent of our children couldn't read or write. Less than 6 per cent of three million farmhouses had piped water. Almost 2 million people were infected by malaria. Millions more suffered diseases of malnutrition and hunger.

Many thought the South had suffered its final defeat. They foresaw a migration of the young and the strong — leaving behind only the unskilled and the helpless to preside over deepening desolation.

These were the faint of heart.

I was not among them.

The people of Georgia were not among them.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was not among them.

He came to Georgia and said: These conditions "can and must be righted, righted for the sake of the South and the sake of the nation."

This nation under Franklin Roosevelt forged, in the bitter-good, president of Emory College, said: "we in the South have no divine call to stand eternal guard by the grave of dead issues."

Today the South no longer stands alone, proud in isolation but poor in hope.

Many of the old issues are dead. The way you live is the way the nation lives. Your hopes are the nation's hopes. Your problems are the nation's problems. You bear the mark of a Southern heritage, but that which is Southern is far less important than that which is American.

After Long Years

After years of ruinous and futile division, we have achieved rewarding and fruitful union. We are, today, one nation, one people, one America.

I would not be here, I would not be looking forward to November, were this not true. And I am looking forward to November.

So heed not those who come waving the tattered and discredited banners of the past — who seek to stir old hostilities and kindle old hatreds — who preach battle between neighbors and bitterness between States. That is the way back toward the anguish from which we came.

I will never feel that I have done justice to my high office until every section of this country is linked, in single purpose and joined devotion, to bring an end to injustice, and poverty, and the threat of conflict among nations.

Of course I do not want to go as far as the Georgia politician who shouted from the stump: "Fellow citizens, I know no North. I know no South. I know no East. I know no West." And a barefooted boy shouted from the gallery, 'You'd better go and study geography.'

A Just Society

The second quality is justice. A just society is that which meets the fair expectations of its people.

I am visiting people who expect much from us. I have talked with the poor of Appalachia—to those whose hunger of the body brings despair of the spirit—who live in homes empty of means with hearts empty of hope.

have fought, and Georgians have died, to protect that Constitution. It has nourished the fullness of your progress and the freedom of your people. I believe Georgia will join with the entire nation to ensure that every man enjoys all the rights secured him by that American Constitution.

For democratic order rests on faithfulness to law. Those who deny the protection of the Constitution to others, imperil the safety of their own liberties and the satisfaction of their own desires. We now move forward—under that Constitution—to give every man his right to work at a job, to elect his officials, to educate his children, and to full and equal participation in American society.

Because the Constitution requires it—and because justice demands it—we must protect the Constitutional rights of all of our people.

For no one of us is fully free until all of us are fully free. And the rights of no single American are truly secure until the rights of all Americans are secure.

The third command of the Georgia motto is moderation.

America is now beginning the quest for a great society. The barriers to this quest are high.

We have farmers deprived of sustenance for their labor, and workers deprived of labor for their sustenance. Expanding population is crowding our cities, and expanding commerce is eroding our landscape. We carry the toilsome tasks of defense, while we pursue the complex cares of peace.

To meet such problems, in such a varied and ample land as ours, bold action requires broad agreement — and consensus requires moderation.

Those who call for extreme solutions can bring us only discord and disarray. They tell us to stand upon our rights, but they fail to tell us how to meet our responsibilities.

Must Meet Duty

We can only meet our duty to our people in a partnership of moderation between state and nation, between people and government. Then, and only then, will our rights — as states, as a country, as free men serving a just God—only then will those rights be safe.

Not under the banner of ex-

our entire land has been consecrated with the lives and the labor, the dedication and the daring, of the sons of Georgia.

Powder, stripped from the warehouses of Savannah, shipped in a cargo of rice to the North, fired the muskets on Bunker Hill.

Some of those sounds heard round the world were Georgia sounds.

The story of our victories is washed with Georgia blood and the roll of our valiant is sown with Georgia names.

In this century, in two world wars and in Korea, half a million Georgia men went to battle. More than 5,000 never returned.

The names of your heroes are known and honored, not alone in Georgia, but wherever children study and men celebrate the chronicles of their country.

Bound by Acts

Georgia has bound itself to the union not only with the conquests of its brave but with the creations of its builders, not only with arms in the midst of turmoil but with achievements in the midst of tranquility.

From Georgia land comes food for the people of Minnesota. From Georgia mills comes clothing for the shops of New York. From Georgia factories come planes to carry the soldiers of Europe and the goods of California. From Georgia quarries comes marble for the chief center of union itself, the capitol of the United States.

Here, then, is the new South. This is the land Henry W. Grady of Georgia foresaw in 1886, when he came to New York and took as his text the words: "There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour."

Not so many years ago those These were the faint of heart. I was not among them.

The people of Georgia were not among them.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was not among them.

He came to Georgia and said: These conditions "can and must be righted, righted for the sake of the South and the sake of the nation."

This nation under Franklin Roosevelt forged, in the bitterness of common disaster, a new compassion which ignored old barriers of suspicion and old boundaries of section.

The results are here, in the New South.

Income on Rise

The average income in the South has increased six times since 1930, rising much faster than the national average. Malaria and pellagra are gone and hunger is going. The acreage yield of your farms has doubled, and the gross income per farm has risen eight times. Nearly every home has water and electricity, and every child can go to school. And, at the peaks of prosperity, the proportion of Southern Families with home freezers and air conditioning is above the national average.

What Henry Grady foretold has come. We see a new South. We see a "South of union and freedom." We see a "South which is living, breathing, growing every hour."

But to those who live in the present, the conquests of the past are but a spur toward the future.

The South, along with all America, has many troubles. The words of the motto of Georgia give a guide to resolution of those troubles — Wisdom, Justice, Moderation.

The first of these is wisdom. It was in 1880 that Atticus Hay-

A Just Society

The second quality is justice. A just society is that which meets the fair expectations of its people.

I am visiting people who expect much from us. I have talked with the poor of Appalachia—to those whose hunger of the body brings despair of the spirit—who live in homes empty of means with hearts empty of hope.

But I do not need to tell the people of the South what poverty means. It once blanketed this land.

I do not believe those who walked through the anguish of the Old South—who sit today secure in their affluence and safe in their power—will now turn from the sufferings of their neighbors.

For our country has the same duty today to help the few who are poor, as we did then to help the many who were poor.

I am going to tell the poor of Georgia—as I have told the poor of Pittsburgh and of West Virginia and of Chicago—that in state capitals, in small towns, in Washington itself — we are uniting our resources for a war which will end only when poverty itself has ended.

Justice Among Races

Justice also means justice among the races.

Racial problems have deep roots in Southern soil. But they also trouble the passions of men on the shores of Maryland, in the slums of Philadelphia and in the streets of New York. We may well find racial peace in much of the South, before the end of racial strife in the cities of the North.

In your search for justice, you have a sure and faithful guide—the Constitution of the United States. Georgians helped write that Constitution. Georgians our responsibilities.

Must Meet Duty

We can only meet our duty to our people in a partnership of moderation between state and nation, between people and government. Then, and only then, will our rights — as states, as a country, as free men serving a just God—only then will those rights be safe.

Not under the banner of extremists will we conquer, but under your banner — Georgia's banner—the banner of Wisdom, Justice, Moderation.

Over my bed in the White House I keep a picture of the tiny house where I was born, the son of a tenant farmer. It reminds me every day of the people I come from and the people I serve.

It reminds me that a poor family once tilled the rich soil of Georgia. Their descendant now leads a nation great in strength and freedom.

My ancestors felt free to ask their fellow Georgians for the help of neighbors. In the same way I ask for your help and your prayers in a task shared by the people, sustained by the labor, and strengthened by the freedom, of all these firmly united states.

Two lines of our national anthem read:

> Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven rescued land
> Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation.

In His praise, and under His guidance, let us heal the last fading scars of old battles, let us match united wills to boundless means, so that, many years from now, men will say: It was at that time, in that place of free men, that the possibilities of our past turned toward the grandeur of our future.

Johnson at Gainesville: 'FDR's Work Isn't Done'

Here is the prepared text of President Johnson's remarks at Gainesville:

Twenty-eight years ago last month this city lay devastated in the wake of an unmerciful act of nature.

Two years later Gainesville had experienced a rebirth, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt came here to pay tribute to the courage and spirit of people who had brought their city back to life.

"You were not content with rebuilding along the lines of the old community," he said. "You were not content with throwing yourselves on the help which could be given to you by your state and by the Federal Government."

"On the contrary, you determined . . . to eliminate old conditions of which you were not proud; to build a better city; to replace congested areas with parks; to move human beings from slums to suburb."

He went on to speak not only of Gainesville but of the nation. And he called the people of this city to join in a great crusade to rebuild America—and to move their country forward.

Today—with Franklin Roosevelt's son by my side — I have come to Gainesville to say that his work and ours is not finished; his dreams and ours not realized; his hopes and ours not fulfilled.

As Franklin Roosevelt did in March, 1938, I ask you today—to work for the good of the whole people and the whole nation.

You have many problems here which must be solved. There are children who know the feel of hunger and workers who know the fear of idleness. There are young people who need careers and old people who need care.

You are meeting these needs. The new junior college and the new area vocational training school which will be opened symbolize that the spirit which rebuilt Gainesville in the 30's is alive in the 60's.

We need that spirit in Gainesville today—and throughout the country.

And we need the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt.

He was the champion of the poor and of the aged—the champion of the forgotten farmer and the neglected worker. He was the friend of those who needed help and the advocate of those who sought hope.

"Governments can err," he said in his second acceptance speech. Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

I have come to Gainesville today to tell you that this administration is not frozen in indifference.

We want a government of compassion—compassion for the one-fifth of our people who are ill-fed . . . compassion for the one-fifth of our people who are ill-clothed . . . and compassion for the one-fifth of our people who are ill-housed.

And compassion, too, for any American outside the pale of the Constitution. Full participation in our society can no longer be denied to men because of their race, religion, or region. The Constitution applies to every American of every race, of every religion, of every region in our country—or it applies to no one. If Franklin Roosevelt were standing on this square today, he would say that America must go forward with compassion and justice for all—or it cannot go forward at all.

I believe you want this country to go forward. That's what Roosevelt said here almost 30 years ago: "The United States is rising and is rebuilding on sounder lines. We propose to go forward and not back."

We are going forward with a war on poverty. We are going forward to protect your rights and the rights of every American. We are going forward to create new jobs for the jobless—new homes for the homeless—and new hope for the hopeless.

We must not lose this momentum or this conviction. For while profits are up—and income is up—and capital gains are up—our convictions must not be down. It must never be said of us that we could afford billions for cosmetics and candy and cigarettes, but we could not afford to spend one billion to help 30 million Americans take their rightful places in a free and prosperous society.

Gainesville and Franklin Roosevelt are forever linked in history. Here the spirit of a great leader and the spirit of a proud people found a common cause—and here the past became prologue.

I have come here today to ask you to join me in a similar cause. Help us to build a better land. Help us to build a greater society. Help us to open wide the doors of opportunity and invite all to come in—for when we have done this, it will one day be said of America that she was a "burning and shining light" in man's journey on this earth.

Fulbright in Holland

AMSTERDAM, The Netherlands (UPI)—Sen. J. William Fulbright, D.-Ark., arrived by plane Friday from Ankara for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) meeting in The Hague next week.

L OBSERVER 5-11-64

Who Won the Primaries

Within the space of four days, primary voting took place in seven states and the District of Columbia. Here are the results of national interest:

Alabama

Voters in the Democratic primary selected 10 "free" electors to the Electoral College, which chooses the President. In defeating a slate committed to vote for the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees chosen at the Democratic national convention, voters gave their governor, George C. Wallace, power to control Alabama's electoral votes.

District of Columbia

Democratic voters picked convention delegates committed to President Johnson. Republicans chose nine uncommitted national-convention delegates. Of those, four favor New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, two favor Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater, and three are undecided.

Florida

Democrats Haydon Burns and Robert King High were forced into a May 26 run-off for the gubernatorial nomination. The winner will oppose state Rep. Charles Holley, who won the Republican nomination, this fall. Democrats nominated incumbent Spessard Holland for a fourth term in the Senate.

Indiana

Alabama's Governor Wallace won about 30 per cent of the vote in the Democratic Presidential primary and picked up the support of three convention delegates. But Gov. Matthew E. Welsh, running as a stand-in candidate for President Johnson, won the rest of the delegate support. The state party organization intends to alter regulations so that the state's 51 convention votes go to President Johnson. Sen. Barry Goldwater scored heavily in the GOP primary, winning 32 convention votes. He defeated former Minnesota Gov. Harold E. Stassen.

New Mexico

Businessman Merle H. Tucker won the gubernatorial nomination and opposes Gov. Jack M. Campbell, Democrat, in the general election. Rep. Joseph M. Montoya, a Democrat, won the right to compete against the incumbent, Republican Edwin L. Mechem, for a seat in the Senate.

Ohio

GOP Rep. Robert Taft, Jr., son of the late Republican Senate leader, captured the nomination to the Senate with ease. He will run against Sen. Stephen M. Young, the incumbent Democrat. Mr. Young beat Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr., whose name remained on the ballot though illness forced him to quit the campaign. Senator Young received 513,961 votes; the astronaut received 200,472.

Oklahoma

GOP voters nominated former Oklahoma football coach Bud Wilkinson for a Senate seat. Sen. J. Howard Edmondson, the Democrat appointed to fill the unexpired term of the late Sen. Robert S. Kerr, was forced into a May 26 run-off with state Sen. Fred Harris for nomination to the Senate seat Mr. Edmondson now occupies.

Texas

Senator Goldwater emerged the Republican voters' choice and is expected to have the support of Texas' 56 GOP convention delegates, who must yet be chosen by a state party convention. Henry Cabot Lodge finished second on a strong write-in, outpolling Governor Rockefeller, Maine's Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, and Harold Stassen, who were listed on ballots. Democratic incumbents John Connally, governor, and Ralph Yarborough, senator, won renomination. Republicans George Bush, a Houston oilman, and Jack Cox, an attorney, led a field of four and must compete in a run-off for nomination to the Senate.

7-29-64

Eugene Patterson

Who Can Lecture U.S. on Elections?

The German student had just a few hours in Atlanta. He was studying American politics. In his labored accent, he asked the usual questions. How could Europe trust American leadership when our political system produced "a Kennedy so rarely," and created frantic vilification of him when we had him. Weren't we in fact "geared for mediocrity?"

"The times produced the leaders in our system," I said. "You ought to remember that our two parties produced Lincoln, Wilson, the two Roosevelts. They were fought, too. All innovators are resented. Nobody likes to change. But the times produce the leaders. When the time comes again, there will be other Kennedys, other Jacksons. In every time we just let the people speak and we trust their judgment, directly expressed."

* * *

The young German looked doubtful. "Germany had direct election of her leaders once, instead of the parliamentary system of party voting," he said. "The people with their direct vote wanted a change in the 1930s—any change—because they weren't happy. So they elected Hitler."

He thought he had made a telling point. "I have to remind you that the American people with their direct vote have never elected a Hitler," I told him. "Germany may have, but we have not. Therefore, can Europe lecture us?"

"France, with a revolutionary past similar to our own, has accepted coups d'etat. We have not. Even now she has acquiesced in the authortarian rule of the general who seized the presidency. Americans have not had that. Is France qualified to lecture us?"

I couldn't resist stretching the point. "Britain is critical of our system, yet the British Conservative party is based largely upon codes laid down by an upper-class establishment to which the nether Tories conform, and the Labor party rank-and-file adopts a similar obedience to distant decisions of the Trades Union Congress and a socialist cadre. The individual is led far more there, and he leads far less, than the United States."

* * *

The German boy frowned but kept listening.

"Haven't you wondered," I asked, "why the intellectuals in Britain and in the United States, with obvious exceptions, served different ends? Many of the Oxford and Cambridge men find their natural home in the British Conservative establishment. Yet President Kennedy recruited much of his progressive government from the intellectuals of the American Ivy League. Isn't there something significant in the aims of our intellectuals? We must have a pretty good system," I suggested, "when for nearly 200 years our people have avoided mistakes that are common to Europe."

The student left unconvinced. He still didn't trust this peculiar system of ours which depends on the independent individuals' common sense to master both passion and power consistently.

Still, I am glad he wasn't quick enough to ask why, under our political system, obviously qualified potential presidents like Hubert Humphrey, William Scranton and Robert Kennedy are often excluded from vice presidential consideration in favor of less effective, and therefore less controversial, men.

Royster's Diagnosis Is Proving Right

By EUGENE PATTERSON

VERMONT CONNECTICUT Royster is a Southerner from North Carolina who grew up to be editor, of all things, of The Wall Street Journal. He's a good one, too.

Under his hand that newspaper has become brightly articulate as well as influential. Last week Royster articulated the feelings of a lot of Americans about the "white backlash" against Negroes.

To be sure, he ran the risk of being kidded in terms that some Atlanta Negroes, with a saving sense of humor, have applied to some of their own leaders. "He'll watch you labor up a hill an inch at a time with a heavy burden and then he'll meet you at the top and tell you how you should have done it," they'll say.

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

Nevertheless Vermont Royster sees pretty clearly from the top of the hill and his view is true and basic.

"The impression is that the white community has come to feel just too overpowered by the rush of events," he wrote. "Except perhaps in deepest Mississippi, these are people who approved of the Supreme Court's desegregaion decision, who approve now of the intent if not always the form of the Civil Rights Act; people who believe that a Negro is entitled to what his endowments entitle him and do not believe that society should wall him off simply because he is a Negro.

DEMONSTRATIONS

"But . . . the civil rights demonstrations have played their part in intensifying the feeling of many white people that they are being pressured not for evolution but for revolution.

"In short, the 'white backlash' does not strike at the Negro as a Negro. It does strike, and sharply now, at the society-shaking events which no one seems able, or willing, to control. The feeling is a desperate one of being overwhelmed."

But Royster goes on to note that the backlash is not confined to whites. "Among many Negroes too there grows a sort of backlash—not against the struggle of their people but against the means of the struggle."

This is the really important backlash. As the week's events have shown, it means that Negroes who are able, and willing, to control these society-shaking events are setting out to take charge and calm things down.

As The Atlanta Constitution said editorially last Monday, the Negro revolution is going to be betrayed in America unless strong and courageous Negro leaders stand up and put a stop to the riots like those in New York and Rochester. Only Negroes themselves can do this.

DOING IT

By week's end, they were doing it. And that may be the most significant racial story of the year. Americans, white and Negro, were beginning to turn events back onto a responsible plane. Just as Royster reproved obstinate racists and disassociated them from the white masses, Martin Luther King Jr. braved the wrath of Negro extremists by labeling Negro excesses as "impractical and immoral" and by going to New York to lead the Negro masses into calmer ways.

By Wednesday, King was meeting with the nation's top Negro leaders—Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, James Farmer, John Lewis, Philip Randolph—and they jointly deplored the Rochester and New York riots. They went much further. They demanded a "broad curtailment, if not a total moratorium," on mass demonstrations. Good.

These leaders will be harassed, misrepresented and denounced by extremists. But they acted. As the turnaround of events begins, the backlash will end. Royster diagnosed it right.

8-8 64 c

Eugene Patterson

Straddlers Played Heck in Tennessee

Tennessee, Georgia's neighbor to the north, has just given the South a powerful new reading of the political tea leaves. Rep. Ross Bass, one of only three Deep South congressmen to vote for the Civil Rights Bill, upset Gov. Frank Clement in their race for the U.S. Senate.

Tennessee's other senator, the relatively liberal Albert Gore, also was easily renominated.

That wasn't all. In the Memphis area, a newcomer to major politics named George Grider, who allied himself strongly with President Johnson's positions, defeated the senior Congressman from Tennessee, the more old-fashioned Clifford Davis.

* * *

And in the Nashville vicinity, the progressive Richard Fulton won easily in his congressional race.

These Tennessee results reflected something more than mere grass roots support for anti-Crump, pro-progress politicians.

They represented a major victory for Texan Lyndon Johnson's New South philosophy in a time when Goldwater conservatism is supposed to be stampeding Southerners.

They also reflected a relatively new factor in the South, and one that young politicians cannot ignore—the Negro vote.

Of Tennessee's 750,000 registered voters, some 211,000 are Negroes, according to estimates of the Southern Regional Council. These Negro voters understandably are not going to support candidates who pitch their campaigns on racial hostility.

A quiet new development in Georgia is the fact that 240,000 Negroes are now registered to vote in this state—an increase of nearly 60,000 in the last two years. Only North Carolina, with 248,000, has more Negro voters than Georgia in the Deep South.

* * *

Mississippi has only 28,500 registered Negro voters. Alabama has only 104,000. The reactionary political courses those states have taken shows what this can cost. The more progressive courses taken by Georgia and Tennessee show that the Negro vote, instead of being feared, can be welcomed by Southerners as a force for progress.

One of the really meaningful vote registrations has come in Texas. In the year between April, 1963, and April, 1964—the year of President Kennedy's assassination and Mr. Johnson's accession—the Southern Regional Council estimates that more than a quarter of a million Texas Negroes registered to vote, bringing that state's incredible total of Negro voters to the highest level in the South—375,000. With Texas shaping up as one of the key states in determining the name of the next president, this fact is a major boon to Lyndon Johnson, though it has gone largely unnoticed.

But it was Tennessee that gave Southerners a portent. Drawing major strength from the state's four urban areas, Mr. Bass, a Johnson Democrat, clobbered Gov. Clement, a Democrat who tried to straddle.

Fayette, Tenn
Voting

8-11-64

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Civil Rights and an Election

By DREW PEARSON

Washington.

HERE IS the inside story of how civil rights worked—or rather, didn't work—in the most important Southern election of the year. It occurred in Fayette County, Tenn., where the Justice Department and a group of Northern students had worked for two years to get Negroes registered.

This is the area, 68 per cent Negro, where Negro sharecroppers were intimidated, threatened with loss of jobs, and their store credit cut off when they first tried to register, and where the Justice Department indicted 80 whites and one bank in Fayette County and 60 whites and four corporations in nearby Haywood County—all under the anti-intimidation law.

Since then, groups of Northern students have helped register 4,300 Negroes in Fayette County in contrast with only five registered in 1962.

One of those who helped this registration drive was Professor Charles Haynie, mathematics teacher at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. Haynie, with 50 students from Cornell, Yale and other Northern colleges, has been working since May 25 to make sure that their work was not in vain.

NO CALLS

The day before the election, Aug. 5, Professor Haynie telephoned the Justice Department to ask for protection for workers on election day.

"First we tried to reach Burke Marshall," Haynie told me, referring to the assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division, "but they told us he wasn't taking calls that day. Then they connected us with two other attorneys, John Martin and John Rosenberg. I told them of our problem and asked for help. Martin's reply was that he was sorry but the Justice Department couldn't do anything—it wasn't their business. He then hung up."

Next day, election day, the Northern students tried to get poll watchers at various polling places. Their watchers were armed with certified letters from Rep. Bass, candidate for the U.S. Senate, asking that they represent him.

Most of the watchers were rebuffed. At several polling places they were told, "Get out of here, nigger." At Piperton, Tenn., just across from the Mississippi border, two poll watchers carrying letters from Bass were thrown out.

At 9:30 a.m., the morning of the election—11:30 Washington time—Professor Haynie phoned the Justice Department again. He tried to get Burke Marshall but failed and was referred to Gerald Jones, an attorney. Jones referred him to a Mr. Flannery, who was in Chicago—a long way from Tennessee.

By this time there had been various threats and acts of intimidation. Hans Von Verger of Nashville, a teacher at Vanderbilt University, was shot at while taking a Negro, Herbert Kelsey, in his car to the polls in District 8. The incident took place about six miles from Somerville on Highway 64.

When Professor Haynie was unable to get any satisfaction from the Justice Department, he phoned me, reporting some of the above facts. He asked for FBI protection.

I telephoned Burke Marshall, in charge of civil rights. He refused to take the call. I was told to talk to Edwin Guthman, in charge of press relations. Mr. Guthman was out, busy publicizing Atty. Gen. Kennedy, who in turn was telling Democratic candidates for Congress how to win the next election. I was then told to call Jack Rosenthal, Guthman's assistant.

FBI REQUESTED

Mr. Rosenthal was out. I sent an assistant to Rosenthal's office. He was kept cooling his heels one hour. Meanwhile, I called Gerald Jones in the Civil Rights Division. He was courteous, but referred me to John Murphy, chief of Justice's general litigation. He refused to take the call. Another call to Burke Marshall, head of civil rights, went unanswered.

Meanwhile, Prof. Haynie called from Tennessee again. Ballot boxes were being stuffed, he reported. More poll watchers were being thrown out. Long lines of Negroes were standing in the hot sun, at around 110 degrees, waiting to vote. But there was no guarantee their votes would be counted. All the hard work of two years of registration might be in vain. The day was wearing on and no action from Washington.

Finally I phoned the White House. The rest of the story will be told in tomorrow's column.—(c1964.)

9-21-64 C

Eugene Patterson

What Ever Happened to Love

It's fashionable this season to lay plagues upon both the Johnson and Goldwater houses. Maybe some Republicans who are appalled by Sen. Goldwater find it easier to take the Democratic plunge if they hold their noses. But many Democrats are unlyrical about LBJ, too.

People don't love politicians, it seems.

It also seemed, when Wilson and Kennedy were President, that people didn't love idealists.

Maybe people don't love anybody.

The Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre Jr., dean of Washington Cathedral, is a grandson of Woodrow Wilson and an admirer of John F. Kennedy. He naturally thinks Goldwater and Johnson present "a sterile choice."

"The one, a man of dangerous ignorance and devastating uncertainty," said the Dean, "the other a man whose public house is splendid in its every appearance but whose private lack of ethic must introduce termites at the very foundation."

* * *

He placed the blame where it belongs. "They but only reflect what they so cannily perceive to be the preoccupation of every single one of us. Few eyes are lifted up in this nation to a nobler purpose than selfish gain. Little wonder that the political parties in our society reflect the emptiness of our faith."

Leaving faith to the Dean for a moment, and getting back to Lyndon Johnson, I can't help feeling the President is getting a good deal less than he deserves.

Elect a Kennedy, and hatred contorts the national face. He's divisive, people say. Him and his woolly headed ideals. What this country needs, they'll tell you, is a hard-headed politician, which is to say a shrewd fellow who will soft-soap their sensitivities.

So they got one in Johnson. And ever since they've been asking uneasily, where are his ethics; what are his ideals?

* * *

People insist that a politician be what he is—a glad-hander who's for everybody—and then they turn in a pack and chew his ankle for being what they made him be. They look back down the Johnson record to find wheelings and dealings and arm-squeezings they can dislike, and then they seem to feel better.

President Johnson is a politician, all right. He can not only squeeze arms, but break them. He doesn't preach. He doesn't try the impossible. What he tries, he accomplishes. He plays to win and he does. He leaves the moralizing to more eloquent men; he wants results. For this he is respected and a little feared, but not loved. Being a politician, he'll settle for that.

But shouldn't somebody, one of these days, take fair note of the fact that this man practically governed America with his Senate majority under one President, and after being catapulted into the presidency himself, put on one of the most effective and sustained exhibitions of able leadership in the history of the republic?

PYE RE-ELECTED IN SQUEAKER HERE

9-24-64.

By TOM GREENE

Judge Durwood T. Pye has been re-elected to his Fulton Superior Court post for a second eight - year term in a close race.

Judge Pye

In official returns from Wednesday's Democratic primary runoff, Judge Pye received 45,684 votes to 43,619 for Atlanta attorney Paul Webb Jr.

The vote total was heavy for a runoff. Election officials say that about 60 per cent of those who vote in a primary normally come back out for a runoff. About 84 per cent turned out for Wednesday's vote.

Actually, more voters cast ballots in the Wednesday runoff than had voted in the Superior Court judge's race in the primary—89,120 to 88,058. In the Sept. 9 primary, Judge Pye received 40,491 votes against 26,363 for Mr. Webb and 21,119 for Negro attorney Donald Hollowell.

About 55 per cent of the registered Negro voters cast ballots Wednesday, an increase of about 2,400 over Sept. 9, and an indicated 38 per cent of the registered white voters turned out Wednesday, also an increase.

AS EXPECTED, Mr. Webb took almost 100 per cent of the Negro vote, but Judge Pye carried the white boxes heavily.

In the Fulton County precincts outside Atlanta, Judge Pye ran more than four to one over Mr. Webb.

Because Judge Pye is considered a segregationist and Mr. Webb a moderate on the race question, and because the judge became involved in the trial of defendants in sit-in cases, the campaign naturally turned on the race issue—a development which Mr. Webb said he regretted.

JUDGE PYE, after ordering about 100 sit-in cases to be heard by the grand jury and brought before him for trial,

Turn to Page 12, Column 1

★★

Precinct Tabulation In Webb-Pye Race

Listed below is the precinct vote in the Fulton Superior Court runoff between Judge Durwood Pye and Paul Webb Junior.

ATLANTA

Precinct	Pye	Webb
1-A	110	136
1-B	253	360
1-C	41	1,278
1-D	520	51
1-E	150	410
1-F	104	341
1-G	611	74
1-H	277	617
3-A	15	376
3-B	24	2,096
3-C	307	1,170
3-D	178	40
3-E	36	2,678
3-F	226	94
3-G	126	42
3-H	14	1,686
3-I	189	51
3-J	421	307
3-K	9	1,138
3-L	268	2,009
3-M	411	207
3-N	13	1,046
4-A	709	94
4-B	317	695
4-C	1,608	316
4-D	764	86
4-E	641	137
4-F	288	67
4-G	741	118
4-H	681	346
4-I	35	2,057
4-J	406	248
5-A	452	183
5-B	479	87
5-C	781	398
5-D	1,196	735
5-E	332	188
5-F	914	381
5-G	336	182
5-H	796	194
5-I	218	163
6-A	1,061	36[illegible]
6-B	734	[illegible]
6-C	306	17[illegible]
6-D	250	41
6-E	777	237
6-F	821	531
6-H	10	1,426
6-I	18	2,005
7-A	30	2,660
7-B	138	2,222
7-C	1,561	246
7-D	12	1,872
7-E	574	1,121
7-F	1,221	138
7-G	515	178
7-H	1,456	266
7-I	1,184	231
8-A	1,060	615
8-B	1,250	530
8-C	1,048	802
8-D	1,318	636

FULTON

Precinct	Pye	Webb
Alpharetta	424	87
Big Creek	60	16
Buckhead	852	384
Campbellton	47	7
College Park	1,440	506
Double Branch	119	20
East Point	5,275	1,209
Fairburn	521	183
Goodes	58	20
Grogans	121	20
Hapeville	1,307	181
Little River	127	21
Newton	56	12
Oak Grove	1,425	632
Old First	43	14
Old Ninth	208	22
Palmetto	137	65
Red Oak	485	82
Rivertown	28	22
Roswell	476	163
Sandtown	274	43
Union	75	6
Union City	193	88
Utoy Springs	145	98
Obsentee	447	196
TOTAL	45,684	43,436

PYE WINS CLOSE RACE

Continued From Page 1

presided at the trials in which three white persons were convicted. He sentenced them to the maximum penalties for the misdemeanor convictions.

Defense attorneys, including Mr. Hollowell, managed to have the remainder of the cases moved at least temporarily from his jurisdiction by filing petitions in federal court for trial there. The outcome of that move is pending a hearing in the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals scheduled for next month.

Judge Pye, in charges to Fulton grand juries, also has criticized integration of the races.

Mr. Webb accused the judge of "intemperate" administration of justice and of imposing harsh sentences and heavy appeal bonds.

But Mr. Webb said late Wednesday night that he was "disappointed" that emphasis on the race issue "was injected into the campaign by others."

However, he said he is confident that all citizens will not let the campaign "drive a divisive wedge between the races."

Judge Pye did little campaigning himself, other than talking to civic clubs and sending out direct-mail advertising. In his talks, he emphasized the importance of private property rights and his literature cited his record as a judge. He did not make television or radio speeches or attend campaign rallies.

BUT MANY attorneys and individuals bought newspaper and television space to boost his campaign. Attorney Houston White, in a series of newspaper ads, urged white voters to vote for Judge Pye and cited his Negro opposition and his record in "civil rights" cases.

Mr. Webb, himself a political newcomer but the son of a former Fulton solicitor general and brother of a Criminal Court judge, advertised heavily and several attorneys, including Newell Edenfield, came out strongly for him.

IN HIS COMPLETE statement, dictated about midnight Wednesday, Mr. Webb said:

"The votes have been counted and Judge Pye has been reelected by a very narrow margin of 2 per cent (51 per cent to 49 per cent). I would like to thank the thousands of my supporters who stood with me for the principle on which we ran our race and who voted for me.

"When we entered this race, we announced that we were campaigning on a platform of enforcement of the law firmly but fairly and impartially and for a more effective administration of this division of Fulton Superior Court. In our opinion, the question of race was not involved and we pledged to do nothing to inject this issue into the campaign, and feel that we did not."

MONDAY

19

OCT. 1964

OCTOBER						
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4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Political Science

Cash
Mind of the South 1941

Drake & Clayton, Black Metropolis
Harcourt, Brace, 1945

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Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

Negro Politics

see letter to Emory Via
6-15-64

Memo

from **ED ALLBRIGHT**

Sen. Negro / White Politics

Journal of Politics

Feb. 1964

Vol. 26, #1

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Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Pd.

Re: Negro Strategy

Commentary Feb. 1964

David Danzig, "The Meaning of Negro Strategy"

10¢ each

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NY, NY. 10022

CONFIDENTIAL DRAFT

This is the report of a conference on problems of Congressional civil rights legislation held at the Notre Dame University Law School February 8 - 10, 1963. By pleasurable coincidence, as the report was completed Congress had already before it a civil rights bill backed by unusually strong Presidential support.

This circumstance has had, of course, its difficult side for the preparers of this report, the least of which has been revising an earlier draft in order to take account of the Administration's measure. In fact, most of the provisions of the President's proposal (except Title II) were debated, at least in general terms, by the conference, and a consensus reached about them.

A more basic difficulty will be apparent when we note that the working premise of the Notre Dame Conference, as laid down by Dean Joseph O'Meara in our first session, was that we should frame recommendations without regard to anyone's views of their political chances. This is, therefore, a report of the consensus we reached as to what Congress should pass, not as to what it possibly or probably might pass.

We continue to believe that this was a sound approach. We do, of course, recognize that the legislative decision this year will be made on the Administration's bill. Perhaps, nevertheless, what is reported here will be helpful to Congress as it deliberates, and will help the country

understand better the problems and the results which may be expected from various legislative approaches to them.

The conference was limited to three subjects: schools, employment, and voting. We have, therefore, no recommendations or reflections to report on the public accommodations part of the President's program (Title II).

This report states the consensus of the conference. The extent of agreement was impressive, and except at a few points the consensus was well-nigh perfect. This was all the more notable, because many differing views had been brought to the meetings.

The conferees, in addition to Dean O'Meara, were Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Harold C. Fleming, The Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, Economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, Attorney, Washington, D. C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; John H. Wheeler, Attorney, Durham, North Carolina.

We had also the benefit of consultation with President Hesburgh, and the gracious, friendly hospitality of the Notre Dame campus.

INTRODUCTION

The crisis of America's race relations has become almost unbearably intense, and its causes are interlaced with countless characteristics of our history and our social structure. These are propositions for which any elaboration, at this time, would be redundant.

The present crisis is not the first in our history. Crises in race relations, as in the other relationships of men with men, are not necessarily caused by worsened conditions; the opposite may in fact be so. But as long as the relationships enclose and nurture discontent on one or both sides, periodic crises will occur. The present crisis is far less brutal and violent than that of 1917 - 1921. It has probably been accompanied by no deeper or more widespread moral self-scrutiny, religious debate, or intellectual and literary study than went with the racial crisis of Civil War days.

Those crises passed, and after each the condition of Negro Americans was still bad. What is primarily different about the present crisis is that it is not likely to pass, until a new equilibrium acceptable to Negroes is reached. Earlier crises ended when white people tired of them; this one will not.

The pressure of this fact, or perhaps the realization of it, has much to do with creating the contemporary emotional urgings of both Negroes and whites, the all too facile bandying about of such concepts as "hatred" and "revolution," and the obsessive over-valuation of the strength

of the Black Muslims. On the other hand, prudence, if nothing else, dictates the working assumption that no person has reason to have an attachment to a constitutional system if its processes fail to provide meaning and reality to its guarantees.

If Congress had no other reason to act to end the crisis, this would be sufficient: unless the crisis is overcome, the Constitution as we know it will bend. Concepts such as federalism, and universal obedience to the courts, and Presidential deference to the legislative will of Congress, have already been affected. There are reasons at least as good, and some of us will think even better, for Congressional action: these have to do with justice and friendship and religion. But Congress has a special responsibility to defend and protect the Constitution.

There is a truth know to political wisdom at least as long ago as Aristotle, and that is that a healthy, sound polity cannot tolerate distinctions of citizenship. To perpetuate, by law or by fact, classes of citizens is to breed an unendurable and enlarging malignancy in our national life. As Attorney-General Kennedy has said, to "thwart thousands of our fellow Americans from participating fully in the process of our government is to weaken [civic] vigor and to dilute their faith, and we cannot afford it."*

*As quoted in the New York Times, May 6, 1962.

A second landmark in 1949

Race relations have always been heavily dependent on law and public policy. Custom and law have mutually bred and supported each other. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has summarized the history of one segment of the public policy toward Negroes; viz. the policy of the national government through its three branches.* A reading of this summary is instructive. It can suggest to us something of the dimensions of Negro alienation -- a coerced, not a voluntary, alientation -- from the mainstream of American life and thought. For example, a Negro can hardly look back on Woodrow Wilson with the warmth shared now by most white Americans. Moreover, even a brief exposure to history will show how often and how seriously Negro interests not only have been subordinated by Congress, President, and courts to other interests but have been damaged by their pursuit.

The classic example is, of course, the compromise of 1877. There may well have been a national interest in the removal of troops from the South; the interest of Negroes was opposed. But more frequent occasions for national policies prejudicial, at least in some ways, to the interests of Negroes have come with the modern growth of the federal government. New Deal legislation had the effect of institutionalizing and hardening segregation in some fields, such

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*Freedom to the Free, pp. 30-199.

as housing; of creating new and profitable inducements to discriminate in other fields, such as agricultural subsidies.

The explosion of social consciousness that took place under President Roosevelt, the elan with which the country tested its democratic faith, have been a positive and equally strong legacy of the New Deal. Mr. Roosevelt was the first President since Grant to give Negro citizens any sound reason for trusting the national government and for believing that it had a concern for their welfare. The war-time FEPC, the establishment of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, and its diligent combat of lynching, were other Rooseveltian services.

The truly decisive turn in federal policy came, however, during the administration of President Truman. There were three developments ~~which~~ we sorely need to recall and understand, because they helped greatly to produce as well as define present issues.

The integration of the Army during the Korean War was the first large experience with integration the American people, white or Negro, had ever known. It was accomplished by executive fiat and it worked in a practical way: both of these points were better observed by Negroes than by whites.

The Truman Doctrine preempted for the United States the active leadership of the West and thrust us into world-wide competition with the Soviet Union. Henceforth, our

(17)

polity would be under international inspection, and our own diplomacy would be increasingly needful of the good opinion of foreign peoples, many of whom were humanly eager to denigrate us because of our political pre-eminence.

But perhaps most decisive of all was appointment in 1947 of the

His successors have coped with the results of that self-examination. During President Eisenhower's terms, the first civil rights legislation since 1875 was enacted, in 1957, and strengthened three years later. His military intervention in Arkansas, although inexpediently carried out, manifested the determination and the capability of the Presidency. His Department of Justice began successfully the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and in New Orleans in 1960 developed the pattern which has been followed since of defense of the integrity of the federal courts.

President Kennedy has achieved much, very much, by an extensive and imaginative use of executive power. He has also lifted his Administration to a new and higher commitment to civil rights, a magnificent and unsurpassed achievement.

But such heavy reliance on executive action has not only its limits but its very real danger. Entirely apart from any question of the overstepping of authority, there is the risk of obliterating the responsibility of Congress. Prompt and well-conceived Congressional action in response to Mr. Kennedy's

message of June 19, 1963 will re-commit the country to justice, strengthen its economic well-being, and restore its honor: it will also secure the Constitution.*

Political science distinghishes between the "deliberative" and the "representative" functions of a legislature. Congress is our representative body, and there is no other which can so express and certify the national will. As long as Congress is silent, civil rights has something of a bootleg aspect. Congress has not been altogether silent. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 and the poll tax amendment are of value, but at the most they give protection, and a laggard one at that, for but one right. What the country urgently needs, and what American constitutionalism is weakened by the absence of, is an unambiguous registering of the national will in behalf of racial justice, as only Congress in its representative role can do.

The subsequent pages of this paper are hopefully intended to help Congress in its deliberative role; i.e., in defining and framing its policies. In this field of civil rights, and at this time, Congress by deliberating and enacting will also be representing, supplying the will and the resolution that can put the crisis behind us.

The times require, in other words, not only that Congress act wisely, but that it act -- and act with dispatch, and without ambiguity or timidity. But if in its drive to represent the national will, Congress does not act wisely,

*The President's legislative proposals were introduced as S.1731, by Senator Mansfield on June 19, 1963, and as H.R. 7152 by Representative Celler on June 20.

the outcome could be bitter. Congress passed voting laws in 1957 and 1960 which were not fashioned to achieve their goals, and have not done so. Their failure has contributed to the present crisis, because those laws brought disillusion on top of high hopes.

In order to act effectively, Congress should be guided by certain principles that include the following:

(1) Congress should legislate not for the appeasement of crisis, but for the solution of it.

(2) Administrative actions, when appropriate and Constitutional, are more effective and less piecemeal than judicial remedies.

(3) Where possible and suitable, it is good federal practice to draw support from state and local governments in the administration of federal programs.

(4) In some problem areas, the national interest is best served by local solutions. In such problem areas, Congressional action is not appropriate when there is a realistic prospect of a prompt solution at the local level.

EQUAL RIGHTS TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

The first point above is especially pertinent in 1963. Congressional action at this time ought to begin with schools.

We say this with all the emphasis we can.

There are at least five reasons for this priority.

First, nine years have now passed since Brown v. Topeka declared a Constitutional right of all American children, a right still wantonly flouted or ignored. In support of it, and in the face of overt defiance, the Presidency was until the Fall of 1957 indecisive and since has been inadequately empowered. Congress has done nothing.

The decision was responded to by eleven southern states with outright defiance unprecedented in the world annals of federal government, and at times near rebellion. In a sense, it is a sign of the basic strength of American society that defiance so intense and widespread was able to be contained without rupture of national bonds. The federal courts and the Presidency, aided by enlightened opinion in the South, have by now decisively weakened the political resistance. Nevertheless, through evasion or inaction, more than two-thirds of the bi-racial school districts of the eleven southern states have as yet made no start toward school desegregation; 99% of the Negro children of these states are still in segregated schools; and in three states -- Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina -- not even a token start has yet been made.

The Supreme Court's decision of 1954 was received by Negro citizens as a promise and as an earnest of a new life for them in our common country. A very large cause of the current crisis is the disappointment which followed. Our

high court had spoken -- and was not obeyed. The good will of our people had been invoked -- and did not respond.

There is, therefore, a symbolic importance to the schools issue which none other has. In no other area can Congress so clearly

GO ON TO PAGE 11.

and unambiguously represent and register a national decision in affirmation of equality. Furthermore, if Congress were to act in another area, and did not in this one, recalcitrant school districts would have reason to believe that Congress does not disapprove of their policies.

Second, education has an intrinsic value, both for the individual and for the nation, of unsurpassed importance.

Third, education is basic to the durable achievement of other civil rights. It affects employment opportunities and voting eligibility and the intelligent use of the ballot. It affects housing patterns (and is affected by them). It determines and will determine the quality and the temper of Negro communal leadership.

Fourth, there should be no hesitation in saying that our needs go beyond civil rights, and that a better integrated society is a social, political, and moral imperative. The American people need to live more happily with each other. Our public schools weave the web of society as no other institution does.

Fifth, school integration brings forth the hard, but basically important, issues. (The extension of employment opportunities does also.) To desegregate transportation, or restaurants and hotels, or professional associations requires little more than a decision to stop doing one thing and do another. These decisions are socially and morally necessary, but the Negro and white people of this country would both delude themselves if they expected these decisions to go far toward solving our racial

inequities. To solve them, or even to begin to do so, the country must see clearly and face the gigantic problems of our disadvantaged people. Whenever school desegregation in a community gets beyond token dimensions, that community will unavoidably confront the cultural wrongs it itself has created, and will, we think, be brought to an awareness that something must be done about them.

To summarize then, school legislation deserves priority because of its symbolic value, because of the intrinsic cultural importance of education, because education is basic to the achievement of other civil rights, and because the integration of schools has profound and beneficial social consequences.

The bill first introduced by Senator Clark and Representative Celler in 1961* sought to achieve these objectives. It has provided the leading ideas which have guided discussions since 1961, and which the conferees at the Notre Dame Law School believed basically sound. In important respects, however, we did differ from Clark-Celler.

The principal features of the Clark-Celler approach are (1) the requirement of a desegregation plan by those school districts which use race as an assignment criterion; (2) the filing

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*S. 1817, 87th Cong., 1st session.

of the plan with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who is empowered to grant financial and technical assistance to aid in carrying out the plans, if he determines that the plans are legally satisfactory; similar assistance would be available to certain other districts; (3) a requirement of "at least first-step compliance" immediately; and (4) power for the Attorney-General to bring suits in federal district courts to compel compliance.

We believe that Congress should prepare an enactment which would embrace the following purposes:

(1) A start must be effected, with provision for federal enforcement, in the more than 2000 bi-racial school districts that have made no beginning.

(2) The completion of the desegregation process should be facilitated, in accordance with sound educational precepts.

(3) Neither federal legislation nor administration should impede the initiation of suits by private plaintiffs in federal courts, or prejudice the outcome of their suits.

(4) Nor should the federal role inhibit the reaching of local desegregation solutions by local consensus.

Of the above purposes, Nos. 3 and 4 have definite implications for northern school desegregation. Congress cannot

at this time, however, wisely legislate to meet directly the northern questions, and should not, therefore, try. Constitutional rights and principles have not yet been sufficiently clarified by adjudication, and professional controversy still somewhat obscures the educational merits of various solutions. Moreover, there is no reason at this date to suppose that local solutions cannot be satisfactorily and readily attained. (See principle no 4, page 8 above.)

Congress should candidly legislate for the southern problem, and the premier objective should be to effect starts. To this end, Congress should impose an affirmative duty on every public school board to operate the schools under its jurisdiction on a non-racial basis. To assure this, formally recorded desegregation plans should be required of every bi-racial district, not already under court order, where initial assignment of school children is by race, or where, regardless of assignment policies, no Negro and white children are in fact in school together. The plan should be a document of public record. Its recording should be completed shortly after enactment, and certainly in not more than 60 days; more time is not required: there is nothing arcane about

desegregation planning, and there exists an abundance of experience to consult.

The effect of this would be a Congressional finding and declaration that "all deliberate speed" means "now."* No defendant in a school desegregation case could henceforth plead time.

No purpose would be obviously served by requiring that the plans be filed with any office in Washington. There are good reasons why they should not be. Unless the federal office were to review and evaluate them, there would be no need for it to be custodian. Administrative review would be unfortunate. It could have no effect other than either the abrupt or the gradual and subtle permeation of bureaucratic thinking and influence into the desegregation process. What pleased the Secretary of HEW would tend to please a federal judge, and the rights of a Negro plaintiff to seek redress in a federal court would become progressively, and merely, formal. His remedy would be through his Washington lobbyist, not through his local lawyer.

The Attorney-General must be empowered to intervene in pending litigation, and, more importantly, to bring suit in the name of the United States to effect prompt desegregation starts, through civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction against school boards depriving or threatening to deprive individuals of their equal protection rights. The affirmative duty should be defined in the

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*cf The Supreme Court's gloss in Watson v. Memphis, decided May 27, 1963.

statute in such a way as to preserve in full the freedom of action of private plaintiffs:* and to give at least tacit Congressional recognition to the impossibility of the Attorney-General filing suits in as many as 2,000 districts (in the unhappy and unlikely chance that would be indicated), and the consequent desirability of his bringing suit in the most strongly resistant areas.**

The Attorney-General should proceed on his own investigation, as he does in voting violations under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.*** He should not have to await on complaints; the privilege of private counsel for private complainants should be fully preserved and should suffice. Congress has a specific Constitutional mandate to enforce the terms of the 14th Amendment;**** by a statute such as is recommended here it would do so by affirming the duty of school boards to operate non-racial systems; the Attorney-General can and should, consequently, be made responsible to combat violations which he discovers. We need to remember that Brown v. Topeka is not a limitation on the power of Congress; the Supreme Court proscribed denial of an individual right. This does not inhibit Congress from going beyond to a general protection of the right.

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*cf Sec. 310 of S. 1731. cf. also Sec. 1602 of S. 272, 88th Cong., 1st session, introduced by Senator Clark.

**cf. the formula "materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public education." S. 1731, sec. 307 a2.

***P. L. 85-315, sec. 131 (c) cf. also Sec. 108 of S. 1209 (88th Cong., 1st session), introduced by Senator Kuchel and others, which would confer on the Attorney-General the power and the duty in school cases recommended here. The approach of S. 1209 to this problem is, therefore, much to be preferred over that of the Administration's bill.

****14th Amendment, Sec. 5.

The simple, yet conclusive, reasons for placing this responsibility on the Attorney-General are to expedite the desegregation process, bring to bear national authority, and relieve Negro plaintiffs, organizations, and lawyers of some of their heavy psychological and financial burdens.

To do an effective job, the already over-strained staff of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice will have to be strengthened. The present Administration has considerably enlarged that staff and its function since January 1961, but has done so in part by using personnel from other Divisions. The Administration should ask Congress for the money needed to staff adequately the Civil Rights Division, and Congress should provide it.

The right of private plaintiffs to bring suit should not, we repeat, be impaired or diluted by new statutory authority for the Attorney-General. The law of school desegregation is evolving through the courts, and in terms of individual rights, not public policies. Whether the nation would have been better off had it a decade ago approached the issue differently, through statutes rather than decrees, is an interesting but now practically irrelevant question. It did not, and now is too late for constructive change. The atmosphere for freely litigating and adjudicating individual claims to rights should be carefully preserved. There are still many unanswered 14th Amendment questions, particularly in connection with northern desegregation but also in the South. Hard and fast rules are, of course,

impossible but we would suggest that the Attorney-General plan his cases to spread and consolidate judicial interpreations already secured, and that the definition of new legal concepts to be sought be left to private plaintiffs and their attorneys.

The authority and the duty to bring suits in behalf of the United States is indispensable and already far too long withheld. Yet the Congressional requirement of "plans" is, if anything, even more worthwhile. It would put a positive duty on local people, and the country badly needs to begin thinking of school desegregation in those terms. While we believe that the Supreme Court in Cooper v. Aaron* in 1958 did affirm this duty, nobody speaks the national will as does Congress. There are persuasive grounds also for believing that such a mandate from Congress would be obeyed in a great many school districts, and that much litigation could thereby be avoided.

To give further impetus to the integration process, the federal government should offer, on application to the Secretary of HEW, financial assistance to school districts making their first starts, or to districts, whether of the South or the North, revising their systems in the direction of more integration.

Assistance should be limited to specific projects proposed by the local school administrators, and should be strictly limited to projects facilitating the desegregation process. Examples

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*358 US. at 16 - 19.

might include programs of teacher preparation, special tuition for Negro students to help overcome the academic handicaps of their inferior schooling, and special training for Negro teachers to help overcome the academic shortcomings of their training. The assistance, which could be either by grant, loan, or both, should be based by the Secretary on a finding that the project as described and planned by the local administrators would make a substantial contribution to the success of desegregation.

The Secretary should be instructed by the statute to adopt as his criterion of "desegregation" a unified school system. Only those projects should qualify which look toward, and are integral parts of a plan toward the full integration of faculties, administrators, and facilities, and the initial assignment of all students without regard to race; and which envision this accomplishment within a reasonably short period.*

Other forms of federal assistance, not reasonably connected to such technical projects as are mentioned above, should not be offered by Congress. So-called "compensatory" aid has sometimes been proposed, even to the inclusion of construction costs. We think there is a moral flaw in such proposals, and that they also rest on an unproven, and we suspect unprovable, premise; viz.

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*Although otherwise the technical assistance provisions (Sections 301-306) of the Administration's bill seem to us soundly planned, they do rest on a definition of "desegregation" (Sec. 301b) which may well be soon obsolete. There are cases pending, some for a long while, which go beyond the bill's definition as "assignment----without regard to--- race." Several northern cases seek, in effect, a finding that the 14th Amendment right is a right to attend a bi-racial school. But there are also cases in the South which go further than the assignment question and which argue that the 14th Amendment confers a right to attend a school system which is organized and administered, throughout , without regard to race.

that integrated schools exceed the cost of "separate, but equal" schools.* Furthermore, school desegregation law should not be a means of importing federal aid-to-education through the legislative back door for some school districts only. Construction can be adroitly used to freeze or even to reverse the process of desegregation and this is a second reason for not allowing federal cost assistance.

Several bills before the 88th Congress, including the Administration bill, would extend and broaden the functions of the Commission on Civil Rights, and would direct it to become a clearing house for information and a supplier of technical advice and assistance to those responsible for school desegregation (and other civil rights matters). As stated in S. 1117 and H. R. 5456, the CCR would

> serve as a national clearing house for information, and provide advice and technical assistance to Government agencies, communities, industries, organizations or individuals in ... the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, transportation, and the administration of justice.

We think there is much merit in the proposal, though as pertains to education the respective roles of the Commission and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be carfully distinguished.

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*There might be a case for compensation had the South in fact provided equal schools. The logic would be that southern states had acted on the understanding that Plessy v. Ferguson was the law of the land, and therefore merited assistance when the Constitutional issue was settled to the contrary in 1954. Whatever the force of this argument, it is lost both by the failure to provide equality between 1896 and 1954, and by non-compliance after 1954.

Finally, Congress should, of course, repeal that section of the Morrill Act* which countenances segregated land grant colleges. The provision is anachronistic, and we believe of no legal standing or force now; consequently, we think the Administration has been lax by its continued observance of it. Congress should, nevertheless, remove this stain.

There has been much discussion of the general question of withholding of federal funds from programs which directly or indirectly support segregated schooling. We have a strong sympathy with the demand voiced by Negro and other civil rights organizations that federal money not go to strengthen segregated institutions. We think, nevertheless, that when Congress has enacted an adequate school desegregation bill there will be ample power to effect early desegregation everywhere. Congress has plentiful resources without resort to sanctions that weaken programs judged to be in the national interest.

Moreover, probably the largest federal investment in education is represented by the vast federal research programs. In these various programs, Congress has imposed no dictates on the President or his subordinates as to choice of recipient. It is and has been the executive which often chooses to spend funds at segregated institutions, and it is the executive who has the responsibility to stop doing so.

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*And should do likewise with similar provisions of law in other fields, such as the Hill-Burton Act. These goals would be realized by Section 601 of the Administration bill.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS

Private property rights have historically included an employer's right to select his employees. Even with complete legal freedom, however, employers have been strongly influenced in their hiring policies by the pressures of popular opinion and custom, and by the prejudices (or supposed prejudices) of customers and other employees. Such restrictions on the employer's freedom to hire as he pleases do not need to be organized in order to be effective. In contrast, members of minority groups can exert influence on the employer only by organizing (e.g., a boycott) or with the assistance of law.

Federal law has for some years restricted the employer's freedom to discriminate against union members, to hire children, to employ women on prejudicial terms, and to pay sub-standard wages or to work over-long hours.

With this history, there is no obvious reason why the question of the rights of private property should again be debated. It would seem that unless one were prepared to argue for the repeal of these other restrictions on the employer's freedom, he could not legitimately contend for a right to discriminate on racial or creedal grounds.

On the other hand, racial and creedal discrimination does in a unique way involve the prejudices not only of the employer himself but of his customers and other employees. Very probably, both the extent and the durability of this prejudice are exaggerated.

But regardless, when the employer's prejudice is reinforced by that of customers and fellow-workers, the economic situation of the minority group member is especially hopeless, and especially deserving of legal protection. A democratic government has no higher task than the protection of the weak.

The government of our democracy has indeed impelling reasons to combat employment discrimination. These may be summed up under the three heads of developing talents and skills, enlarging national purchasing power, and the continuing obligation of America to build an open, fluid society.

There is little need to dwell here on economics. The drastic and rapidly recurring transition in technology and in distribution methods, the imperative of an expanding market in order to sustain economic growth, the pressures of population, and the steady obliteration of regional economies all point to an inexorable need that people be equipped with marketable skills and talents and that they be enabled to earn well in order to buy well. Our national self-interest coincides with Negro aspirations for employment opportunities.

A sound democracy must be a society open to talents. In simpler days, of industrial adolescence, abundant land, and scarce people, government had only to leave alone in order for talents to flourish (Please go to page 21)

and find their levels. Modern government has to hold back and clear away the weeds and the clutter of a matured and complicated society that choke some of our people from the chance to develop themselves. Job discrimination is a particularly obnoxious growth, and one which is practically insuperable through individual effort. And as Mr. Robert Weaver has said, "Discrimination in housing and public places and in education is degrading and insulting. But discrimination in employment robs a man of the daily bread for himself and his family."*

No one should suppose that an anti-discrimination law will in itself end the employment hardships of Negroes. It will not. We have an enormous problem of disadvantaged people, embracing perhaps a tenth or even more of our citizens who are under-educated, wrongly trained, and culturally distorted. These people, who are of all races, are poorly prepared to accept employment opportunities, and their rescue from inaptitude is a mammoth national task which nearly all governmental bodies have as yet combined in shirking. President Kennedy, in his message of June 19, 1963, coupled manpower training with civil rights. Congress should give unstinted consideration to this part of the message, and to the bills now before it to carry out the training program.**

Yet if non-discrimination is not a specific cure, discrimination has been a specific cause. It has to be removed, in schools, in employment, in housing, and at the polls, or else there can be no general progress in the well-being of our disadvantaged people, or their ability to add to the common good.

We can conveniently look at the employment question under several categories:

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* As quoted in the New York Times, June 5, 1963.

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1. federal employment;
2. employment in interstate and foreign commerce;
3. employment by federal contractors;
4. employment by state and local governments;
5. employment by state and local governments , and by private institutions, for work financed by federal funds.

(1) There is no need for Congress to legislate regarding discrimination in federal employment. The President has sufficient authority to set standards in the Civil Service, and he has the clear responsibility to prevent discrimination. President Kennedy has gone further, and the present Administration has conscientiously and vigorously made a special effort to recruit and place Negroes in non-traditional jobs, and to hire in larger numbers. Much progress has, accordingly, been made toward fairer representation, and toward enhancing the aspirations of Negroes by the visible evidence of real opportunities. The President has only persuasive authority over certain independent agencies, but that is usually enough; if he should find that it is not, he could report his difficulties to Congress. In federal employment, the responsibility is the President's, and Congress should not dilute it by presumptively acting.

(2) Acting under the commerce clause, Congress should ban discrimination by all businesses engaged in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce.* The law should contain a prohibition against discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin, and a complaint procedure available either to the complaining individual or an organization acting in his behalf and at his request. The prohibition should extend not only to discrimination in hiring, but also to discrimination in recruitment; promotion, demotion, or transfer;

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*See also below, page 30

layoff and dismissal; compensation, selection for training, including apprenticeship; membership in employee organizations; seniority rights; and access to all plant or office facilities.

The responsibility for administering the law should be vested in the Department of Labor. We think a commission-type administration (an "FEPC") would be inadvisable. The vogue for commissions is, happily, passing and there is growing awareness that while commissions are still a valuable instrument for quasi-judicial functions they are organically inept at administration. And above all, a fair employment law should be seen as involving administrative competence and vigor, and not as a framework for arbitrating grievances. Enforcement of fair employment should be worked into the regulatory procedures of Labor, just as is enforcement of wages and hours standards or other federally imposed standards on employers.

This means that the Department should not only act on complaints, but should by appropriate regulations establish suitable enforcement, inspection, and educational programs. Enforcement should include the power to order specific alterations of practice, and to issue clear and direct orders.

A complaint procedure is half meaningless unless it is, as it usually is not, expeditious. Congress should consult the experience of the various state anti-discrimination commissions now operating, as well as that of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. One suggestion that Congress might consider is a provision that all complaints be heard initially by authorized regional or district officials, or by specially assigned officials in case of over-crowded dockets; that a decision must be given within 30 days of filing of complaint; and that in the event of employer appeal against a decision, the individual should during the appeal period have the benefits of the examiner's finding.

We think there should be no elaborate appeals procedure, available either to the employer or the individual. Appeals should go directly from the examiner to an impartial appeals board, and its decision should be final, subject only to review by a federal Court of Appeals confined to questions of law and due process. A similar appeals procedure would suffice for contesting the orders of an inspector enforcing the Department's regulations.

In the Pioneer Bus Company case (140 NLRB, No. 18, 1963), the National Labor Relations Board ruled that where a bargaining representative executes a contract or contracts which discriminate racially,

the Board will not recognize such contract as a bar to another representation election. The Board went on to say that, although not at issue in the case and therefore not required, discriminatory contracts "warrant revocation of the certification." This development in the case-law of the Board should be watched with sympathetic interest.

An interesting question is the relationship of a federal fair employment program to the state programs now operative, with enforcement powers, in 19 states.* We think federal programs should not preempt satisfactory state programs, even for firms in interstate or foreign commerce, unless there is a clearcut administrative advantage. This should not be beyond the skill of legislative draftsmen to provide, nor should cooperative administration be beyond the ingenuity of federal and state officials. An approach to a like question is taken by the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, which expressly negates an inference of federal pre-emption in those situations where the federal agency has not assumed jurisdiction, and thereby permits parties to obtain relief under state law, ( ). /_Will Pollitt supply citation_/

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* Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin. Anti-discrimination laws, with little or no enforcement power, exist also in Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, and New Mexico. /_Will Feild and Norgren verify list._/

Washington has enough to do without doing a job that the states can do as well or better. It may well be that both employer and minority group member would prefer a state administration close at hand, to a remote and impersonal federal.

(3) Employment by federal contractors is a special case. Appropriately, federal contractors should, in virtue of their relationship to the government, make a special contribution to the national need to utilize and develop fully our manpower. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has diligently established a compliance system under Executive Order 10925 and, operating on the base of a statute applicable to all interstate commerce, the Committee could drop its policing functions and concentrate on the much discussed but rather nebulous "affirmative" requirements of the Executive Order. It could, in other words, demand from contractors, and aid them in effective, positive programs to bring minority group members into full participation in the national work force, on the premise that firms doing business with the government enter thereby into a partnership of national goals. Of the various techniques the Committee and, under its guidance, federal offices have already devised, we are especially impressed by the Defense Department's staff of Intergroup Relations Specialists, working in the field with contractors.

No separate legislation seems required, the President having clear enough authority through his procurement power. Certainly, however, the President should ask for and Congress should grant funds necessary for the Committee, instead of using funds, as at present, appropriated for other purposes; if a statutory foundation for the Committee would facilitate this, that legislation should pass.

Furthermore, by control of appropriations both for the Committee and -- more importantly -- for the statutory programs over all employment in interstate and foreign commerce, Congress would be in a position to terminate. This is as it should be. We should not suppose an everlasting need for anti-discrimination measures. It may be an enduring part of human psychology to pay as little as one can for as much as one can get, and therefore a wage and hour law will always be useful. But to believe that racial prejudice is similarly basic to human nature is morally self-defeating. Our conviction must be that once the discrimination barriers are broken, and minority members are equipped to hold their own, there will be in a free society neither the desire nor the possibility of re-erecting the old walls.

(4) Does employment discrimination by state or municipal bodies fall under the ban of the equal protection clause? The question has not been adjudicated but the trend of recent decisions is clearly in that direction, and would probably reach also the state or municipal contractor. The liberalizing effects of Baker v. Carr and its aftermath should, however be remembered. When state governments become structurally responsible to popular majorities, federalism would seem to indicate that their best regulation is by those same majorities.

Go to 30

(5) A quite different question is presented by state or local programs financed in whole or in substantial part by federal dollars. The temptation to discuss this issue at length is considerable, for some of the racially discriminatory uses of federal money are shocking, through a great variety of outlets including but unfortunately not limited to the National Guard, the U. S. Employment Service, Hill-Burton hospital construction, the several federal highways programs, the multitudinous federal farm offices, air terminals, and many others. But many words might serve only to obscure the simplicity of the matter. It ought to be axiomatic that wherever money from the common treasury goes within this country, the Constitution goes along. It is unthinkable that the use of federal money to favor some of us and disfavor others of us could be rationally defended. This is so clear that to many it is not at all clear that any legislation to this end seems needed: the President, it would seem, has no right to spend money which will yield racial discrimination. The hard job of enforcement would be made more feasible, however, by Congressional action. A prohibition on discrimination by state and local governments or their contractors or agents, on all projects financed in whole or in substantial part by the federal treasury, should be included in the proposed fair employment act,* and administered by the Department of Labor, with the added sanction of a funds cut-off to insure compliance.

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*See above, page 22. Sec. 601 of the Administration's bill could accomplish this end. The President's Executive Order _____ of June 22, 1963, also will help. /Will Feild or Taylor supply order number./

VOTING RIGHTS

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were addressed principally to voting rights. That these first civil rights acts in four generations were concerned with voting, evidences its centrality among our civic values as well as our civic shortcomings. The problem of voting rights has been long and familiarly before us, and has been thoroughly documented by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights;* further description here would be superfluous.

From the history of the last few years, some conclusions and inferences can be drawn, which we state seriatim:

(1) With the exception of a few pockets of discrimination against American Indians and Mexicans the denial of voting rights is a problem peculiar to certain areas in southern states and to their Negro residents. The problem is not even regional in scope: in extensive areas, and the most populous ones at that, Negroes today register and vote freely. Legislation of general application, such as the Administration's literacy bill of 1962,** would supersede state laws all over the country in order to reach abuses that are statewide in at most only two or three states, and which are virulent in parts of not more than three others.***

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*See Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959. Voting, 1961, U.S.C.C.R. Report. Hearings Before the U.S.C.C.R., Voting, 1959 (the Alabama hearings). Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina, U.S.C.C.R., 1962. See also: Civil Rights-1959, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Parts I-IV.

**The Senate rider to H. R. 1361, 87th Cong., 2d sess.

***At least two bills are before the 88th Cong.,1st sess. which would implement the 14th amendment by reducing the House representation of states depriving eligible persons of the franchise: S. 1644 introduced by Sen. McNamara; and H. R. 6801, introduced by Rep. Stratton. To the same end is Lampkin v. Hodges, filed May 28, 1963 before the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia.

(2) Voting discrimination and low Negro participation are not always equivalent. In the states of Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, where there are today only isolated and passing discriminatory practices, Negro participation is low but is remedial by education and organized effort; the same is true of large areas of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and scattered areas of the other three Deep South states. The evil of discrimination is confined, in other words, to certain communities of the Deep South where the Constitutional prohibition against voting discrimination is openly flouted and efforts to obtain or to exercise voting rights are met by acts of intimidation, harassment, and physical violence, sanctioned and sometimes even participated in by local authorities and law enforcement officers.* These are, and should nationally be regarded as, outlaw communities. Our federal system will be less seriously challenged by federal power brought to bear directly on these communities, than by federal laws which supersede state laws everywhere.

(3) This is not meant to preclude federal regulation of elections, or the establishment of federal standards when, in the judgment of Congress, they are necessary or desirable. There is, we think, outstanding merit in the bill introduced by Senator Hart at each Congress since 1959.** Senator Hart's bill authorizes the federal administration of registration and primary and general elections for U.S. Senators and Representatives in any district where a Congressional Election Commission "determines that unless such election is conducted by the Commission, persons having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the Congressional District is located are likely to be denied their right...to cast their votes and to have them fairly counted." On the sound premise that Congress has full authority under Article I, Sec. 4 of the Constitution to regulate elections of its own members, the proposed Commission would act solely

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*See Report of the Mississippi Advisory Committee, Report on Mississippi, January 1963, U.S.C.C.R.Report; VEP press release on 64 Mississippi atrocities.

**S.1281, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

at its discretion and without any recourse to the courts. It would, however, follow state law in registering eligible voters.

(4) The Hart bill goes to the key issue, as the Administration's 1962 literacy bill did not. The tool of discrimination is not the literacy laws of southern states, but their immoral and illegal administration, coupled with the physical intimidation and economic coercion of Negroes. Nor would the proposed sixth-grade literacy presumption of the Administration's 1963 voting bill* reach the extra-legal threat of violence or economic reprisal, and there is every prudent reason to suppose that communities which now illegally administer literacy requirements would resort to these extra-legal methods if their practices were set aside by a federal rule. Enactment of Sec. 101-b of the Administration bill (the sixth-grade presumption)would provide a salutary device, but we caution against overly-optimistic expectation of its value.

(5) In 1959 the Commission on Civil Rights proposed that federal registrars be appointed by the President in counties found by the President to practice discrimination.** Congress chose, instead, in the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to invoke the judicial process. Experience does not suggest that this was wise. Voter registration is, after all, a ministerial act. The courts's proper and necessary function is to protect individuals from illegal treatment

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*S. 1283, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

**Report of the U.S.C.C.R., 1959, p. 141.

by the functionnaires commissioned to register their names. To ask the courts to do more than this, to ask them -- as the Act of 1960 does -- to look into the complex whole of a county's or state's practices and ascertain what "pattern" exists, to ask them to supervise the registration of deprived persons or even to register them directly, all this is a heavy and unnatural load on the judicial process. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 were intended to facilitate Negro registration, but they were poorly designed for that purpose. It is sufficient to note that of the 39 voting cases filed under the Acts of 1957 and 1960, only 19 have reached decisions, and of the 29 cases filed since January 20, 1961, only 9 have been decided. /Will Taylor please verify last sentence/

We seriously question, therefore, whether Congressional effort should be expended on the further refining of a basically defective approach. The Administration's present effort to do so (Sec. 101c) seeks by extraordinarily, almost monstrously, complicated means to make judicial administration perform a ministerial service. The effort should be to get the voting question out of the courts, not more deeply into it.

(6) The Acts of 1957 and 1960, imperfect as they are, do provide legal means for federal suppression of the gorsser violations of the 14th and 15th Amendments. The Department of Justice has enforced them conscientiously and, with additional lawyers, could do yet more. (Amendment of the laws would be far less helpful than would appropriations making possible more attorneys in the Civil Rights

Division.) As previously said, voting discrimination occurs now, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the Constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant disregard of rights. To contain and disarm lawlessness, a clear federal presence is required at the first outbreaks. We think the Attorney-General has the power, in the face of determined lawlessness supported by an acquiescent or conspiratorial community, to send federal marshals and agents of the Bureau of Investigation for on-the-spot protection of the exercise of federal rights. Such marshals and federal agents should be deployed in accordance with principles normally governing in law enforcement, in numbers and with authority adequate to deal with all anticipated exigencies, including authority and directions to enforce compliance with federal law and to make arrests for violations.

Moreover, the Attorney-General may seek through the courts appropriate orders to prevent any parties from interfering with the registration or voting process.* We are,

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*The argument made above in paragraph 6 was stated earlier by the Notre Dame Law School Conference in a preliminary statement submitted to the President on February 12, 1963, and subsequently inserted by Senator Douglas in the Congressional Record for February 19, at pages_____. /Will Silard insert page numbers/ The statement urged a more extensive use of executive powers to cope with voting discrimination, and the employment of additional methods to expedite cases and to bring them to satisfactory results. The statement was documented at the request of his conferees by G. W. Foster, Jr., Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin, in a memorandum submitted to the Civil Rights Division on March 15, 1963.

therefore, glad to note that the Department of Justice in U. S. v. Greenwood, now pending before the federal district court of northern Mississippi, has taken the position that freedom of assembly in connection with voter registration is a right within the power of the Attorney-General to make secure.*

CONCLUSION

There is an urgent need for bringing Congress into explicit support of racial equality. Unless and until this is done, the national decision in favor of equality is clouded and imperfect. The voting legislation of 1957 and 1960 has not achieved this end, because it creates and punishes crimes, and thereby reaches only the issues of discriminatory application of state laws, or vicious interference with the exercise of the federal voting right. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 fall short of a Congressional affirmation of equality as an attribute of national and state citizenship.

For reasons which are now a part of history, but also for reasons of intrinsic value the first Congressional action should, pre-eminently, include a strong, well-designed

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*Senator Javits introduced a bill (S.1693) on June 11, 1963 which would give statutory authorization for injunctions to prevent deprivation of rights by officials or private persons in Albany or Birmingham-type situations that are not clearly related to voting rights. Comments by distinguished law professors regarding the constitutionality and need of the bill are printed in the Congressional Record for June 11 at pages 9970 - 9972.

school desegregation law. We propose that this have the following elements:

(a) "Desegregated schools" should be defined as those which accord each child the right to attend a non-racial school system.

(b) The primary aim of legislation, at this time, should be to effect starts in those bi-racial school districts of the South which have made no beginning.

(c) To this end, each school board having jurisdiction over such a district would be required to prepare and make public a desegregation plan.

(d) Further, the Attorney-General must be authorized to bring desegregation suits in the name of the United States, and to intervene in cases brought by private plaintiffs.

(e) And further, technical assistance from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to facilitate desegregation should be available to school districts, South and North, for projects specifically related to the desegregation process.

(f) The right of private plaintiffs, through counsel of their choosing, to bring desegregation suits should be carefully preserved.

The Notre Dame conference considered also the fields of employment and voting.

Congress has waited long to act in enforcement of the 14th Amendment. When it at last does so, it should direct its action toward fundamental causes of racial inequity. The President's proposals for manpower training go to this problem. But without effective legislation to ban job discrimination, they will not be enough. A fair employment law is required.

The law should be administered by the Department of Labor (not by a new commission), and should cover all phases of the employment process of firms engaged or affecting interstate and foreign commerce. The law should reach also employment, of all descriptions, carried on by state or local governments and by private institutions for work financed in whole or in part by federal funds.

We recommend further that, by several means, the law should rely on administrative regulations rather than quasi-judicial methods for enforcement. We think that this can be realized by incorporating the administration into the Department of Labor, and bringing the whole structure of the Department into responsibility for the work.

We propose that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity be continued, and that it press strongly to bring governmental contractors into partnership with the national government through affirmative actions that specially contribute to the development of job skills among Negroes and other minorities, and their full utilization.

In the third field -- voting discrimination -- the Notre Dame conference strongly believes that additional legislation is not a sufficient remedy.

The problem is neither nation-wide nor region-wide. The condition which requires federal attention is the lawlessness that exists in a relatively small number of outlaw communities of the Deep South.

This condition does not pose an issue of federalism. Federalism is a system of divided power among governments, and governments are instruments whose whole purpose is to establish an order of law. In these outlaw communities where citizenship rights are flagrantly destroyed, there is no law to respect.

We have here, in short, a problem of enforcement, and the President's power is adequate, strengthened by the Acts of 1957 and 1960, to create conditions which permit every citizen, freely and without fear, to register to vote, to cast his vote, and to have it honestly counted.

This is the centennial year of Emancipation. It is also the year when Negro patience with systematized social deprivation has finally broken. It is the year for Congress to act.

SOUTHERN RACIAL CONFLICT:
The Way Out

Social scientists who seek to explore ~~working in the field of~~ racial relations — or any cultural attitude — are better off taking ~~are better advised to take~~ their cue from the ~~methods of the~~ psychoanalyst, rather than from the botanist, or mathematician, or chemist. ~~A yet~~ Wiser yet are those who ~~method is to~~ put their disciplined research at the service of their own cultural and historical involvement. ~~in the world-wide crisis of racial conflict.~~ Social scientists do ~~will~~ not ~~discharge or~~ fulfill their responsibilities by collecting and classifying data, or by abstracting problems from the imprecisions of concrete reality, or by observing rigorously controlled experiments. They ~~will~~ succeed best in learning and teaching something ~~meaningful~~ about culture ~~race relations~~ if they allow the problem to describe itself, dredging it up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, immersed in the moving currents of our cultural values, attitudes, and aspirations. It is precisely because W. J. Cash, being an extraordinarily perceptive man though of no science at all, wrote always from the inside of his problem, always with the sense of complete identity with the outcome of his story, that The Mind of the South has become the sociological classic it undoubtedly is.

The old policy--of using Negroes for the maximum satisfaction of white leaders--found application in all the institutions and practices of southern society. In economic life, it led to the gradual definition of "Negro jobs" and white jobs, and from that evolved a myriad of principles governing the economic relations between individual members of the two races. In politics, policy

4. Reference is to the dominant leadership since about 1954; there are important divergencies in the leadership, which will be discussed below.

dictated that Negro voting and office holding should be suppressed. This continued to be the practice long after Reconstruction was ended, and represented more than a fear that Negroes might again challenge white control. For what happened was that southern politicians adapted themselves and the organizations which they led to a well-understood pattern of competition for votes and of distribution of the spoils of office. The pattern became familiar, something the politicians took for granted and planned their careers around. Were the Negroes to vote the pattern would change, new tactics and appeals would have to be learned--in short a whole new ~~ball~~ game with new rules for winning would be set up. ~~(This~~ has already become a reality in the municipal politics of Atlanta and several other southern cities.) Furthermore, the southern politician was able to enjoy for decades the greatest bliss of the politician, i. e. the freedom to evade issues. He had only to yell "nigger" more loudly than his opponent, and in the ensuing excitement his constituents forgot about taxes, schools, roads, foreign policy, and all the other concerns of government. As James McBride Dabbs has put it,

> The race issue is central to their [southern politicians] existence, for it keeps the South solid and they are the politicians of the Solid South. If it should be resolved, the political forces of the South would realign themselves with the political forces of the nation, eyes alert to economic and other interests. Low income groups, white and Negro, would tend to align themselves with similar groups elsewhere, high income groups do likewise. This would destroy the livelihood of the typical Southern politician. He would have to become nationally cognizant and intelligent, and he might starve before he could do so. ...He may have forgotten most of his race prejudice, but he knows very well, deep down, which side his political bread is buttered on. /5

5. The Southern Heritage, N.Y., 1958. pp. 115-116.

Finally, the policy of maximum satisfaction was applied to all social relations. This meant, in part, that Negroes were to be used as servants or attendants for the flattery of white esteem or the easing of white people's domestic labors. It meant that they were to serve as the objects of white charity and philanthropy, and that the whites would satisfy their moral urgings by "doing for" their Negroes. ~~(Parenthetically, let me state that I would not make this last comment to a lay audience.~~ The supply of human kindness is not so great that any of its manifestations can be rejected. I am not denying the reality or sincerity of the many fine and decent relationships which grew up between southern whites and Negroes. I am only saying what I think is true, that these relationships were 1) a source of satisfaction to the whites; 2) were not believed to threaten white social superiority.)

In the change of policy, from one of "maximum satisfaction" to one of struggle for continued control, the southern racial conflict establishes its kinship with those colonial areas of Africa and Asia, where old relationships of superior and inferior are in change. The causes of this epidemic upheaval are beyond the scope of this paper; it is worth noting, however, that there are certain secular trends common, in generalized terms, to the South and to those old colonial areas. The South's economy is becoming primarily industrial; a similar, though much less advanced, transfer of labor and capital to industry is occurring

in the underdeveloped countries.[6] There is, also, the same exposure to the communications media of the world's great cities.

This latter point has, however, a double-edge. Both the South and the underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia are burdened with a peculiarly treacherous distinction, which can be seen by contrasting their situation with that of the Latin-American nations. All of these areas are outside the center of communication, they are all "provincial," and they feel that to be the case to the extent that, though they may resent it, they do not dispute it. But at the same time, the South and the eastern hemisphere's underdeveloped regions are, unlike most of Latin-America, provinces in the glare of world attention. This is a difficult position: for a people to feel itself provincial induces attitudes of detachment and insularity; for that same people to know itself to be the butt of world concern induces responses which may range from childish attention-grabbing to excessive deference to outside opinion. To people in this ambiguous role, the most difficult of all alternatives is to act with un-selfconscious responsibility. But although this is as true of the South as anywhere, the South does differ from the African and Asian countries, in all of which there seem to

6. Perhaps a more accurate phrasing would be, that the South and the so-called underdeveloped countries are being integrated more closely into larger industrial systems. Too little reflection has been given to the endurance of the South's racial customs despite what is, after all, a relatively well-developed industrial economy; social practices which originated in an agricultural society managed for long to adapt to industrialization without much difficulty. If the South has only now reached a level of industrialism where the customs begin to crack, that fact might foretell a long life still for some of the mores of the underdeveloped nations.

be at least some elements who habitually defer to the makers of world opinion, in either their western or eastern capitals. So far as I have been able to observe, there are really no important segments of southern society, either white or Negro, who shape their actions by reference to what they think outside opinions would approve.[7]

In another, and more crucial, respect the South differs from the African-Asian group. What the difference means as to the prospects for smooth change of social conventions I am, frankly, not sure. In reference to world alignments, the political power of the African-Asian nations is increasing. In reference to alignments here in the United States, the political power of the South is decreasing. (There was, it may be recalled, a time prior to 1865 when the South had, or thought it had, independent power to act in world politics.)

These are, then, the props which dominate the stage on which the climax of the second period of southern racial conflict, which began in 1876, is now being acted out: steady industrial growth with concomitant shrinkage of the agricultural interest; rapid urbanization; sustained outside attention, in a world characterized by pervasive concern for other people's affairs; attentuated political influence in national politics.

7. cf. H. R. Isaacs, "World Affairs and U. S. Race Relations: A Note on Little Rock," Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1958.

Some of these stereotypes, and the way in which present-day Negroes react to them, can be generalized.

There is the stereotype of the violence-prone, lustful creature --the "rapist"--against whose attack all society must be on guard. No stereotype is more hated by middle-class Negroes. Confronted by high Negro crime rates, and finding no clear defense against the canard in the undeveloped condition of crime causation theory, they have little recourse. To assume a sort of community responsibility for the control of Negro crime would, although urged by some leaders,[8] run counter to other attitudes which, as will be remarked below, are prevalent among middle-class Negroes. For educated Negroes to accept a group guilt and responsibility for the race's crime and

8. See, e.g., B. E. Mays, "The Role of the 'Negro Community' in delinquency Prevention Among Negro Youth," The Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1959. See also the interesting article by C. T. Rowan, "Are Negroes Ready for Equality?", Saturday Evening Post, October 22, 1960. L. W. Jones contributed to the White House Conference on Children & Youth a perceptive and balanced paper on the environmental and ideological influences affecting sometimes adversely the behavior of young Negroes; see Eli Ginsberg, ed., The Nation's Children, Vol. 3. For a summary of the charges of racial criminality see the Senate speech of Senator Russell, Congressional Record, March 16, 1960, pp. 5301-5306.

PAGE (s) MISSING

delinquency would be an almost Christlike action--a taking-up of a cross imposed upon them by history--which is beyond the range of secular duties. Feeling this, the middle-class Negroes' usual reaction to imputation of the stereotype, when it cannot be shunned altogether, is an angry charge of malicious insult.

There are other stereotypes, almost as disliked. One is that of being an "ingrate," and this is met usually by reasoned denial. Another, which Professor Roy Carter found the most commonly occurring in the news reports of the desegregation controversy, is that of mental inferiority.[9] Here the Negro does have available not only the well-established conclusions of psychology and anthropology, but the record of Negro achievement to support his claim that there is no measurable racial difference in intelligence when social and economic factors are equated.

Still another stereotype was found by Professor Carter in a later study to be the most frequently offered in the press, North and South, during the months of September and October, 1956: it was that of the lazy, shiftless malingerer. But Carter found this to be also the stereotype most frequently invoked for purposes of denial in the press of both regions.[10]

9. R. E. Carter, Jr., "Segregation and the News: A Regional Content Study," Journalism Quarterly, Winter, 1957. Although Mr. Carter's sample of newspapers was tightly restricted, and his study confined to two months of 1955, the finding which is cited above seems to me, on the basis of a regular, wide, and often dreary reading of the southern press, completely correct.

10. R. E. Carter, Jr., "Segregation and the Daily Newspaper," a paper read before the American Association for Public Opinion Research, May, 1959.

PAGE (s) MISSING

A final stereotype is that of the starched and shiny churchgoer, a figure which can be made pathetically ludicrous when represented in the white man's conception as the Negro at his finest; as such, it becomes, especially for Negro intellectuals, a despised symbol, to be superseded by outright rejection if necessary.

The influence of white society on the outlook of American Negroes has been so overpowering that they have developed few values independently of it. Here and there are ideological or social deviations, but they are invariably minor and probably not long-lived. The continued, objective interest of Negro intellectuals in W. E. B. duBois is one of what certainly must be only few concrete examples of Negro freedom from prevailing intellectual standards, which by now have assigned duBois his (Communist) place and forgotten him as an individual thinker. There are likewise a few distinctive social practices and institutions, but they are not likely to endure. This is a pity: for example, the Negro scholar within the Negro community has a far more prestigious status than American society generally accords the scholar, and is able more naturally and healthily to impress his thoughts on community opinions. On the whole, Negroes have made no original contributions to American culture outside the realm of music; /14 they have made their contribution, and it is sizeable, by enlisting in the service of established values and institutions. As Dabbs has put it,

> ...the higher the class of a given [southern] Negro, the more he has felt the indignity of segregation, and the more he has deliberately kept himself separate from us, and therefore unknown by us. Yet, all the time, the more he has changed the more he has become like us. For again, whom else could he copy? And let us not run away from the word copy--: We are all imitators. It is thus that cultures largely develop. /15

14. Of course, if the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. can succeed in getting the genuine allegiance of a large number of Negroes to the idea of non-violence, and if the idea were to become deeply rooted so that it were transferred to other conflicts than the racial, that would be an original contribution of tremendous magnitude. For a statement of his views, see "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence," Christian Century, April 13, 1960.

15. Dabbs, op. cit., pp. 71-72

PAGE (s) MISSING

I cannot, therefore, believe that O. Mannoni spoke meaningfully about the American Negroes, whatever relevance his comment may have had to the Madagascar people whom he knows. In fact, I would suggest that only the insecurity which has driven contemporary theologians to delve in the language of the Existentialists could have produced the following remarks, however profound they may appear:

> Certainly it is first necessary that he [the Negro] be recognized as a man, but it is also necessary, almost with the same urgency, that he be recognized as a different man, as a Negro. This embarrasses us. We complain that now it is he who has prejudices; we accuse him of racism in reverse. ...
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> * * *
>
> The effort that the white American has had to make in order to give himself a good conscience, at the same time that he kept the Negroes "in their place," is certainly responsible for a part [L.W.D.'s note: true], perhaps a large part, of the present degradation of the white conscience in America. ...the white American has ceased to be the model of a naive supporter of slavery. On the contrary, he pleads his own cause with the greatest facility. He tends to become the model of a new kind of racist, far more disguised and more dangerous today. ...the furors of enraged southerners serve as an alibi for "good" whites who have invented this [sic.?] way of being charitably "racist." By themselves the Negroes are not a sufficient force to brake this [sic.?] inhuman development. But they are a kind of land-mark, to indicate the absurdity of it. It is from this viewpoint that it is necessary to understand the Negro as he takes stock of the situation. He does not take note of the fact that he is a Negro. That is something he is taught, and at the moment he learns it, it is an absurd fact, a factum which has no significance and which crushes him. As this enters his consciousness more deeply, there is the discovery, little by little, that it is possible to give this absurdity a meaning, and if this takes on meaning there are other "truths," much too prevalent up till now, which become absurd in their turn. That is what he wants to say when he advances to the white man, crying out to him in a brotherly attitude which is also a challenge: "I am a Negro." /16

16. O. Mannoni, "The Lament of the Negro," translated by J. E. Cunneen; from Cross Currents. It ought not to be necessary to point out that the quoted passage has no reference to Negro political solidarity in Harlem or elsewhere, which is not distinguishable from other manifestations of the same opportunistic spirit; e.g. the Irish vote in Boston.

Against this, set the more prosaic and more informed conclusions of an American scholar:

> ...the Negro intellectual finds that he feels a significant identity with the white middle class. He would like to live in a community that displays white middle-class standards. He would like to rear his children along the lines followed by this white middle class. He shares similar hopes and aspirations, and he feels himself superior to those further down the Negro and the white social scale. If he could, he would at the first opportunity trade his racial identity for class identity, and he does this to the extent that it is possible by observing class distinctions within the Negro community and by duplicating as far as is possible the patterns of the white middle class in his own behaviour. It is not some innate Negroness that governs his identification with the Negro community and with the Negro middle class, but the external facts of social structural situations. /17

17. Wilson Record, "Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community," The British Journal of Sociology, September, 1957, p. 250. But note also the following statement by D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro Race in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," American Journal of Psychiatry, July, 1957:

> The Negro in Virginia is far better off economically and legally than ever before but he is more closely segregated. He has lost the security of his own culture and is moving rapidly toward a middle class white culture. This period of uncertainty and close segregation parallels the increase in the rate of Negroes admitted to the state hospitals in Virginia for cerebro-arteriosclerosis, senile dementia, and especially for schizophrenia. Very few, if any, of the steps recommended by sociologists and cultural anthropologists, who are experts in culture change, have been carried out to protect the Negro or the white man as this change in relationship is brought about. It seems to us most reasonable to believe that the preponderance of mental disease in the Negro over the white man and its increase in ratio to Negro population in Virginia is due to segregation and to the period of uncertainty accompanying culture change.

If Negro Americans in general, and Negro southerners in particular, have not diverged from the center currents of American values, there is reason, nevertheless, to recognize that in these times they have perceived those values with unequalled clarity. The late Charles S. Johnson once described the operative ideals of southern Negroes, in what was called by the editor of The Journal of Negro Education, "one of the best, if not the best, statements on the present South and the race problems." Johnson made the point, which has been elaborated further by Marion A. Wright, that the Negro southerner is able to accept, without ambivalence or evasion, all of the text-book maxims of American political and ethical beliefs; white southerners, on the other hand, and white Americans generally, are all too often in conflict with their own acknowledged ideals. /18 The Negro, said Wright, "has been at harmony with himself. With him there has been no question of a divided loyalty, no Faustian struggle for possession of his soul. By comparison, his white brother is torn and rent."

His white "brother," stuck in the swamps of southern history,

18. C. S. Johnson, "A Southern Negro's View of the South," New York Times Magazine, September 23, 1956; the article has been reprinted in several places, including The Journal of Negro Education, Winter, 1957. The address of M. A. Wright, titled The Southern Dilemma, has been published by the Florida Council on Human Relations.

But in fact, white liberals long since lost rank in the forces of southern reform. The initiative belongs to the Negroes, and until very recently, at least, was exercised by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. White liberals are in the position of supporters, generally not consulted in advance, of whatever programs the NAACP undertakes, a condition which NAACP leaders seem themselves to be mindful of. /19 Apart from some small

19. See J. A. Morsell, "Legal Opposition to Desegregation: Its Significance for Intergroup Agencies in the Years Ahead," The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Winter 1959-60.

grumbling over tactics or timing, this has not been difficult. The objective of the NAACP has been the end of legal discriminations, and the methods of the NAACP have been firmly within the framework of established legal procedures; both the objectives and the methods have been, in other words, the sort which all liberals can support. Because of this, the relationship between the NAACP spearhead and its allies has been notably free of the friction and internal dissension which so often has plagued reform movements.

This comfortable situation is not necessarily permanent; if it does alter, the terms of change for southern racial relations can be markedly affected. There are at least several new patterns in sight, none of which at present is more than a possibility. One would result if the NAACP lost its undisputed leadership of Negro agitation, or if to prevent this the NAACP shifted away from its primary reliance on litigation. There is understandable impatience among Negroes with the pace of change, and consequently with the method of court suits. The student protests which began in the Winter of 1960 over lunch counter seating was a manifestation of this discontent. It was a movement akin to the passive resistance and civic disobedience espoused by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. It happens that this writer has full sympathy for what the students did and the way they did it. The point simply is that new, extra-constitutional objectives and new, extra-legal methods could be disruptive of the liberal consensus which so far has been solid. By broadening the area of conflict, by lifting it out of the

methodical pursuit of whatever was, in the judgment of the lawyers, the next most vulnerable fortress of discrimination, the field is opened for competing strategies and programs. The campaign has had to now a certain neatness, which could well be lost.

So would it if a second possibility occurred, and this is a large effort by Negroes to capture political power in at least some southern cities. If this were to happen after legal discriminations had been generally ended, it would present only the same sort of problems as the Irish capture of Boston politics, or the Italian near-dominance of Rhode Island; in other words, not a problem of race relations but a throw-back to the ethnic politics which now seems on the decline in the rest of the country. But if Negro voters in the present climate were to gain or seriously threaten political control of a few or even one southern city--which would not be an impossibility if population shifts continue for just a few more years along lines of the past few--, race relations in the South would be enormously complicated. Some of the liberal elements which now support Negro advance could be expected to withdraw their aid because of other political issues; the same issues might draw supporters away from the segregationist camp, and the idealism which now underlies the Negro cause would be wounded perhaps fatally. For another reason, I think Negro concentration on political action would be unfortunate in the extreme. Thirty-odd years ago, Robert MacIver formulated the rule of "single alignment": the political contests of a country, he said, would fall regularly along a single plane. MacIver advanced his rule as a predictive principle: one

has only to think of France,[20] where constitutional and religious, as well as economic issues, breathe division into politics; or the United States, where racial controversy is a lingering intruder, to realize that verification has not yet been attained. But if the rule is not a demonstrated fact, it is a value of first rank. When the political interests of a democracy divide on a single plane--e.g. the economic--, the decision-making processes are adequate. To the contrary, democracies seem especially inept at resolving issues when they come in unmatched pairs or trios. Political action has never been able to solve our racial problem, which remains to distort, bedevil, and foul our political parties and the process of forming majorities on other questions of political urgency. Bad as is the present situation, a Negro "party" operating in a few localities would immeasurably add to the complexities of American politics.

A third possible development which could cause race relations in the South to enter upon a new pattern would be a change in the role of southern liberals. Now they are a critical, dissenting minority; tomorrow they could be a part of the political elite. This is not an impossibility; in fact, the issue of "open or closed schools" could well be the avenue by which liberals in some states might vault to political power. Liberals in power would mean, to put it shortly, that Negroes would face a basically sympathetic rather than an antagonistic state government. White leadership in southern racial relations would likely re-assert itself; indeed, I see really no other way for white southerners to be "decision-makers"

20. MacIver included both two- and multi-party systems in his statement. The Modern State, London, 1926. pp. 406-416.

in any important measure unless those favorable to racial equality win and control political power. Given the intransigeance of the present political machines plus the over-powering legal position of the Negroes, the white people of the South can now do little more, depending on their outlook, than delay, temporize, or adjust to Negro advances. Only if Negroes will stay out of the courts can whites lead; and Negroes will not stay out of court unless they are convinced that there is a disposition in state governments to recognize their rights. If liberals were to enter into political power the result might well be that Negro advance would be slowed: the pace of liberal policy might be slower than that of judicial decrees. The NAACP and other Negro groups might become in southern politics what they now are in national politics and in the politics of some (e.g. Atlanta, Nashville) southern cities: pressure groups, competing with other pressure groups to impress their demands on policy. Southern liberals might cease their automatic identification with the Negro cause, just as national liberals quit sometime during the 40's their earlier automatic identification with union labor. But for the present, the political power structure of the South generally prevents any possibility of racial relations determined by policy and not by battle; if the battles are being fought in courtrooms and at lunch-counters, they are nonetheless conflicts outside the normal political process, and therefore not susceptible to political settlement. As in South Africa, Negroes, being political outcasts, must combat the government, and not merely the government of the day.

Democratic politics has been impotent to resolve the conflict and to find a viable settlement for racial relations. One of the most depressing consequences of the South's racial structure is the dreadful conformity it has exacted of Southern politicians. No special sympathy needs to be accorded those politicians who have prospered, for they have generally been men who could succeed not despite but precisely because of the conformity. Nevertheless, if it be true that the South has had a woeful shortage of political leaders who accept responsibility for constructive action regarding the region's primary problem, it is also true that those who have tried have been frequently destroyed; Rep. Brooks Hays of Arkansas is only the best known of several recent examples. If it is true that racial discrimination in the South feeds on the South's rejection by the rest of the country, it is also true that those southerners (e.g. Senators Kefauver and Johnson) who have dared to ask for national acceptance have been rebuffed.

Southern racial relations has been somewhat like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain all changes of interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities [23] --all have come, and though they have modified the old patterns and will surely in time overthrow them, the endurance--what a southerner might call the "cussedness"--of the old ways has been truly remarkable. Partly this is undoubtedly because southern racial relations have had, for whites, a tangible hedonistic value: it has been pleasant to be surrounded by "inferiors," and all the nagging of northern critics

23. Industrialization, immigration, and urban growth are the factors principally accountable for the increase of the Republican vote; see D. S. Strong, Urban Republicanism in the South, University of Alabama, 1960.

makes it hardly less so. I strongly suspect that the mass of white southerners have been unaffected, in their moral views and their political theory, by outside criticism. I am not, let me quickly add, in a position to give any verification to this statement, nor does it question at all the findings of M. M. Tumin and others that psychological readiness for desegregation seems to associate with degree of exposure to the mass media.[24] What I am, dogmatically, asserting is that white southerners have not heeded outside critics of their moral and political values. I am inclined to consider with optimism the chance that actual experience with compelled desegregation will induce a change in these values. And I believe, with Tumin, that there can be a "gradual piling-up" of changes in individual attitudes until there is a decisive emergence of many southerners out of a system of values typical of their regional culture into one now typical of the wider European-American culture. After noting, however, that his sample of subjects differed little in their attitudes about Negro inferiority but greatly in their readiness to accept desegregation Tumin remarked:

> This can be taken to mean that the traditions of the South, as they are ordinarily conceived, have greater endurance and resistance to change in the area of the mental image of the Negro than in the area of concrete social action and behavior. This tells us again that the South, like any cultural unit, is

24. "Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer, 1957. See Tumin's book, Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness, Princeton, 1958, especially chapters 6 and 7, for a revised and extended discussion. For a concise summary of his findings see American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, January, 1959.

PAGE (s) MISSING

The objective that determines the policies of the white leadership /4 ~~is now~~ was changed, just as it was during Reconstruction, and just as then it was not revised by the wishes of the white leaders, but by men and forces exceeding their control. The aim ~~is~~ became not ~~now~~ to obtain satisfaction, of any degree, but instead, ~~it~~

> unequally susceptible to change in different aspects of its traditional cultural pattern. This in turn suggests that though various elements of a cultural pattern tend to cohere and constitute an organic whole at one time in history, some of these elements can and do slip out of the organic unity and become dissonant in their emphases, relative to other elements which persist in greater consonance with times past. If the Image of the Negro represents what is in the hearts of men, and their attitudes toward school desegregation represent their probable behavior, we can say that behavior can be effectively modified without any prior commensurate modification of what is in men's hearts. /25

One further comment along this same line may be recorded. T. F. Pettigrew has said:

> ...attitudes aid in understanding "reality" as it is defined by the culture. Second, attitudes can play a social adjustment role by contributing to the individual's identification with, or differentiation from, various reference groups. Finally, attitudes may reduce anxiety by serving an expressive or externalization function...
>
> All three major psychological theories of prejudice--frustration-aggression, psychoanalytic, and authoritarianism--deal chiefly with the externalization process. Valuable as these theories have been, this exclusive attention to the expressive component of attitudes has been at the expense of the object appraisal and social adjustment components. Moreover, it is the contention of this paper that these neglected and more socially relevant functions, particularly social adjustment, offer the key...
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> * * *
>
> ...conformity to the stern racial norms of southern culture is more crucial in the South's heightened hostility toward the Negro than externalization variables. Or, in plain language, it is the path of least resistance in most southern circles to be against the black man. ...anti-Negro attitudes are not so much expressive as they are socially adjusting.
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> * * *
>
> Some cynics have argued that successful racial desegregation in the South will require an invasion of tens of thousands of psychiatrists and psycho-therapy for millions of bigoted southerners. Fortunately for desegregation, psychiatrists, and southerners, this will not be necessary. /26

The change that has occurred in white southerners' moral and political values--and it has been considerable--has been chiefly the

25. Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness, pp. 194-195.

26. "Social Psychological Contributions to Desegregation Research," a paper read before the Southeastern Psychological Association, March 31, 1960.

result, it seems to me, of three home-grown factors. One, the growth in Negro self-respect and the slow but constant growth of white willingness to accept the Negro at his own valuation. Two, and more decisive, has been the corrosion of southern self-esteem since World War I under the continuous probing of the immensely talented southern novelists. Three, and of greatest impact, has been the reappraisal of southern values from southern pulpits.

The clergy has played for the South the role traditionally belonging to secular intellectuals, i.e. the role of social critics. They have been supplemented by some academic circles, by an occasional editor, and most importantly by the novelists. But the clergy has been in the forefront, both in effort and in effect. This is a relatively new position. For generations, the South could be unmoved by the outside critics of its social practices, because its own most valued moral interpreters offered reassurance. This almost perfect harmony between pulpit and pew has ended, and what began in the 20's and 30's as a small break is now irreparable rupture. In the South, where virtually everyone at least professes a church loyalty, this change is of momentous social meaning. Allen Tate, in his novel <u>The Fathers</u>, depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening now in the South: in the minds of many, <u>our</u> church is deserting us. Whatever is the outcome of the racial controversy, a new relationship between clergy and congregation is predictable, and southern society will be basically changed as a result.

It is rational to expect that the clergy will be continually reinforced in advocacy of change by the economic captains of the South, including those non-southerners who from managerial posts in national businesses control so much of southern economic life. The mounting evidence that racial discrimination plus disorder is unprofitable has been documented too well to require repetition here. /27 For several reasons, however, it would be premature to look for initiative in solving the racial problem from economic leaders. First, there is little or no evidence that they have any conviction that discrimination without disorder is unprofitable, and W. H. Nicholls' recent book, Regional Progress and Southern Tradition, /28 is almost the first attempt by economic science to persuade them that that is the case. Second, it is in the nature of American businessmen to be reluctant to link themselves with activities suggestive of social reform. Third, southern businessmen because of their other identifications are not always internally free to act in strict self-interest. The current hypothesis that sees the manipulation of the so-called "power structure" as the means of social change has many disappointments ahead of it. /29

27. See, inter alia, H. H. Miller, "Private Business & Public Education in the South," Harvard Business Review, July-August, 1960; L. A. Thompson, "Virginia Education Crisis and its Economic Aspects," New South, February, 1959; W. H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition & Regional Progress, Chapel Hill, 1960, pp. 114-123; and occasional reports of the Southern Regional Council, numbers L-2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, and 19.

28. See also J. M. Yinger & G. E. Simpson, "Can Segregation Survive in an Industrial Society?", Antioch Review, Spring, 1958.

29. cf. J. B. McKee, "Community Power and Strategies in Race Relations: Some Critical Observations," Social Problems, Winter 1958-59.

Negro economic leadership, on the other hand, which has, after all, prospered under segregation, has been surprisingly firm in supporting agitation. In most southern cities, there are no important concentrations of economic power in Negro hands. In a few--such as Atlanta,[30] Durham, and Houston--there exists impressive capital development. There is no discernible rift between Negro business and the campaign for Negro rights, although strong disagreements over methods and timing occur and go generally unnoticed by the non-Negro press.[31] The consensus of the Negro population is impressive. It represents a well nigh complete desertion by Negroes of their old "place" in southern society in preference for a random existence on the fringes of the community, until such time as they can be reconciled to the community on terms of dignity.

The terms of change and peace in the South require a general re-casting of southern social processes, but perhaps no immediate change in the racial attitudes of white southerners. In this respect, the South may furnish for students a model of the separability of day to day life from ideology. It is quite possible, indeed likely, that the South can accommodate new patterns of racial relations

30. See the interesting contrast of Negro economic development in Atlanta and Baltimore recounted by Emmet Hughes, "The Negro's Economic Life," Fortune, August, 1956.

31. For a provocative analysis of leadership development within Negro ranks see L. M. Killian & C. V. Smith, "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," Social Forces, March, 1960.

before experiencing any radical shift in its ideological commitment to white superiority. It seems to this observer that the basic terms of change have to be, and likely will be, fourfold:

a. Semantic. The stereotypes must be, if not forgotten, at least kept out of public discourse, and the Negro must be embraced in the vocabulary of sensitive beings.

b. Social. Depersonalized relations must in large measure supersede the intensely personal relations which have been the happiest part of southern life, and yet a brake on southern ability to act justly. Likewise, class distinctions must in large measure supersede social (including racial) stratifications.

c. Economic. A widespread recognition throughout the business hierarchy that economic stability and continued growth require the orderly solution of the issues of race relations, as they succeed themselves in prominence.

probably less than 1,500,000, which is only about one-fourth of the eligible number. The vote will grow, however, and is already a potent factor in the politics of a number of southern cities, and has recently become of state-wide importance in a couple southern states. Nationally, and especially since the presidential election of 1948, the power of Negro voting has grown and may well have been the decisive factor in the outcome of the last presidential election.

From 1944, therefore, ~~we can date a profound development.~~ White men no longer ~~have~~ had a monopoly of the power to make political decisions. ~~The monopoly is broken, and we shall see, for some years, a continuous spread of political influence across the country to nonwhites.~~

First of the landmarks though not chronologically is 1944, and the Supreme Court decision in ~~the case of~~ Smith v. Allwright. ~~This was the decision which outlawed the white primary in the South and which, thereby, ended the last legal bar to Negro voting.~~ Change has not been ~~rapid~~ sweeping. There was a spurt of registration which lasted until 1952 when the Negro vote in the eleven states of the South reached about 1,200,000. Since then there has been only a slow increase. The Negro vote in the South today is

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lead, and no Congressional majority exists to enact -- only to defeat -- economic and social proposals. The presence of the civil rights problem has been permitted to thwart the progress of domestic policies. But

President Truman forced us, as a people, to confront ourselves, and examine the integrity of our principles.

~~The second~~ landmark is 1954, and the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Topeka. ~~Again,~~ Progress has been slow, ~~and, I think, cruelly and stupidly slow.~~ ~~More than eight~~ Nine years after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision there are only about ~~12,200~~ Negro children in schools with whites in the old South. This figure doesn't mean much, however, because about ~~6,700~~ of these are Texas children, and most of those are living in west Texas -- which is hardly "South." If you subtract these, you have left only ~~5,500~~ or so Negro children now attending school with whites all over the South. Even this figure doesn't mean much. For example, in Tennessee there are

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~~1,800-~~odd Negroes attending schools with white children; however, nearly ~~one-third~~ of these are in one school in Nashville with one white child and one Chinese child. The same inflation of figures occurs in Florida.

Nevertheless, school desegregation ~~is moving, and~~ will undoubtedly pick up momentum. Most interestingly, the controversy has moved to the North and West where in any number of cities and towns Negroes are pressing for school integration. ~~This is an interesting example of what I said earlier.~~ The school desegregation controversy has not, in other words, concentrated solely on a difference between the South and the rest of the nation. It has, instead, exposed the fact that although the South has done it one way, and the North has done it another way, both have been united in the practical segregation of Negroes.

~~I think we need to recognize that~~ The Supreme Court's decision of 1954 meant~~, for the long run,~~ more than the desegregation of public schools. Its deeper meaning was that henceforth the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race. Those of us who are white have tended~~, I am afraid,~~ to think of civic institutions as belonging to us. ~~It is~~ "our" schools, "our" church ~~(not God's, but "ours")~~, "our" parks, "our" neighborhood swimming pool, "our" theatres, ~~We have~~ even ~~thought of~~

~~it as~~ "our" government, and well we might, because the very term "republic," Cicero taught us, means the public's property. Now we must be learning that the "public" includes all of us, white and nonwhite, and that all together own and are to enjoy the republic and what it has created.

A fourth ~~The third landmark~~ date is 1960 and the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States. ~~For the first time, someone other than a Protestant received the nation's highest office.~~ The symbolic importance of this election was, in its way, comparable to the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. The election confirmed the fact that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the highest decisions for this country.

The controversy now raging about the Supreme Court regarding religion in the schools has a similar meaning. It happens that I have, personally, strong ~~some~~ doubts about the wisdom of the federal courts stepping into this field. But I think we Protestants must candidly recognize that the religious exercises that have been held in the public schools of this nation over many generations have, for the most part, been Protestant exercises. We must also recognize that this is not a Protestant country in present fact, and that if we seek to have persons who are of other faiths or of no faith at all conform to our sense of worshipful proprieties, we are acting

~~the part of oppressors.~~

The ~~fourth~~ fifth landmark is 1962, and ~~again a decision of the Supreme Court, this one in the case of~~ Baker v. Carr. ~~In that~~ case, the ~~Supreme Court ruled that when the apportionment of legislative seats in a state is grossly unfair, the federal courts can give relief. I don't believe~~ we have not yet begun to realize ~~the~~ its enormous importance ~~of this decision~~. In contrast to the slow pace of desegregation, we have seen already Alabama, Florida, and Georgia move toward more democratic representation. Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia all have the issue before them.

Throughout our history, but most especially during the last few decades, rural people have had an unfairly large measure of political power. State legislatures all over the country have been biased in favor of rural districts. So, too, is Congress. Long after economic power moved from agriculture, and long after the majority of our people moved to the cities, the rural sections retained what has almost amounted to political dominance. In the South, it has been dominance. The politics of most southern states is still today, and it has been since the early 19th century, controlled by the Black Belt -- that region where once cotton was king. Predictions are always risky, but I think it is probable that during the next few years there will be a profound transformation in American politics, and that urban thinking and urban men will play a much bigger part.

There is no need for me to repeat the old familiar tale of the South's economic and educational shortcomings. They are too well known. The most worrisome aspect is that the South's position is not clearly improving. Two critical measurements are, for example, personal income and years of school completed. In 1950, the median number of years of school completed by Americans over 24 years of age was 9.3; by 1960, this had advanced to 10.6, a gain of 1.3 grade. In the South during the 1950's we made a tremendous effort to improve education. Yet only one southern state -- Virginia -- had a larger gain than the national (8.5 - 10.9). In 1950, two southern states -- Florida and Texas -- were above the national median; in 1960, there was only Florida. We had, in short, fallen farther behind.

Similarly with income. Per capita income in the United States in 1950 was $1,491; in 1960 it was $2,223, an increase of 49%. The percentage increase in southern states was generally greater than this, but the dollar gap widened -- and people spend dollars, not percentage points. To illustrate, in 1950 the highest per capita income in the South was in Texas: $1,339, or $152 less per person than the national average. In 1960, Florida had become the southern leader, with a per capita income of $1,988; but this was $235 less than the national average.

PAGE (s) MISSING

Now there is nothing particularly wrong about being below average. After all, whenever you have averages someone has to be below -- and I would, personally, just as soon live in a region where the pace is a bit more leisurely. What would be disastrous, however, would be for the South to isolate itself from national movements with the inevitable result that it would fall farther and farther behind. I have already mentioned that I think that this was real danger with which we were threatened, when, all over this region state governments and state politicians preached the gospel of massive resistance. That is still gospel in large areas of the South, and for the people of those areas the prospects are, it seems to me, gloomy indeed.

But I would like to add also another thought. The South has generally, during the last couple decades, moved more and faster than it ever has before toward economic integration with the rest of the country. Politically, we have moved farther apart, and this is true still even in areas such as Florida, which no longer adhere to the pure doctrine of massive resistance. I think we have tended to forget that only a few years back southern Congressmen worked not only <u>in</u>, but <u>with</u> the national Democratic Party. For example, Senator Byrnes of South Carolina was one of President Roosevelt's principal Congressional captains, Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was a

faithful supporter of the New Deal, Alabama's Hill and Sparkman were noted for their economic liberalism, and Florida sent Claude Pepper to the Senate.

I want it clearly understood that I am not implying praise for these men because they were economic liberals. In fact, whether the South is liberal or conservative, Democratic or Republican, does not seem to me to be the main question. The really critical question is, "Will we end or continue our political isolation?" And I think this is the crossroads where we are now.

One fork in the road which faces us leads toward perpetuating, here in the South, a politics whcch is not really anything except a politics of opposition, based on a crude and defeatist belief that the South must defend itself against the invader -- even if the invader be the spirit of democracy, and even if the invader be the religious spirit of brotherhood. The other fork of the road leads us toward union with the political and intellectual life of the country as a whole.

Southern oppositionism, in its modern form, dates back, I think, to 1947 when President Truman appointed his civil rights committee, and subsequently espoused its recommendations. From this time on, Democratic politicians from the South have retreated from the Democratic Party, and step by step have come

to oppose virtually everything for which the national Democratic Party stands. At the very time that the South was moving economically toward the rest of the nation, the South politically has been pulling away.

* insert

There are some developments in the South today which make me very pessimistic as to where we shall come out. There are some other developments which warrant optimism. I want to conclude by mentioning, briefly, what these are.

On the pessimistic side, whether we are Republicans or Democrats, I think we need to be thoughtfully concerned about the deterioration of southern statesmanship. One of the Congressmen from Georgia a few weeks ago announced his opposition to President Kennedy's tax reduction proposals. That was all right. What was not all right was the reason he gave. He said that everything in his experience, as a small-town businessman, taught him that we should not cut taxes at this time. I submit to you that we cannot delude ourselves into believing that the experience of a small-town businessman is the criterion by which grand issues of the national economy can be tested. And, as I suggested earlier, the South used to know better. We did, after all, send to Washington men such as Glass of Virginia, and Bankhead of Alabama who, for all their ingrained conservatism, knew that the public's business was a job for statesmen. Yet it

* If I were to single out one thing about the critique, South which is above all else, alarming, I would not specify racial relations, or economic adjustment or leadership. Both are fine, after all, always or nearly always, been bad. I would, instead, say the one most alarming condition is the deterioration of statesmanship. We have experienced an abrupt failure of intelligence among our citizens & among our political leaders. The prohibition & realism which once characterized the South's politics, especially its Presidential & Congressional politics, has all but disappeared.

seems to me that today all over the South we are forcing on our politicians the sort of instinctive defense of the most simple ideas of a non-existent and never-was laissez-faire capitalism which, in an earlier generation, was associated with Congressmen from the mid-West, and not from the politically sophisticated South.

Secondly, I think we have to be concerned, though perhaps not as much as a few years back, by the social nervousness which gripped the South after 1954. The South, let me remind you, was the one region of the country which never took Senator McCarthy very seriously. Shortly after the rest of the country got over its McCarthyite binge, we started. The uneasiness which came from the racial crisis infected us generally, and we have had our period of investigating committees, hunts for Communism, purging of textbooks, and other such activities. I believe that as the racial controversy quiets, this social nervousness will also end, but we still have it with us.

A third cause of concern is more troublesome. One of the authentic southern traditions was a deep concern with the foreign relations of the United States, and a regional commitment to the idea that the United States must play a wise and leading role in international affairs. One particular aspect of this tradition was that we were, as a region, dedicated almost religiously to the idea of low tariffs and virtually free trade. I think we need to be profoundly worried over the fast withdrawal

of southern politicians, and other civic leaders, toward isolationism and away from the principles of free trade.

But there are ~~currents of~~ reasons for optimism. ~~too~~. First, there is the improved racial climate. I would have said "greatly improved" racial climate, except that I would not want anyone to infer that we have more than just begun to overcome this most ancient of the South's problems. In fact, we need to prepare ourselves for greater and more intense pressure from Negro Southerners for full civic rights -- and we should welcome it. As with any group of deprived people, every gain enlarges the desire for more gain, and increases impatience.

But the greatest asset the South has today is, I think, that we are making progress on this question.

~~Secondly,~~ I think we shall derive great benefit in the South from re-apportionment. Our most critical problems in the next decades will be urban. We shall be far better able to cope with them when urban thinking is fairly represented in our legislatures and in our Congressional delegations.

~~And finally, on the side of optimism is~~ Secondly, there is the emergence of a realistic two-party system in some of our states, with the prospect that a two-party system may spread to other states in the near future. It seems to me that the Republican Party is, in the South, growing in the right way; i.e., by draining conservatives from the Democratic Party. Analysis of the growth

of the Republican Party in Texas since 1956 clearly shows that its growth has been due to conservative Democrats deciding that their best interests lay in casting their lot with the Republican Party. I suspect that much the same is happening here in Florida, aided, of course, by the migration to Florida of many people who have brought their Republican politics with them. The Republican Party is growing in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and in various cities of other states, such as Atlanta and Shreveport.

I am extremely doubtful that a one-party South could make the right turn at the crossroads of which I spoke before. A one-party South will be an oppositionist South. I believe that the growth of a two-party system, with southern Democrats truly allied to the national Democratic Party, and southern Republicans truly allied to the national Republican Party, is the best means for ending southern isolation.

*insert from 17 < And finally,

And I would add that I believe that the only feasible way that we in the South can preserve what is good of southern traditions and southern manners, is to stop defending what is bad in southern traditions, and to give up oppositionism, and to cast our lot with the nation.

- END -

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A Review of Program Activities During 1962

February 1963

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OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1962

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Secretary-Treasurer - Ruth H. Alexander
Executive Assistant - Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Leadership Project - Benjamin Muse
Director of Field Activities - Paul M. Rilling
(Resigned December 7, 1962)
Director of Information - Margaret Long
Director, Voter Education Project - Wiley A. Branton
Director of Research - James A. Moss
(Resigned July 3, 1962)

- Staige D. Blackford
(Beginning, September 1, 1962)

*ex-officio members of Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1962

An observer could more easily say, during 1962, that the "solid South" had ended than he could discern what had taken its place. Only the policies of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina still defended the fortress into which the South had retreated after 1954, though the political oratory of rebellion was still heavy elsewhere, most notably in Arkansas and Louisiana.

Even in the three states, there were marks of change. South Carolina evidently took the turn which Georgia had two years earlier, and the farewell address of Governor Hollings and the desegregation of Clemson, both occurring in January 1963, certified the decisions which during 1962 were being made by the state's men of power.

The restiveness which first arose in Alabama during the Birmingham parks-closing of early 1962 grew during the year, although one cannot yet hazard optimism about what the state will choose to do with itself. There is likelihood of court-ordered desegregation of Birmingham schools next September, and almost certainly either the University of Alabama or Auburn or both will be called on to admit Negro students. It would be hard to exaggerate the seriousness and probable effects of the Birmingham ordeal which lies ahead.

Mississippi is perhaps a trifle less monolithic than is usually assumed. There have always been dissenters of strength and intelligence, Negro leadership is vigorous, the Department of Justice has seemingly concentrated here much of its legal fire, white clergymen have displayed courage as fine as in any southern state, and the emotional and intellectual frenzy of the present ruling class is

too intense and shrill to be sustained. The state will likely disgrace the country again and maybe several times more, but to hope that the epic quality of the conflict may yield more than surface solutions is not entirely naive.

Elsewhere, there was no pattern, except a perceptible movement toward a new (for the South) political theory. As regards racial equality, there are three possible positions for an American government to take: opposed, neutral, or in favor. Historically, southern state governments have been opposed, have been frankly the white people's governments, and have had as their fundamental policy touchstone the defense of white supremacy. This is ending. There are signs too large to be overlooked that the governments of North Carolina and Tennessee have broken southern traditions, and have abandoned white supremacy as the cardinal political doctrine. Their posture is neutrality, which means that, although the state will not strongly assist the Negroes, the weight of state power is withdrawing from the defense of local and private segregation and discrimination. Both Georgia and Texas may already be moving to the same neutral position; Kentucky has gone several steps beyond it, and state power has begun to give positive assistance to equality.

This is a development which was, in 1962, greatly hastened by the Supreme Court's ruling that legislative apportionment presented justiciable issues for the federal courts. Before the year ended, Alabama and Georgia had more democratic representation, and the issue was being decided in Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia.

In short, the life and the politics of the South are in flux. In this time of fluidity, the opportunities and the responsibilities of the Southern Regional Council -- the

South's parliament of freed minds -- are larger than they have ever been.

COUNCIL AFFAIRS

Council membership was raised to 90 in 1962, according to the plan which will carry the size to 95 in 1963 and 100 in 1964.

Mr. McNeill Smith, attorney of Greensboro (N.C.), elected in 1961, assumed membership in 1962 in the Class of 1965. Dr. Crawford Brock of Rome (Ga.) was elected to the Class of 1963, replacing Mr. Wiley A. Branton who resigned to become Director of the Voter Education Project. Mrs. Moise Cahn of New Orleans, a nationally prominent Jewish leader, was elected to the Class of 1965 to replace Dr. Arthur Gray, who had moved from the region.

Other new members, elected to the Class of 1966, are Roosevelt D. Crockett, president of Philander Smith College; Edward E. Haddock, physician and state legislator of Richmond; Robert J. Harris, professor of political science at Vanderbilt; Mrs. Martin Harvey, a Methodist lay-leader of Jackson (Miss.); John G. Lewis, civic and Masonic leader of Baton Rouge; J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association; Moreland G. Smith, architect of Montgomery; William H. Townsend, optometrist of Little Rock; and Nat Welch, businessman of Auburn (Ala.).

The terms of Edward A. McDowell, Jacob Reddix, Mrs. E. U. Robinson, and J. Edwin Smith ended, and their colleagues regretfully saw them leave.

At the Annual Meeting in November a decision of importance was taken, when there was created a class of Life Fellows of the Council. This will make possible the continued association of at least some of the strong friends who pass from membership through the inexorable workings

of the Council's rotation system, and the honoring of other distinguished Southerners. The first Life Fellows elected are:

> Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Tryon (N.C.); Mr. Leonard Haas, Atlanta; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, (Va.); Bishop M. LaFayette Harris, Atlanta, (Ga.); Dr. Edward A. McDowell, Wake Forest, (N.C.).

New members of the Executive Committee are John P. Nelson, Jr., attorney of New Orleans; Raymond Wheeler, physician of Charlotte; and Thomas W. Young, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. They succeed the Reverend W. Carroll Brooke, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, and the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur, all of whom have served the Council long and devotedly.

Of several staff changes, I may be pardoned for singling out for remark the resignation of Paul Rilling, since 1959 Director of Field Activities. Few people have given more constructive service, or have had so many friends throughout the South. We wish him well, in his new post as Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations of the District of Columbia.

CERTAIN PROGRAM ACTIONS

We have been fortunate this past year in the opportunities we have had for cooperative work with other agencies. The widespread concern for civil rights and human relations has caused a number of agencies, in addition to the Negro groups which provide the main thrust of the civil rights movement, to broaden their programs, looking for ways to help. We think there is a value in cooperation and that it is not only defined as economy of funds and energies. Accordingly, we have a good bit of satisfaction in the following:

(a) With the Anti-Defamation League; we are preparing a study of desegregated education; a principal problem of the study will be the development known as "tokenism." Publication is planned for Spring 1963. The author will be Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College; several others have contributed research and ideas. This could well be one of our most useful publications.

(b) The International City Managers' Association requested us to prepare a study of the whole nexus of racial relations problems as they confront municipal administrators. We accepted, but proposed -- because we do not claim special competence outside the South -- that the Potomac Institute share with us the work. In the outcome, Potomac did much more than we, and we are happy to acknowledge our gratitude. The report, a lengthy document, is issued by I.C.M.A. as the February 1963 number of its regular Management Information Service.

(c) With the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, we sponsored a conference in Nashville, December 27 - 29, 1962 on the theme "The Ethical Demands of Integration." Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered the keynote address and President Dabbs concluded the meeting attended by 150 invitees, who heard also papers from Thomas Hammond and Paul Gaston, professors of history at the University of Virginia; southern staff of the American Friends Service Committee; and the Reverend Samuel Williams of Atlanta.

(d) We have been giving more and more thought to rural areas and their special fears and feelings. As one effort to reach the minds of rural people, we have joined in a project with the National Council of Churches, providing consultation for rural ministers in the Deep South states. The project was jointly conceived and is jointly planned, but is administered by the National Council; our share of the cost is somewhat over half. The Reverend Elbert Jean is the principal worker.

(e) From the same interest in rural people, we are experimentally collaborating with a non-profit but thoroughly professional communications firm in features designed for rural and small town audiences of one Deep South state. The reception has been most encouraging.

(f) With the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action and the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations (as with the Houston Council in 1961), we collaborated in employment studies which were published as pamphlets.

(g) The Voter Education Project secured the cooperation of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Action in financing registration work in New Orleans. The program there is to accord with VEP policies and regulations, and to be coordinated by VEP.

(h) After the Oxford riots, we prepared and circulated widely a montage of editorials from college newspapers. We were aided in the distribution and in printing costs by the National Student Association and the Y.W.C.A.

(i) Finally, we continue to serve as the secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Voter Education Project is agency cooperation at its widest opportunity and keenest test.

Shortly after the conclusion of its first year of activity, VEP will prepare its own report. I shall, therefore, touch here on only a few basic items.

For its first year of operation, VEP had available $268,327. It has to date disbursed or committed $156,147 to field programs. The field work is being done not only by the national and regional bodies, such as the NAACP, but by a considerable number of local organizations, several of which VEP has helped bring into existence. As a preliminary indication of effectiveness, the hurriedly organized short program during last Summer, for which $64,240 was granted, resulted in at least 27,839 new registrants.

The underlying aim of VEP is to learn, through experimental research, something more than we know now about how disadvantaged people can organize themselves and, through the established political process, overcome discrimination against themselves. Working with these groups is a rich experience, and the quality of data we are accumulating should assure a valuable publication.

Director of the Project is Mr. Wiley A. Branton, from Pine Bluff (Ark.), one of the country's leading civil rights lawyers. Mr. Branton has brought unusual skills and a sure judgment to the job. Assisting him are Jack Minnis, who expects soon to receive his Ph.D. in political science from Tulane; and Randolph Blackwell, lawyer, recently professor of political science at Alabama A. & M.

College, and an experienced registration worker.

The Council has for some years now succeeded in bringing off a difficult role. We are an organization with a full commitment to one side of an intense controversy. At the same time, we claim to be -- and, we think, we are -- accurate and objective in our reporting and analysis of southern developments and in our field consultations. To be both committed and objective is, at any time, an assignment that requires day-to-day soundness of judgment. The Voter Education Project makes the job -- if I may use a southern colloquialism -- real hard, but doubly interesting and worth doing.

RESEARCH

Our research is usually directed at analysis and interpretation of current problems. But we know that we have these last nine years been living through one of the decisive chapters of American history, which scholars will write and re-write for generations. There is no understanding of the South or its race relations apart from their history, and the views men have of that history are conditioning the ways men today are acting. A clear and honest understanding of these years since 1954 is a practical necessity. We have, therefore, undertaken to write what will be a political history of ten years of the Supreme Court's decision. We have contracted with Viking Press for publication, which is planned for May 17, 1964. Mr. Benjamin Muse, Director of the Southern Leadership Project, a gifted and experienced author, is writing the book, with research assistance from our Research Department.

Under the able direction of Dr. James A. Moss, who resigned July 3, 1962 as Director of Research, and Mr. Staige D. Blackford, his successor, the Council published during 1962 the following:

Pamphlets:

Albany: A Study in National Responsibility, by H. Zinn

Chattanooga: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (the second of a series)

Atlanta: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (the third of a series)

A Hundred Years Later, by J. M. Dabbs, F. P. Graham, P. Green, B. E. Mays, J. Stokely, M. A. Wright (also issued as a number of New South)

Special Reports:

Albany, by Howard Zinn

A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina

L-Reports:

L-31 "Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South" (A Wall Street Journal Reprint)

L-32 Reproduction of a letter to the editor of the Southwest Louisiana Register from Dr. William P. Sullivan, Assistant Professor of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, Louisiana.

L-33 "A Statement of Recommended Police Policy Resulting from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on: 'The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive'"

L-34 "Desegregation of Southern Parochial Schools"

L-35 "State Commissions on Human Relations"

L-36 "Richmond Quietly Leads the Way in Race Relations" (Reprint from the Washington Post of July 29, 1962)

L-37 "A Statement on the 'Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment' Presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in September 1962 by the Council of Economic Advisers"

L-Reports (continued)

L-38 "What Price Violence?"

L-39 "Negroes' Pay Rises But Half As Fast"

Miscellaneous:

The Unequal Badge, by Elliott M. Rudwick

Executive Support of Civil Rights

Montage of editorials from southern campuses regarding the University of Mississippi riots.

The two publications which received most attention were Executive Support of Civil Rights and Albany: A Study in National Responsibility. Both had heavy press coverage and widespread editorial comment, and the former was ordered in gratifying quantities by government offices. (The White House requested over 1,000 copies; the U. S. Civil Service Commission, 80; the U. S. Information Agency, 125; the Post Office, 40; the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 30; the Housing and Home Finance Agency, 6 -- all these in addition to our own distribution throughout the federal establishment.) Both were concerned with the performance of the national administration, although Albany had other interests as well.

The Kennedy administration has, as we said in Executive Support of Civil Rights, through its vigorous use of executive action become "a primary center for initiative" in the civil rights struggle. This has meant that the Council needs to be of such service as it can be to executive agencies and that we must also, if our accustomed role as interpreter of southern problems is maintained, include governmental policies and actions in the area on which we report and comment. Opportunities to engage in informal discussions with governmental officials and offices come frequently, as do also requests for information. On a more formal

plane, the Executive Director testified in March before the subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education of the House Education and Labor Committee, at its request; was one of a small group invited in April to a conference with the Secretary and other officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and in June spent two days in consultation with the attorneys commissioned by the Commission on Civil Rights to prepare the report later published as Civil Rights U. S. A. The Director of the Southern Leadership Project was appointed to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces; as part of his duties, he inspected U. S. military bases in Germany during the Fall.*

The Special Report on Negro farmers in South Carolina represented another effort at calling problems to the attention of an interested national administration. So, too, did a Special Report on Plans for Progress (a device of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity), issued in January 1963.

We felt special pleasure in publishing A Hundred Years Later, not only because it was a symposium of Council members, but because of the superior quality of the writing and reflection.

The research staff does more, however, than prepare publications. It is steadily engaged in responding to inquiries for information, bibliographical help, and interpretation. These come from the media, government, private agencies of various sorts, scholars, students,

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* I should like to note that, to my knowledge and without any systematic check, at least 20 Council members are presently engaged in some appointive role, of an advisory or other nature, with the federal government in areas having to do with race relations.

and many, many others. Often these requests originate in some groups' conception of what it needs to know to stimulate local change: e.g., during the year the Chamber of Commerce of one rigidly segregated small city of the Deep South wrote for information regarding other cities' use of bi-racial committees; and from groups in several places have come requests for all the economic data available on the effects of downtown desegregation.

Of things in progress I shall not further comment, except to say a few words about the unusually interesting work of Dr. M. Robert Coles. Through special grants, he has been carrying on a psychiatric study since the summer of 1961 of children -- white and Negro -- involved in Atlanta and New Orleans school desegregation; and, more generally, of how human beings react to community tensions. We have administered the grants, and have had also the rewards of Dr. Coles' association. His first writings (besides a New South article) include a piece in a forthcoming issue of the Atlantic Monthly; a chapter in a book to be published soon under the title Youth: Change and Challenge, edited by Erik Erikson; and a paper titled "Southern Children Under Desegregation" to be read before the American Psychiatric Association in St. Louis in May, 1963.

NEW SOUTH

New South published during the year original articles by, among others, Lillian Smith, Nedra Tyre, Herman Long, Donald Dewey, M. Robert Coles, Herbert Jenkins, and James McBride Dabbs; also, sections of books by Louis Lomax and Will Campbell prior to publication. The special October issue, on Mississippi, has been ordered in such

heavy quantity that we have had to have a second printing. Editor Margaret Long's own regular column, "Strictly Subjective," marks the pace for what we believe may be the most interesting magazine in this field.

FIELD ACTIVITIES

Membership in the state and local Councils on Human Relations was 6,345 in 1962. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) rose to $61,200. The groups are still of varying strength, effectiveness, and vigor, but all are irreplaceable forces for good, and all made distinctive contributions during the year. We think especially of the Virginia Council's developing program in merit employment; North Carolina's quiet liaison work with state officials; the college program of the South Carolina Council; the Georgia Council's unusually skilled and effective work in easing and settling community tensions; the success of the Alabama Council in Birmingham mediation; Tennessee's work in the desegregation of state parks; voter registration by the Arkansas Council; and the educational work done by the strong Houston Council in welfare and health areas.

But perhaps the finest event of 1962 was the re-establishment of the Mississippi Council. Immediately and bitterly attacked, it has held largely intact. No one expects the Mississippi Council to do -- for a while -- vigorous programming. Its achievement and its importance is that it exists, and speaks; simply by being alive, it gives the lie to the state's boast and ideology of undeviating popular approval.

During the year, Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama received special foundation grants. SRC was able to increase by a small amount its grants-in-aid.

The Fellowship of the Concerned unites, in a loosely constituted but devotedly firm alliance, churchwomen over the South. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, our matchless Director of Women's Work, led the Fellowship in one of its most satisfying meetings during November. But the Fellowship is more than meetings. It is the conscience and energy of many churchwomen, of both races, active year-round in hundreds of ways in hundreds of localities.

The toughest decision made during the year was the one which took Benjamin Muse from active field work to the writing of a book. The slack in the Southern Leadership Project has been partially taken up by the two rural programs mentioned earlier. Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, who continues as Public School Consultant, has been engaged in one Deep South state in some especially interesting work. He and the Director of Field Activities had special opportunities for service in Pensacola prior to its school desegregation. Mr. Brewbaker was also called upon in the Chattanooga school department's program of preparation.

In December, Paul Anthony succeeded Paul Rilling as Director of Field Activities, bringing to this new post the experience acquired during long service with the Council and, equally importantly, genuine leadership talents.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

As in the past, much time was given to work with the press and other media of mass communications. It may be that nothing we do is of greater importance. I mentioned earlier that the Council balances commitment and objectivity. We have no better evidence that we succeed than that reporters and magazine writers keep returning to use our materials and to discuss their stories.

The Council was host to 115 foreign visitors, in addition to a number, sponsored by other Atlanta groups or individuals, who visited our offices. Our people came from nine countries of Latin America, 15 of Europe, 24 of Africa, four of Asia, and Australia.

The Annual Meeting was well attended and lively. In addition to President Dabbs' address, Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches, Lewis Jones of Fisk University, and James Silver of the University of Mississippi spoke as a panel, on prospects before the Deep South. The meeting was historic, in that for the first time we were able to meet in downtown Atlanta, taking advantage of Atlanta's one desegregated hotel and one non-segregated restaurant.

FINANCES

Both income and expenditures in 1962 almost exactly met budgeted amounts. This happy fact, received somewhat incredulously by harried administrators, means that our finances are relatively stable. There are some serious problems, however, foreseeable. Our most pressing need is for at least one additional, substantial grant. We need this for four reasons: to absorb normally increasing costs; to permit moderate program growth; to ease the fund-raisers' burden of gathering in the marginal dollars of the budget from many sources; and to give program people the security needed to plan their work.

Fund-raising is, among its other difficulties, time consuming. Whatever time is given by the staff to fund-raising is time not given to program. During 1962, much fund-raising effort went into the Voter Education Project, and considerable was given in support of several applications from state councils.

The Charleston News and Courier meant no compliment, but it wrote editorially on June 2 some lines which we are satisfied to regard as our encomium for the year:

> The Southern Regional Council and other groups promoting integration never have been satisfied with mere legal victories. All along the aim has been to persuade school boards and state governments not only to accede to integration, but to regard it as a constructive step forward and as morally right.

We believe our friends and supporters throughout the country would agree that this is true of the Council, and that it is good that it is so.

Leslie W. Dunbar

February 1963

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 196
FEBRUARY 1964

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1963

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James McBride Dabbs*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Albert W. Dent*
Rufus E. Clement*
Miss Josephine Wilkins*
Marion A. Wright*

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John A. Griffin
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
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H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright
Thomas W. Young

Legal Counsel:
Joseph F. Haas*

Personnel Committee:
John H. Wheeler, Chairman

Finance Committee:
L. D. Milton, Chairman

Nominating Committee:
Irving E. Carlyle, Chairman

STAFF

Executive Director - Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Director of Field Activities - Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Leadership Project - Benjamin Muse
Editor, New South - Miss Margaret Long
Director, Voter Education Project - Wiley A. Branton
Director of Research - Staige D. Blackford
Assistant to the Director - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director of Information - Pat Watters

*ex-officio members of Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1963

The Southern Regional Council was completing during 1963 its twentieth year of work and, we believe, good service. The "new South," so long heralded, must finally have arrived, and what is "new" about it is not only its almost bewildering complexity but its new-found self-direction. In the past, things happened to the South -- the importation of slaves, the cotton gin, Reconstruction, the boll weevil, the depression of the 30's, Brown v. Topeka --, and the South reacted to them and was thereby changed.

Now the South with new leadership -- principally Negro -- is revising itself, its institutions, and its ideas. Race relations remain its core issue, and though we can be optimistic we cannot be certain what they may become. We can, however, know with sureness this: southern race relations of the next decade and beyond will not repeat the northern experience of de facto segregation and discrimination. For that had grown up like Topsy, unplanned and unchosen though within an antagonistic environment. Whatever race relations there may lie ahead in the South (or, for that matter, in the nation at large), whether they may be good or poor, they will be, primarily, the result of conscious choice and policy. Both human drift and social custom are irrelevant; we are choosing where we shall go, and what we shall be.

Appropriately, therefore, the Council in this time of new decisions has elected a new President. I believe many members of the Council, including its incoming-President, might have wished James McBride Dabbs could serve forever, so perfectly did he represent the thoughts and the hopes of us all. Indeed, this might have been his fate, had not he himself firmly urged otherwise.

A no less representative Southerner is John H. Wheeler, the Council's fifth President since its founding. From the time in 1942 when he took part in the Durham Conference -- the first stepping stone in the formation of the Council -- John Wheeler has been a devoted member and leader. As Chairman of the Executive Committee since 1961, he has given policy guidance during demanding years. I have worked under his supervision in that capacity, and to him and to Mr. Dabbs, president throughout my tenure, I am deeply indebted for support and for instruction.

This time last year, in the 1962 Annual Report, I wrote that "it would be hard to exaggerate the seriousness and probable effects of the Birmingham ordeal which lies ahead." Successful prophecies of this sort are distinctly unwanted; I was, besides, looking ahead to a school desegregation crisis. That came, and with it ugly tremors, and then the horror of September 15 when, in an ultimate frenzy of hate, six Negroes were murdered.

This followed by three months and more the Birmingham street events which had fired the Negro revolt as nothing before had.

Birmingham was of the pattern of Albany. Mass demonstrations were hurled in protest against an iniquitous system, and without the pin-point focus of the earlier sit-ins nor with their incredibly exemplary deportment. Like Albany too, whose Negro community today is defeated and almost hopeless, in Birmingham little local change resulted. Unlike Albany, Birmingham met the demonstrators not with slick, sophisticated police suppression but with ferocity. And this, if anything did, made the difference. A national administration, which had had no prior intention of seriously sponsoring civil rights legislation in 1963, mobilized its thinking and its supporters and put before Congress a far-reaching civil rights bill, and yet one which the key Congressional Committee (House Judiciary) refused to report out until it was further strengthened. A tidal wave of demonstrations swept through the South,* and in its wake much was changed where change had earlier begun, though little change was started where none or but the smallest had earlier occurred. Even more important, the northern cities

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*According to our count, demonstrations occurred in at least 115 southern cities during 1963. More than 20,000 arrests of demonstrators were made. Ten persons died; at least 35 bombings occurred.

came apart, for the first time since the race riots of the forties, ripped by demonstrations against non-legal and even non-acknowledged, but equally impenetrable, segregation. It is reasonable to suppose, and the polls confirm, that many northern whites learned a new determination to establish justice, while many others learned a new or renewed, if usually silently held, antipathy to racial equality.

There was more, even, than this. Upheavals within the ranks of Negro leadership, nationally and in all parts of the country, were marked, as the spirit of revolt ran too fast for some to be able to keep up, or to want to. Many liberals, both Negro and white and South and North, worried sincerely with the problem of demonstrating methods which sometimes obscured the rightness of the underlying cause. But there were also intellectual stirrings within the revolt's vanguard, reappraising the efficacy of demonstrations and examining the need to identify the aims of Negroes with those of other disadvantaged elements of the economy.

Revolutions throughout history have been more frequently justified in cause than beneficial in result. America's good luck is that the Negro drive -- which is genuinely revolutionary -- has been carried on through methods which have had the wondrous quality of relaxing rather than deepening hostilities or breeding new ones. America

has been profoundly lucky too that the goal of the revolt has been and is integration or, to put it in different words, has been to make the community whole by knitting it more firmly together. The true dangers of the future are not those which the segregationists fear, which are what Negroes will do to the community when they have been admitted into it. The true danger, and I think it is a real and threatening one, is to keep large segments of the white population from flying out of the national consensus as Negroes come in. It is not, unfortunately, inconceivable that integration will, for example, greatly accelerate the polarization of political opinions within the electorate, and if that happens widely enough to affect the behavior of the political parties at local, state, or national levels our governmental institutions would be under heavy difficulty.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

The Voter Education Project seeks another end. It is approaching its third and final year. As of December 31, 1963 it had received grants totaling $584,733 and had granted out to cooperating agencies $382,003 to sustain voter registration work. The Project began April 1, 1962, and by the end of 1963 -- 21 months later -- 327,588 new voters had been registered through its programs. With these, the number of Negro voters in the eleven southern

states has reached 1,752,000. During the pre-election months of 1964, we expect that the total will finally go well beyond two million.

The Voter Education Project does none of the actual registration work. Its purpose is to study what others do and the problems they encounter in seeking to broaden the southern electorate. It is experimental research, which provides us the unparalleled opportunity of studying registration methods and organizations in close-up detail.

Under the forceful direction of Wiley A. Branton, VEP receives proposals from non-partisan agencies interested in registration work, decides which it can support within already determined geographic criteria, allocates funds, and thereafter observes the work closely.

VEP is our largest present program by far. To administer it has been a tremendous trust and a steady challenge to our ability to work cooperatively with other agencies and people. We intend to do all we possibly can to publish from the Project's records and findings a lastingly valuable study. The Project, has moreover, given us the privilege of planning and guiding the largest effort ever made to make real the Fifteenth Amendment.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Voter Education Project is concerned with the enlargement of our democracy. The Councils on Human

Relations seek to strengthen its quality.

Membership in the state and local Councils was 8,257 in 1963, an increase of nearly two thousand over 1962. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) were $65,525, an increase of $9,186 over 1962. Especially noteworthy was the record of the Florida Council, which during the year re-built itself, under first-rate lay and staff direction, to a strength of 1,200 members, with 14 active local Councils.

As I said at Annual Meeting, 1963 seems to me the year in which the Council on Human Relations movement began to shift to high gear. Happily, there is one -- Virginia -- already in high, and we think it can be and will be in 1964 joined by one or two others. Everywhere there is a growing awareness that numbers do count, that the once prevalent notion of a small band of good people quietly doing good is outmoded, and that the Councils on Human Relations -- virtually the only southern instrument of bi-racial programming -- have unique opportunities, and therefore responsibilities, for program accomplishments.

OTHER FIELD ACTIVITIES

Especially in Mobile, but also in Birmingham and Jacksonville, staff and consultants worked during the Summer with local citizen groups concerned with effecting peaceful, orderly school desegregation. As a future help to us, and also to other agencies working in such local

situations, we had prepared, under the supervision of Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, a hefty manual of advice and shared experience. Transition Without Tragedy, by Florence Robin, is not a publication for general circulation, but in the quiet use for which it is intended it should be of considerable practical value.

Completion of his writing assignment enabled Benjamin Muse, Director of the Southern Leadership Project, to return to the field in late 1963; he was especially active and helpful in Danville. His associate in the field work of the Southern Leadership Project for three years, Public School Consultant J. J. Brewbaker, retired in mid-1963 for personal and family reasons. In the final months of his work, Mr. Brewbaker was engaged in conferences with school authorities in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. During his three years with SRC, Mr. Brewbaker gave excellent professional service, and we miss him badly.

We continued our cooperative program with the National Council of Churches, planned to aid the clergy of the rural Deep South in their awesomely delicate ministry. And through our own Fellowship of the Concerned, inspiringly led by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, we maintained our long working association with churchwomen all over the South. The

Fellowship's annual meeting in October was, in a word, magnificent; through it and from it came a vital partnership with the White House initiated National Women's Committee for Civil Rights.

As in the past, SRC acted as secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference. And as always, our office has been the meeting place and the crossroads for nearly every agency and person engaged in human relations work in the South.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

In 1962 we undertook to write the political history of the South's reaction to Brown v. Topeka, and contracted with Viking Press for publication. Benjamin Muse was assigned to the writing, which he completed in the Fall of 1963. The book, titled Ten Years of Prelude, will be published May 17, 1964.

James McBride Dabbs completed a study of southern character, begun and researched as an SRC project. The book will be published by McGraw-Hill in late 1964.

Dr. M. Robert Coles's psychiatric studies under our Research in Student Adjustment Project culminated in several publications during the year, including a paper read before the American Psychiatric Association and subsequently published in its journal. Dr. Coles continues his research, and, though his sponsor is now Harvard University, we enjoy his association still.

Our research publications for the year were:

Pamphlets:

J. Kenneth Morland, Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond.

Robert Coles, The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study.

Vivian W. Henderson, The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South.

Special Reports:

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

Special Issues of NEW SOUTH:

"March on Washington," September 1963

"Direct Action in the South," October-November 1963

Miscellaneous:

The City and Minority Groups (jointly prepared with the Potomac Institute and the International City Managers Association, and published by the latter)

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments
in four parts: I. April-June 24, 1963; II. June 24-July 24, 1963; III. July 24-August 28, 1963; IV. August 28-November 30, 1963.

L-Reports:

L-41 "Excerpts from Speeches of Governor Bert Combs of Kentucky and Secretary of Commerce Luther T. Hodges."

L-42 "Speech by Edward J. Meehan, Editor Emeritus of Memphis Press-Scimitar."

L-Reports (continued)

L-43 "Businessmen Point the Way."

L-44 "Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road: A Different Way."

L-45 "Public Education in Mississippi."

L-46 "Voice of the People: 'At This Very Late Hour'"

Reception of these publications was gratifying. The Morland, Coles, and Henderson pamphlets received widespread press attention, and all three, especially the Henderson economic study, have been heavily ordered in group lots. We assess the response to our publications not only, however, by volume of press clippings and orders, but by the comments which come from discerning sources. Such, for example, as that from the editor of one of the South's largest dailies regarding Margaret Long's beautiful March on Washington: "The New South issue with your Washington report in it will live. It's a great job.... the definitive work on that day"; and a federal judge's statement regarding Direct Action in the South: "It is the best thing I have seen for putting events of the last three years in significant focus."

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey, a fairly simple and unassuming report, had an unusual history. We gave it no press release, and it received no news attention until we and the press learned that it was being read and reacted to in very high Washington quarters. I think we

can accurately say that nothing SRC has ever published produced more immediate governmental action, nor more quickly affected governmental policies. Washington's response was rather baffling, because while vigorously and most commendably acting upon the report's findings (which were confirmed by the government's own investigators), it simultaneously was questioning that any problem existed and was undermining through news leaks and authoritative gossip acceptance of the report's reliability. The matter roiled over before a Congressional committee, and shortly thereafter subsided. We were nevertheless, gratified that Fortune magazine, after an independent check of its own, confirmed our conclusions in its September issue. All in all, it was an interesting experience.

New South during the year ran articles by such persons as Eric Lincoln, Charles Hartshorne, Fred Powledge, Wyatt Tee Walker, Horace Mann Bond, and James McBride Dabbs, whose final presidential address, printed in the December issue, was a thing of joy.

Pat Watters, former city editor and editorial page columnist for the Atlanta Journal, joined our staff in November as Director of Information. He brings us excellent skills and good judgment, and we are delighted to have him.

SOME OTHER ACTIVITIES

Messrs. Wheeler, Branton, and Dunbar were among the 17 persons invited by the Notre Dame University Law School to a conference on federal civil rights legislation; recommendations of the conference were published in the Notre Dame Lawyer of June 1963. Mr. Branton was a principal speaker at the CORE national convention, as was I at the annual meetings of the Civil Liberties Clearing House and of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. In August the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower called me to testify as an "expert" on pending job discrimination legislation.

In early November, Professor James Silver electrified his audience at the Southern Historical Association and news readers everywhere with his description and indictment of "Mississippi, The Closed Society." We had worked closely with Professor Silver in preparing this and the expanded version which is soon to be published as a book. We have also distributed more than 1,200 copies of the address.

During the year, the Council was host to 105 foreign visitors, sent to us by federal offices. Of these, 21 came from Africa, seven from the Caribbean islands, ten from Central America, nine from the Far East, 53 from Europe, and five from South America. For these we were

official sponsor. Another 67 foreign visitors, sponsored by other Atlanta based organizations, came to our offices for discussions and briefings about the South. In addition to both these groups, foreign news reporters visited us from time to time.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS AND FINANCES

Two long-time and devoted members of the Council died during the year: Mr. Charles Shaw of Houston and Dr. H. Councill Trenholm of Montgomery. Their passing saddened us all. We lost in the same humbling way the comradeship of Mr. Harry Jones, director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

New members elected at the 1963 Annual Meeting, all for the Class of 1967 unless otherwise noted, were: Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis; Mrs. Mary Sands, New Orleans; Mrs. Jane Schutt, Jackson (Miss.); Ralph M. Dreger, Jacksonville; S. E. Duncan, Salisbury (N.C.); Paul Johnston, Birmingham; the Rev. Powers McLeod, Auburn (Ala. - Class of 1964); Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville (Ga.); Samuel M. Nabrit, Houston (Class of 1966); C. H. Parrish, Louisville; Jack Young, Jackson (Miss.); James Youngdahl, Little Rock. This is a distinguished group of people, and we welcome them most warmly.

The Council terms of Dr. Crawford Brock of Rome (Ga.), Mrs. E. M. Sparling of Hot Springs (Ark.), Mr. Charles Steele of Louisville, and Miss Florence Sytz of New Orleans

ended: their colleagues reluctantly saw them leave our membership, but not our continued association in southern progress.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee was elected to the Executive Committee, filling the place which Dr. John A. Griffin of Tallahassee has held so long and well. In place of John H. Wheeler, elevated to the Presidency, ex-President Dabbs was voted onto the Committee!

Mrs. M. E. Tilly was, by the admiring membership of the Council, elected a Life Fellow, even though she continues as a full-time staff worker.

The 1963 Annual Meeting, scheduled for November 25 - 26, was postponed to January 29 - 30, 1964 because of the assassination. John Fitzgerald Kennedy's death, coming after all the other cruelties of 1963, must have caused many of us to wonder what kind of a people we are, or have become. The guest speaker at SRC's meeting was Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP. He was an ideal choice for this stunned year, because he is a man, like Mr. Kennedy, who has never lost faith in the people or in the human mind.

Expenditures for 1963 were slightly below budgeted amounts, but, alas, income was also, and more so: so we ended the year with a deficit of $5,382.76. It must not happen again.

In all matters of finances, I would like to acknowledge my continuing debt to SRC's exacting Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Ruth House Alexander.

Two internal activities of the year deserve special remark.

First, we carried through a reorganization of staff assignments, including the writing of job descriptions and the establishment of revised salary scales for each position.*

Second, we undertook and completed a thorough study of all SRC programs and opportunities for program. So much work went into this, and now there seems little to say except that it is done, and it was worth doing. The process itself, which involved Council members, staff, and outside friends, was an education. The "Program Review and Evaluation," as the final document was called, was approved by both the Executive Committee and the Annual Meeting, and its recommendations are being put into effect during 1964. Principal staff responsibility for the self-examination was discharged by Professor Henry Clark, of Union Theological Seminary (N.Y.), who worked with us during the Summer.

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*I would like to acknowledge the help given here by our friend John Feild, former executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and a man of many other distinctions. Mr. Feild gave freely and generously his highly valued time to advise me at crucial steps of the reorganization.

Finally, the disposition of the Executive Director was remarkably improved after June 1963, when Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., came with us as Assistant to the Director. Mr. Jordan, formerly Georgia field director for the NAACP, brought with him, and put to our use, judgment, versatility, and good spirits.

A POINT OF VIEW

Twice during the year, the Executive Committee took the unusual step, for it, of issuing public statements. In May it said, with reference to the Supreme Court's "sit-in" decision:

> These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity -- and intelligence -- which we turned our backs on in 1954. The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

In a longer and important statement of December 30, the Executive Committee said:

> We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, re-shape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

That "courage and intelligence" to which the Committee referred were the hallmark of the life and the tragedy of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Over all our remembrance of the nation-shaking events of 1963, his presence and his departure dominates. I was in Cleveland (Ohio) the day of his death, and that night was asked to give a brief testimonial before a large gathering. I was asked to do so as a representative of the Southern Regional Council, and I tried to speak its sense, not only of loss, but of loyalty to the rational and good cause which that day had been assaulted by the senseless evil which always dwells within us:

> It is a hard thing for a people to lose its chief. The President of the United States is President of all Americans, and the man so cruelly taken from us today tried diligently to represent the whole of this nation. The endless variety of America includes even the wicked man who murdered him, who also, we must confess, was a son of this land. America's history has been a boundless quest to give opportunity: for the multitude, an opportunity for happiness; for the person, an opportunity for liberty. Mr. Kennedy knew this, and believed in the magic of the American adventure. May God give comfort to his family, a clear mind and a sturdy faith to President Johnson; and to all of us who go on with the unfinished and never to be finished adventure which is America, and which is the life of humanity freeing itself from burdens to the spirit, may He give us brave souls.

Leslie W. Dunbar

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A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1964
APRIL 1965

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REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1964

This account of the Southern Regional Council's work in 1964 was written later than is my custom. The early months of 1965 have been crowded ones for all who are engaged in the historic change of direction of this region. Already in 1965, a nation which had thought that it had made final decisions was led to see that yet deeper decisions had to be reached. Whether or not there may be other Selmas, this nation is only still beginning the necessary work of making ours a republic of equal citizenship.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Begun April 1, 1962, the Voter Education Project completed substantially all of its field work by October 1964. Under the projects it sponsored, a total of 698,000 new Negro voters, by official count or conservative estimate, were added to the registration lists of eleven southern states; in Texas and Virginia, VEP programs were responsible for 50 - 60,000 new white registrants. Registration of Negroes in the eleven states was probably not higher than 1,350,000 when VEP began; at its close, the size of the Negro vote had advanced to 2,174,000, with the increase principally due to the VEP-connected programs.

Because of the atypical character of the 1964 Presidential election, the Negro vote in the South,

including the new voters, was almost solidly Democratic; regionally, the majority of the white voters clearly supported Republicanism. How a state cast its electoral votes depended, therefore, on how large was the white Republican majority and on the total size of the Negro vote. In Mississippi, where at least 90% of the white vote went Republican and the Negro vote was insignificant, the result was a Republican landslide of almost totalitarian unanimity. In Alabama,* South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia -- in that order -- the Negro vote ascended upward and white bloc voting declined. At the top of the scale, the Georgia vote was 54% Republican; we estimate that 64% of Georgia's white voters cast a Republican ballot. Every state of the South in which fewer than 45% of the eligible Negroes were registered went for the Republican candidate.

Every state in which more than 45% of the Negro eligibles were registered voted to re-elect President Johnson, who nevertheless lost the white majority in four of those states (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia) and probably also in a fifth (North Carolina). Only in Texas did a clear majority of whites vote for him, though the majority would have been much thinner did not the Census classify Latins as "white." The

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*The Johnson-Humphrey ticket was not on the ballot in Alabama. Those opposed to Mr. Goldwater could do no more than vote for "unpledged electors."

margin of Democratic victory in Florida and Virginia was provided by the new voters registered under the VEP programs.

All of this occurred while the rest of the nation, with rare consensus, was decisively voting Democratic, not only in the Presidential election but also in Congressional races that, in the South, sent seven new Republican Representatives to the House.* The election of 1964 was a further and vivid demonstration that Negro Southerners are part of a national consensus, and a voting majority of white Southerners are not.

The importance of the Negro vote was felt not only in the Presidential election but in many Congressional and state and local races. In the gubernatorial contest in Arkansas, Negro voters showed -- and it was almost the only opportunity they had in the South to make this clear -- that they were not captives of one party; there they voted Republican, though by a normal majority and not as a bloc. These and other developments were described in an SRC release, What Happened in the South, put out shortly after the election.

The increase of Negro voting by nearly 700,000 during 1962-64 was of vast importance, one of those quantitative social changes which can accurately be said

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*The net gain, however, was only five: two Republican incumbents in Texas were defeated.

to produce qualitative change. Of equal importance is the fact that Negro voting is moving again. In the ten years of vexatious southern history preceding VEP, the Negro vote had grown slowly: in 1952 it was an estimated 1,009,000, and by early 1962 had increased only about 350,000. Momentum has been restored.

Not, however, in the resistant areas. At the time when I write this report, the President's new voting bill is before Congress. We at SRC have been among those who had said for years that determined resistance to voting could not be defeated through reliance on judicial remedies. Successive administrations of both parties have thought (or, at least, acted) differently. Now there is the promise of a federal statute which will at last enable the Negroes of Mississippi, of most of Alabama and Louisiana, and of southwest Georgia to register.

There is another quality of VEP which deserves mention, indeed emphasis. VEP provided money, planning, and skills for the organization and coordination of the energies of many agencies, local groups, and thousands of workers. The money ($887,737 was the total VEP income) was perhaps "white". Everything else -- the planning, the decision-making, the skills, the devoted and hard work -- was Negro. Once VEP was established, my own role was largely confined to selecting Wiley A. Branton to be its Director (and thereby I made

an enormous contribution to the civil rights movement and to American democracy) and to keeping informed. We hear lately much talk of the need for Negro leadership of the civil rights and integration surge, and that is precisely what we did have in the south-wide registration drive of 1962-64.

VEP accumulated a huge mass of documentary material. We are now at work on our book, which we intend to be a creative exploration of the new southern politics and the new people entering into political life. We anticipate publication in 1966.

A YEAR OF NEW DIRECTIONS

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. Reapportionment and re-districting moved along in southern states, the North Carolina Fund ("to break the cycle of poverty in North Carolina") got under way, Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act, and extraordinary student demonstrations shook the University of California; each of these developments evidenced in its own way how profound and how pervasive is the infecting influence of the civil rights movement. The epic Mississippi Summer Project unfolded. Perplexing and bitter riots rattled northern cities. A classic non-violent demonstration in St. Augustine, America's oldest city, symbolically revealed that what is oldest in our country might well contain also what is ugliest, but had no other obvious

purpose; purposeful and justified demonstrations in Atlanta, on the other hand, took a turn that showed that demonstrators can act as stupidly as anybody else. White backlash allegedly spread through the land, and men who believed that to be a fact led their party to a crushing defeat; all about, though, there is evidence of a big and resourceful segment of citizens who are at war against the shape and direction of contemporary American society.

How can all this be embraced in a view of how things are and how they are becoming? I am not bold enough to venture more than to suggest some of the elements which I believe must go into such a view.

I believe we must begin by seeing the civil rights struggle of the last decade as what it truly has been and is: one of the very great, very bright, periods in American democracy, in which this country moved ahead to achieve what is our destiny, a free society that values every individual. But we must also recall that though victory is an American habit, successful peace-making has never been one of our strengths. Successful peace-making here will require a thorough integration of Negro Americans into the educational, economic, political, and social life of this nation, so that each may stand on his individual merits. By now it should be obvious to all that integration

necessitates change affecting our whole society. Our society has been systematically oppressive, and the change from a discriminating to a non-discriminating social order cannot be a merely superficial alteration. Negroes have been either the sub-flooring of American society or its outcasts, and from neither role can they now come into American society without that society changing itself and its ways of conducting some of its important affairs.

Now it seems to me, and I say this after much reflection, that this has been most clearly understood by the conservative southern segregationists and by the youth of the civil rights movement. The southern segregationists have understood and have opposed. The youth have understood, and have gone realistically to work at the community level to revise and re-build and re-educate. They frequently take to their task an almost literal, philosophically naive, acceptance of the pristine ideals and values of American democracy, and this is virtually their entire ideology. Among a few is an equally strong conviction that the established processes and institutions of this society cannot be counted on to work in behalf of those ideals and values, a conviction unfortunately so deep as to yield a startling alienation from contemporary society, rivalling in its intensity and its recklessness if not its cause the

alienation of our Birch-type rightists. At SRC, we are all the more deeply gratified, therefore, that 1964 witnessed a remarkable renascence of youth interest in the Councils on Human Relations, and through them an outpouring of energy into community activities; in North Carolina, for example, about 1,000 college students are engaged in tutorials.

In the ways that they can, these students are tackling the hard, the basic, problems. So must we all. One clear fact emerging from 1964 is that in the South the day of the civil rights lawyer and the civil rights demonstrator -- despite Selma -- is passing, and the day of the administrator, the politician, and the community worker is upon us. I suspect the 1964 and 1965 Congressional legislation will mark only a phase of an era of public policy-making, though the focus will certainly shift to federal, state, and local policies that attempt to get at problems of educational, economic, and cultural disadvantage. We can only hope that our governments will learn to think ahead and not merely to react to pressures -- and do what <u>we</u> can to pressure them to that end. Similarly, our governments, but particularly the federal government, must learn that the South is changed, and that old ways and old men are no longer useful. In the closing days of 1964, following instructions from Annual Meeting, SRC made representations

in Washington regarding policies that determine the appointment of federal judges in the South; we shall (and have already in 1965) continue from time to time to carry as forcefully as we know how the message to Washington that this is a changed region. Similarly, the civil rights groups need to learn that change has occurred, and that it no longer suffices merely to keep doing the same things over and over, however dramatic and apparently effective they may be.

I grow more and more deeply convinced that the real battle ground is the mind of the American white man, and that we have gone nearly as far as we can get with the belief that by requiring people to alter their behavior patterns we cure the social ill of discrimination. We are at a time when old social systems are being discarded and the new ones are not yet in place; this generation of adults will make decisions that will endure for years to come as to what kind of society we shall have here in this land. The really key decisions will not be made by Presidents, Congress, or civil rights leaders. They will be made individually by millions of home-owners, church-goers, parents of school children, trade unionists. They will choose whether they want an open society (and today that can only mean an integrated society) or one built on the principles of social exclusion and isolation. Numerically and perhaps spiritually we have more segregation today than a decade ago. When 88% of the public school

The other sent emmissaries and views to Washington on the matter of federal judges. It is interesting that both were addressed, in their different ways, to federal action, the key to so much these days.

It was fitting, therefore, that a distinguished Southerner and now a principal federal officer, Governor LeRoy Collins, Director of the U. S. Community Relations Service, be the guest speaker at the dinner. Governor Collins's talk invigorated a large and happy audience of members and guests.

At the January meeting of the Executive Committee, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte was elected its Chairman. Our two chief executive officers are now both named "Wheeler," and both are men with whom a staff takes pride and delight in working. John H. Wheeler was, as all knew he would and ought to be, re-elected President at the Annual Meeting.

We also now have, out of four vice-presidents, two who are named "Wright." Stephen J. Wright of Nashville, President of Fisk University, was elected a vice-president, succeeding Albert W. Dent of New Orleans. Newly elected to the Executive Committee were Mrs. J. N. Rayzor of Houston, Dr. Dent, and McNeill Smith of Greensboro; they succeed Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, John P. Nelson, Jr., and Dr. Wright.

New members elected to the Council (for the Class of 1968 unless otherwise noted) were: H. A. Hank Brown,

PAGE (s) MISSING

An especially noteworthy development of the year was the establishment by the Executive Committee of a Development Committee to assist the staff. The Development Committee will look to long-range rather than immediate needs, will be primarily interested in southern sources of financial support, and will be concerned not only with the needs of SRC but equally as much with those of the Councils on Human Relations. The eleven member committee is chaired by Vice-President Josephine Wilkins.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Membership in the state and local Councils was 9,545 in 1964, an increase of approximately 1,300 over 1963. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) were $119,435, an increase of $53,910 over 1963. Total income of the state and local Councils was approximately $300,000, of which 17% came from SRC grants-in-aid, 45% from foundation grants, and 38% from local sources.

It was a year of changing the guard. New staff directors were appointed in Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee.* (Heslip Lee, a man we had all grown to admire and follow, resigned in December as

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*Edwin Stanfield, Alabama; Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr., Florida; Helen Adams Furman, North Carolina; Baxton Bryant, Tennessee. The new Virginia director is Robert Combs.

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Virginia's director; his successor was chosen in early 1965.) We have tremendous confidence in the new people. Our keenest pleasure was, however, the growth of the Mississippi Council to a point where it could employ a full-time director; chosen in late 1964, Kenneth L. Dean, a Tennessean, was on the job in February 1965.*

Twenty-one professional staff persons, dedicated and resourceful men and women, are now employed by nine state and one (Houston) local Councils. Excellent lay leadership assembled in Louisiana, and as 1965 moves along we have every hope and expectation that a Louisiana Council will at last re-emerge and be able to engage staff.

From 1954-57, the state Councils were organic parts of the Southern Regional Council. Since 1957, they have been autonomous bodies, although their relationships with SRC have been very close. There has arisen in the last year or so throughout the state Councils a strong current of belief that there should be an even closer drawing together, not only of the state bodies and SRC but of the state bodies with each other. Where this may end is far from clear, but it does seem certain that during 1965 some

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*Our keenest sadness was the misfortunes of health which plagued Oliver W. Holmes, the remarkably able Associate Director of the Georgia Council.

decisions will be reached, and it does seem safe to predict that some closer program relationships will be formed.

I have already mentioned the growth of the Councils' influence on campuses (and vice versa); this has been especially marked in the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia. If space permitted, I would describe the new work being done in support of the national poverty program. Happily, the Councils are telling this themselves, through greatly improved publications.

OTHER FIELD ACTIVITIES

An ominous question during the early months of 1964 was whether the South would comply with the prospective public accommodations law. Following a series of meetings in the Spring, we undertook a special project of coordinating a southwide effort by many private human relations agencies to mobilize positive support for compliance. The work quickly became more than coordination, however, as in some localities we worked directly and in some others with specially formed ad hoc groups (such as "Partners for Progress" in Atlanta and the "Tallahassee Womens Intergroup Committee"). The project, stylishly called "Operation Opportunity," was directed by Louis L. Mitchell, on leave from his position as staff

head of the Florida Council on Human Relations, and to him and all the many groups and individuals who cooperated in a strenuous campaign is owed a considerable share of the credit for the good behavior which generally prevailed in the South after the public accommodations law passed.

The project was under the supervision of Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, who was directly engaged in another notable special effort, working closely with Mississippians for Public Education to bring off peacefully and with good will school desegregation in Jackson and Biloxi. In place after place over the South a seemingly invariable sociological datum has emerged: no progress until the right of public discussion and dissent has been established. Almost equally invariable has been a supplementary datum, which discloses that seldom has the "power structure" led in gaining this right; its weighty role comes later, after the windows have been opened. In some southern places this has been the task and great achievement of save-our-schools groups. In Mississippi, MPE not only contributed greatly to this end but has since continued an active campaign for strengthened education, with chapters operating in seven localities.

The Fellowship of the Concerned, under the guidance of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, continued to add cubits to the

devoted work of many southern church and synagogue women. Some of the country's most influential churchwomen, including the president of the United Church Women, joined southern delegates in attendance at the annual meeting in October. Throughout the year, the Fellowship was quietly serving in crisis areas such as Mississippi.

We maintained our close association with the National Student Association, and formed a working relationship with the new Southern Student Organizing Committee. Although of unique value, these reflect the pattern of SRC's constant association with other agencies. We continue as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference and in a multitude of informal ways, difficult to convey or record, we are involved intimately in the work of other human relations and civil rights bodies.

After one final field trip to Mississippi, Benjamin Muse resigned from the staff, which he had enriched so greatly as Director of the Southern Leadership Project since early 1959.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

Muse's Ten Years of Prelude was published by Viking Press on May 17. "It is unlikely that a more comprehensive and authoritative report of the ten-year struggle will appear," said the Christian Science Monitor's

reviewer. "The best history of the decade that has been written," said the Washington Post. "A thoughtful, compact history," according to the New Yorker. Sales of the book, in the publisher's words, "go along steadily; we think it will last for a long time." Mr. Muse wrote the book, for which we hold the copyright, as an SRC project, and was supported in his preparation by SRC research and editing. An English edition has appeared.

Although SRC had not such a formal connection with James McBride Dabbs's, Who Speaks for the South? (Funk and Wagnalls), Mr. Dabbs, our illustrious former president, researched the book under an SRC project. The New York Times reviewer said of the book: "No other writer has so related the currents in southern thought to the mainstream of human thought throughout the ages. It is a book that will help the South understand itself and the North understand the South."

Jointly with the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we produced a beautiful film, Right Now!, by Robert Newman. The Voter Education Project distributed the film, which portrays a registration campaign in Savannah, to registration projects all over the region. Our latest word is that the film has been nominated for a prize competition at the American Film Festival.

Publications of the year were as follows:

Pamphlets:

The Price We Pay (jointly with the Anti-Defamation League)

Special Reports:

Louisville, by Benjamin Muse

Charlotte, by Pat Watters

Memphis, by Benjamin Muse

Brunswick, by Pat Watters

Law Enforcement in Mississippi

Special Issues of NEW SOUTH:

"The Southern Regional Council, 1944-64," January 1964

"The American Middle Ground in St. Augustine," September 1964

L-Reports:

L-47 "The Question from Jacksonville"

L-24D "Desegregation in Higher Education" (revised)

Miscellaneous:

What Happened in the South?

SRC's publishing interests are to reach as many opinion-leaders as possible and to affect public policy-making. Whether this is done under SRC imprint matters little; indeed, if others publish we save considerable cost. In addition to the fine work they have done for us, Margaret Long, editor of New South, and Pat Watters, Director of Information, have been encouraged to write in our field of interest for the magazines. During 1964, Miss Long published one article in the New York Times

Magazine and three in the Progressive. Mr. Watters had two articles in the Reporter, five in the New Republic, two in the Nation, two in the Progressive, and one in the New York Times Magazine.

During most of the year we were handicapped by not having a Research Director. Fortunately, we have assembled what I believe is the most capable research staff in SRC's history. A Research Director is necessary to a strong publications program, but it is the staff which must perform the research services which seem constantly to increase. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 directs the Commission on Civil Rights to become a national clearinghouse of information; the Commission, we predict, will find it an exhausting job. We have been such a clearinghouse, on a more modest scale, for years, and the pace is fast and the load heavy. We read, classify, and put away about 1,500 items every week, and the research staff is enabled by these to service the mounting demands of government agencies, press, community groups, and students.

OTHER MATTERS

Dr. Lloyd J. Elliott, formerly associate professor of economics at William and Mary, joined us in September as Staff Economist. Dr. Elliott will lead a new venture of studies related specifically to program work of the state Councils and other community groups. It is to be

known as the Economic Counselling and Study Project.

The number of foreign visitors for whom we were Atlanta sponsors declined, due to the vigor of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors, which we helped bring into existence a couple years back. Still, 65 visitors, accompanied by 13 escorts or interpreters, were with us for periods up to a week. Twenty-nine of the 65 came from Africa, seven from Asia, two from Australia-New Zealand, 22 from Europe, four from Latin-America, and one from Israel. Another 74 foreign visitors, sponsored by other Atlanta agencies, came to our offices for briefings.

We are participants and beneficiaries in the Eleanor Roosevelt internships in human relations. Our first intern came in February, worked for his year with VEP, and then was appointed to head a CORE regional office. A second intern came in September, and works with the Field staff. We are pleased that both the North Carolina and the Virginia Councils have been chosen to receive and train interns. These four who have come within our orbit are first-rate.

Paul Anthony voyaged to England in October as a Wilton Park Fellow, to participate in a conference sponsored by the British Foreign Office. Wiley Branton took time off briefly from his VEP duties to win the first jury acquittal in Arkansas's history for a Negro

accused of murdering a white woman. All of the staff faced almost too many speaking engagements; among my own number were the closing address of the Arkansas public meeting of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and a paper on "civil disobedience" before the Southern Political Science Association. I also contributed the opening essay to that body's symposium on the South, published subsequently by Praeger as The American South in the 1960's. The Atlanta NAACP for many years has brought the nation's outstanding Negro leaders to deliver its Emancipation Day address; this is a high honor, and on January 1, 1965 a local man, Vernon E. Jordan, my assistant, excellently lived up to it.

We assisted in getting started the Southern Teaching Project, which brought 53 graduate students from our best universities to teach summer sessions in 1964 at 13 predominantly Negro colleges, and subsequently we did an evaluation of the Project, now a seemingly established enterprise. Two other ventures for which we feel particular pride are the Southern Consumers' Cooperative in southwest Louisiana, recipient in 1964 of the nation's first small business loan under the Economic Opportunity Act, with which we have worked almost since its start; and the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, which we have assisted in a notable program of remedial education.

For the year, income slightly exceeded outgo. Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, our Secretary-Treasurer, was as always our ever-present help in all things financial. The complex financial affairs of the Voter Education Project were kept orderly by Mrs. Jean Levine, Fiscal Assistant. This is a fitting place to record my appreciation of the excellent job done by the entire SRC staff.

Conclusion

A portion of this report that was being written at home on a Sunday night was interrupted by a long distance call from a civic leader in a small city, working to avert a demonstration the next day over employment by the city's retail stores and trying to set up a job-training program. Calls were made, a Council on Human Relations staff member got on the road, there was no demonstration, the local Mayor's bi-racial committee agreed to broaden its Negro membership by taking in two leaders (one a student) of the militant group, the training program got underway, financed by the local merchants. This kind of experience, repeated many times, is perhaps as much a part of the truth of the contemporary South as are Jim Clark and Governor Wallace.

We have tried to be a useful part of this South. To be so requires, however, that one never lose sight

of the reality of that other South of violence and hate. For though the South has many facets, they are all reflected by the same stone. There are many "Souths" -- but fundamentally there is but one, a region seeking escape from its common history of racism, poverty, and political absurdity.

The Southern Regional Council in 1964 as in past years was a part of this struggle. Our office is a meeting-place of men, organizations, ideas, and programs. The new federal civil rights and poverty agencies have worked us ceaselessly, as they have set up and carried on their programs. Nothing has more occupied our time these past months.

We are in 1965 continuing to give priority to support of these new programs, though we shall not overlook our traditional role of reporter and critic. American democracy has invested its needs and hopes in governmental policies. We believe that experience shows that they cannot work well without the care and sometimes guidance of private agencies. In a short time, I believe, the state and local governments of the region will be as active as today is the federal government, and the Council will be as diligent in trying to strengthen them.

Leslie W. Dunbar

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1965

JANUARY 1966

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1965

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John Hervey Wheeler*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Marion A. Wright*

Rufus E. Clement*

Josephine Wilkins*

Stephen J. Wright*

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Paul R. Christopher

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor

James McBride Dabbs

McNeill Smith

Albert W. Dent

H. Franklin Williams

C. G. Gomillion

Thomas W. Young

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

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L. D. Milton, Chairman

DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Josephine Wilkins, Chairman

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Chairman

SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

Charles G. Gomillion, Chairman

*ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1965

It can be said -- with only slight exaggeration -- that 1965 was a year of maturing for the South.

With the possible exception of Alabama, those in the region who made the important traditional decisions generally showed awareness of the desirability of at least a semblance of stability and progress in race relations.

The tragedy of Watts was treated with smugness in some quarters. After all, it occurred in the "North." Generally, though, it was treated with concern. Frequently there arose the question, "Can it happen here?" Here in Atlanta, in Charlotte, in Richmond, in Memphis? More often than not there was the enlightened answer, "It can."

During the past year, the people of the region attempted to digest the results of two important new developments: the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the execution of the War on Poverty. Neither was a very satisfying experience. Both have created new promise and new disillusionment, new participants and new critics. They were, however, uniquely important for they have dominated the human relations movement as well as a number of other fields of interest and will continue to do so during 1966.

A year earlier, during the summer of 1964, the Civil Rights Act was ushered in optimistically with

widespread, though far from complete, voluntary compliance with Title VI on public accommodations. Nothing else was to go as well.

The region has been little touched with the employment provisions of the Act and the new role of the federal government in the non-discriminatory expenditure of federal funds has been disappointing at best. This is especially true in the field of education.

To an unprecedented degree, Negro parents in rural and small town areas attempted to enroll their children in formerly white schools. The results were dismal. There were, and continue to be, considerable violence and reprisal. The statistics reflect the lack of progress. The least state, Alabama, now has approximately 800 or 0.25% of the Negro pupils attending formerly white schools. The highest, Texas, has an estimated 75,340 or 20% of Negro pupils in desegregated situations. The region-wide total is 5.23% of Negro pupils in desegregated schools. This is the result after eleven years of implementation of the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954.

Given these facts it is understandable that Negro parents are bitterly disillusioned with the contrast between the unprecedented national promise and the execution of the law by the U. S. Office of Education and other federal agencies. In varying degrees this

disappointment and a growing cynicism are a reaction to all of the role of the federal government in race related matters in the region. This includes, among others, economics and jobs, urban renewal, law enforcement and voter registration. The lack of faith in the established institutions of the society and the growing lack of respect for the federal establishment have serious consequences and the trend must be reversed by legitimate changes in policy and program.

Somewhat the same conclusions can be reached about the War on Poverty. There were many inexcusable mistakes which need no further documentation here. There is one, the most significant, which deserves mention. It is the mistake of overpromising. Even given the wisest leadership and the soundest of plans, there was an obvious limit to what could be accomplished quickly. Yet from the highest offices in the land have come ringing promises about jobs, training, housing, health care and all the rest. Through the media, especially television, these promises have been heard by the most disadvantaged people in the region. To a surprising degree these promises were believed and embraced. It has been a cruel process. Some, relatively few, have not had this experience. They have been helped. Many of those untouched by the programs have surrendered further to apathy and hopelessness. Others have

transferred their disillusionment to an anger destructive to the individual and dangerous for the society.

Yet, while the grounds for legitimate criticism are staggering, no one expects pure progress on an ideal schedule. It must, therefore, be noted positively that these programs and involvements of the federal government, and innumerable other events and forces, have contributed substantially to the region and are largely responsible for the region's somewhat changed self. We have benefitted considerably and at the close of the year the South was a healthier place than it had been twelve months before.

Were it not for the ever present tragedy of the remaining injustice, it could be argued that the criticisms were so valid and the indignation was so strong only because the times hold such promise and the region's new awareness was so improved. In 1965 the region's standards for itself were higher.

The year ended with an important question still unanswered. Given the commendable new awareness and the higher standards, were these conditions yet of sufficient quality and depth to meet the old need and the new promise? We will know much of the answer in 1966.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Council Affairs

This report cannot be given without first noting the most significant event to affect the Council during 1965. That was, of course, the resignation of Leslie W. Dunbar, who left the agency on September 30 to become the Executive Director of the Field Foundation. To say the least, this man's contributions to the Council were great. He directed, and in some instances produced, the most important research of the organization. Perhaps even more importantly, he set the tone and the direction of the Council during the difficult period of what has been at least the gradual, and revolutionary, shift from the old South to the new.

At the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, held in Atlanta on November 15 and 16, 1965, the Members of the Council passed the following resolution which we think appropriate to include here:

> "The Southern Regional Council at its 22nd Annual Meeting expresses its respect and appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar as its executive director from 1961 to 1965, and as a member of its staff from 1959.
>
> "By his qualities of intellect, of eloquence, of practical skills in the guidance of human

affairs, and of humane appreciation for people, Dr. Dunbar has made a lasting impression for the good on the present reality of the South, and has strengthened our hope for the attainment of the goals of equality and excellence.

"We remember (and will keep trying to justify) the strength of his belief in all the people of the South, and his confidence in the ability of all of us to achieve a people's highest potential.

"Leslie Dunbar is a man in a time of 'image making' who creates immediately the impression that here is an honest and honorable man, with a great depth of integrity, an integrity tempered by a gentleness of manner and spirit. Much of the success of his work with us is attributable to the mark of his personality, the impact of this 'image' of his on the South and the nation.

"But more important is the fact known to us who know him that the impression he makes is not merely 'an image,' but is the very substance of this most remarkable man with whom we worked and with whom we are still associated in mutual concerns and beliefs, and whom we

hold in affection and respect.

"We have been honored by our association with him."

* * *

At the Annual Meeting the Members of the Council heard the recommendation of the Nominating Committee that Mr. John H. Wheeler be re-elected President. This recommendation was unanimously -- and enthusiastically -- adopted. At the first meeting in January, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler was re-elected Chairman of the Executive Committee. Thus, the two senior policy posts continue to be occupied by men both named Wheeler and both from the state of North Carolina. We are extremely fortunate to have Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, and Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, physician of Charlotte, in these positions.

Elected as Vice-Presidents for the coming year were Miss Josephine Wilkins and Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta, Dr. Stephen J. Wright of Nashville and Mr. Paul Christopher of Knoxville. Mr. Joseph F. Haas of Atlanta was re-elected Counsel. We are fortunate, too, to have the guidance of these people who have served the Council long and well.

There were two changes in the membership of the Executive Committee. Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls, North Carolina, a former President of SRC and for

some years a Vice-President, was elected to the Committee. Mrs. J. N. Rayzor of Houston, Texas, informed us she could no longer serve on the Executive Committee. Mrs. Martin Harvey of Jackson, Mississippi, was elected to fill that vacancy. Re-elected to the Executive Committee were: James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina; Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; McNeill Smith, Greensboro, North Carolina; H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida; and, Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Virginia.

The officers of the Council also serve on the Executive Committee.

During the year the Council lost the leadership of three members because they moved from the region. They were: Mr. Patrick J. Owens, formerly of Little Rock, who moved to Detroit to become Editor of the Detroit Free Press; Professor James Silver, formerly of Oxford, Mississippi, who has become Professor of History at Notre Dame University; and The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, formerly of Houston, who became Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church with headquarters in New York City.

To fill these vacancies Mr. Henry Lehmann, a businessman of Ormond Beach, Florida, was elected to the Class of 1966 and Dr. A. D. Beittel, whose term expired in 1965, was re-elected to the Class of 1968.

New members elected to the Class of 1969 were: J. William Becker, Little Rock, Arkansas; Donald Hollowell, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Barbara Jordan, Houston, Texas; William H. Maness, Jacksonville, Florida; Hollis F. Price, Memphis, Tennessee; Claude Ramsey, Jackson, Mississippi; and Mrs. Martha Ragland, Nashville, Tennessee.

On the recommendation of the Executive Committee the Council elected two Life Fellows: Miss Lillian Smith of Clayton, Georgia, and Mr. Paul E. Green of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Perhaps no two persons have contributed more to the Council's areas of concern and we welcome these two distinguished people and warmly anticipate their fellowship and guidance.

Council Members are being involved in the affairs of the organization to an unprecedented degree. The Executive Committee continues the primary responsibility for all Council affairs and is dependent on the work of the Personnel and Finance Committees. In 1964 the Development Committee was organized primarily for the purpose of seeking financial support from within the region. This is a new area for the Council and it will be extremely difficult for this Committee to meet its goals. However, under the chairmanship of Miss Josephine Wilkins, a commendable job has been done during 1965. With our substantial growth in that area, a Special Projects

Advisory Committee has been formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Charles G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute. This Committee has had two meetings and is making a considerable contribution to the development of these programs. The new Voter Education Project has a special advisory committee and a special committee has been formed to consider the future relationships among the state councils on human relations and between them and the Council. We hope during 1966 to involve a number of other Members in specific subject areas. The membership of the Council represents one of the strongest collections of talent, as well as concern, in the region and we would like to take maximum advantage of that talent.

The Department of Field Activities

The programs and growth of the state councils on human relations were again during 1965 the major concern of this department. This effort to establish a genuine community-by-community interracial movement throughout the region has gone through lean, hard years and -- for all the progress and growth -- is still in its infancy in most states.

We have not been fully aware, I think, of the significance of the tremendous difficulties in developing this program. It is so much easier to identify a single issue, study it, take action on it, and clarify

it in the mind of the public than it is to establish in a community a council of local people to be concerned day-by-day with the problems which affect them and the programs which will join them.

Part of the problem of these councils has been that the idea was too right too soon. These groups advocated the simple but vital idea that people must join together to understand each other and to seek a resolution to their problems. In time it became responsible and respectable for many people to say this. But, in some instances, by that time those who had said these things first had "lost their effectiveness."

Another serious problem has been that membership and staff were interested in "doing something," not in building organizations. To a point this is commendable as well as understandable. You don't find and enlist dedicated people and then expect their primary interest to be the seemingly bureaucratic one of raising funds and recruiting members. Yet, the council movement will not succeed unless it has a base of strength in local funds and membership. During the past several years SRC has emphasized this point and it is generally being accepted by the state councils.

Perhaps the most serious problem of all, and related to the above, is the one of southern philanthrophy. We do not have in the region a tradition of adequately

supporting financially the causes we endorse or even of understanding that we must support them first if we expect anyone else to do so. This, too, is changing, but it is a painful and slow process.

For all the serious problems, it was a good year for the state councils. Eight of these groups have been staffed regularly since 1954-1955; they are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas. One, Mississippi, began a staffed operation last January after having been driven out of existence in 1957. Louisiana remains unstaffed, though we hope to see this corrected in 1966. Texas has no state-wide organization, but has a vigorous and highly effective Houston Council. At the height of their strength during 1965, these groups employed 22 professional workers, achieved by the end of the year a membership of approximately 12,000 and raised within their states more than $100,000. A total of approximately $300,000 was spent by them during the year.

Among the significant program highlights were the nine Head Start programs with 26 centers sponsored by four state councils and one local council in communities that otherwise would not have had this resource for pre-school children; these were in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina and Houston, Texas.

In many areas Head Starts, as well as a number of other federally funded programs, were supported and assisted by councils though not sponsored by them.

All of the councils were active early in the year and through the summer in the area of school integration. This activity concerned itself especially with reaching Negro parents and informing them of pertinent rules and regulations and thereafter, where they wished, in assisting children who sought transfer to formerly white schools. Several of the councils held statewide or area conferences for this purpose. In late summer and thereafter this interest all too often had to shift to helping victims of intimidation and violence who had taken advantage of the opportunities theoretically available to them. This was especially true of the Georgia and Alabama Councils.

As indicated by the introduction to this report, major programs for all the councils related to the new national legislation and the organization of the war on poverty. We saw clear indications during the year past that none of these laws or programs can be effective unless private agencies form at least an informal partnership with public agencies and publicly funded programs. Assisting, supporting, interpreting, recruiting for, and monitoring the federal programs and agencies were a major contribution of the councils during 1965.

For some years SRC has contributed, through its grants-in-aid program, slightly more than $50,000 per year in support of the state council programs. While valuable, this assistance has been inadequate and was being annually reduced for each council as other needs had to be considered. For instance, in 1965 the Mississippi Council was reorganized and had to be supported along with the rest. In December we received word from the Ford Foundation of a grant of $100,000 per year for three years in support of the SRC grants-in-aid program for the state councils. These funds are for the purpose of upgrading and increasing the number of staff persons in the state councils and will be a tremendous help.

In cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund we began in 1965 the Rural Advancement Program. This was an effort to place with several of the state councils an additional staff person to concentrate on programs with persons in rural and small town areas. We were, by the end of the year, able to provide the complete costs of such programs in four states: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

In memory of that outstanding man, the Council in 1964 initiated the George S. Mitchell Award. This was designated to be given annually to the state council which had the highest percentage increase in membership. In 1965 the Alabama Council won this award and the

accompanying gift of $1,000. To win the award this council had grown from a membership of 400 at the beginning of 1965 to more than 1,200 by November of the year. (They also raised more than $20,000 from within the state of Alabama during the year.) It was a remarkable record, but no more than indicative of the soundness of the program of that group.

On November 15 Mrs. Alice Mitchell came to Atlanta to present the award named for her husband. Mrs. Mitchell's presentation was perhaps the finest moment of the 1965 Annual Meeting.

Partially because of the record cited above, J. Edwin Stanfield, director of the Alabama Council, has been appointed the new director of field activities for SRC and came to that post in January 1966.

In 1965 the Council was again asked to serve as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, the informal gathering quarterly of more than forty agencies and groups concerned with race relations in the region. We are anxious to continue this service for we feel that an exchange of information and cooperation among the various agencies is now more important than ever.

The Council's director of women's work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, continued in her own inimitable way. The SRC-sponsored region-wide meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned was held in Atlanta on November 3 and 4. From that meeting came special concern with southern justice

and the operation of the courts. Recalling a highly successful effort of almost twenty years ago, the ladies of this meeting again requested that teams of women regularly visit every courthouse in the region as quiet observers to remind the court officials of citizens' interest in justice. Shortly we shall attempt to call a meeting of the leadership of a number of national women's organizations to seek their cooperation in this program.

For the second year we have cooperated with the program of Books for Equal Education. This is co-sponsored by the National Student Association and the U. S. Youth Council. During the summer we offered office space and secretarial help to this sound project which collected and distributed approximately 300,000 books mostly for Negro college libraries, community centers, freedom schools, and the like.

During the spring and summer, in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee we developed a program to reach a maximum number of parents, especially in rural and small town areas, to inform them of the situation related to school desegregation in September. The core of this program was a packet of factual materials and guides to community organization, pupil recruitment, transfer procedures and proper complaint channels. Approximately 1,400 of these packets were mailed to persons in more than 280 communities. These

mailings were followed by other materials and staff assistance was provided where requested and when possible. The response to this effort was far greater than we had anticipated and proved what we had long suspected: Negro parents in rural and small town areas, including those who are poorly educated and in vulnerable economic situations, are anxious that their children have the best possible education and will go to great lengths to get their children into the best schools available if allowed to do so.

We have cooperated with, offered some office services to, and co-sponsored two publications with the new southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union. Late in the year we agreed to work closely with a new program being developed by the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. By the end of the year we had under serious consideration joint programs with the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee. We continue our cooperation and interest in the southern program of the National Student Association, the student councils on human relations and other student groups. Reluctantly, because of the demands of other program commitments which we have made, we declined an invitation of the Peace Corps to conduct one or more training programs for overseas volunteers.

Research and Information

These two "departments" are reported on under one title because we hope to make a single unit of them. The Council began with an information section. When resources permitted, a research division was added. Both have grown considerably. Since these two interests overlap, and in large measure complement each other, we hope to bring them under one heading operationally as well as in title. In fact, there is need for an identifiable Center for Research and Information of the Council. We will pursue this during 1966 but it will require thoughtful planning as well as additional resources.

The Southern Regional Council is many things. It is, above all else, a recorder of facts and an interpreter of events. Repeatedly we have seen the importance and the influence of these functions. We must do whatever is necessary to continue these functions, and to preserve the integrity of this part of our operation.

In terms of staff, research and information are now our largest operation. Including the immediately related project service personnel there are now ten persons working in this section. This is almost one-third of our total staff. The senior person in this group with responsibility for the overall operation is Pat Watters, director of information.

Another senior person in the division, editor Margaret Long, is about to embark on one of the more exciting efforts yet envisioned by the Council. She will be, in effect, a "writer in residence" with time and an opportunity to make maximum use of her unique skills. Equally important, she will have the responsibility of working with and encouraging new talent in the fields of fiction and non-fiction, poetry and music.

In mid-year, Samuel L. Adams came with us as director of research. Mr. Adams, formerly a reporter on the St. Petersburg Times, was a 1965 nominee for the Pulitzer Prize and a runner-up for the Lane Bryant Award for excellence in journalism.

In January the Council published Federal Anti-Poverty Programs, a brief description of the specifics of the new programs, designed for wide distribution. This was followed in March by a second publication on this subject, New Federal Programs in the South.

In April the Council published, in cooperation with the southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union, Racial Desegregation in the Southern Federal Courts. This special report documented the overwhelming whiteness of the personnel of these courts.

In May the Council issued one of its most significant publications. This was Encounter with the Future, by Pat Watters. This study, based on some months

of preparation, attempted to delve into one of the most complex areas of concern: the role of the young civil rights workers, their motives, their accomplishments and the effects on them of their experiences. Pat Watters wrote, we believe, objectively and compassionately. The reactions were astounding. SNCC concurred in the accuracy of the report's conclusions; Lillian Smith called it "beautiful." Charles Silberman referred to it as "a tremendous contribution." Seldom have we grappled with such a difficult subject -- or a more essential one -- and seldom have we made such an impact.

At the fall meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference the Council was asked to do research in and publish a report on what had happened in school desegregation in September. The result was the special report, September, 1965 School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law, released in October. Although the U. S. Office of Education and the Southern Education Reporting Service shared information with us, we found it extremely difficult to determine statistically what had taken place. The report, when released, did, however, contain the most reliable information available. This information was substantially more correct than that issued earlier by the Office of Education and helped to dispel the then widespread opinion that school desegregation was proceeding with marked new success.

By October there was concern over the acquittal of several persons accused of murdering civil rights workers and a growing demand that something be done to correct this. Much of this demand was being voiced in terms of a special law to protect these workers. We felt that whatever corrective measures were called for, there was a need to understand that all Negroes and most of the South's poor were frequently discriminated against in the courts. The issue was, we felt, not protection for a special group, but for all persons discriminated against. In cooperation with the southern office of ACLU, the Council issued the report, Southern Justice: An Indictment, a documentation of the problem with a special emphasis on jury reform. We believe the report was effective. This report and the earlier one on discrimination in federal courts were perhaps the most complete and definitive reporting on one of the year's most crucial problems. It was only after the second SRC publication and a good six months after the first that the national press became aware that justice was a new and pressing concern of the civil rights movement.

October was a productive month. The third publication issued during that month was The Migrant Farmer: A Psychiatric Study, by M. Robert Coles, M.D. For two years this brilliant psychiatrist worked with us, largely

conducting research on the effects of school desegregation on the children involved. We are pleased that Dr. Coles has continued to serve as a consultant since going to Harvard and feel that in this publication he added a new dimension to the concerns with migrant workers.

In December, a study two years in preparation was issued. This was Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation. This study, prepared by Dr. Ross Green and three of his colleagues at the Emory University School of Education, was our first major effort to probe the problems involved in providing quality education for the region's children. A major foundation has invited us to explore with them how the recommendations of this report can be implemented.

We are pleased with our continuing opportunities for close cooperation and consultation with the representatives of the press and other media and with the growing opportunities to deal with persons in these professions within the region. For example, the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times reprinted in full our report on Southern Justice..., as did several newspapers outside the region. We are complimented when some of the southern press report objectively our fact-finding in news columns and then take occasion on the editorial page to differ with our conclusions. (The Columbia /S.C./ Record referred to us editorially as "sedate

and witless," but devoted considerable space to our report on school desegregation -- and did not dispute the facts in that report.) We think these relationships are of the utmost importance and that any disagreements lead to honest and healthy dialogue.

Throughout this report there are many references to our interest in the appropriate programs of the federal government. Much of this interest falls, of course, on our information and research departments. One unique problem arising from this interest bears mention here. To an unfortunate degree commentary on a particular federal program, or the intricacies of that program, is all too often seen as a partisan endorsement of or criticism of an individual or an administration. We would like to believe that the objective of achieving a just and abundant society is not a partisan matter. Certainly our continuing cooperation with these efforts and our comments on them will be conducted in that belief.

At its October meeting, the Executive Committee approved a major policy change in our publications programs. Since its beginning, SRC has published the monthly magazine New South. This publication will now be on a quarterly basis with the winter issue to appear in mid-February. We feel this magazine, of approximately 100 pages per issue, will give us an opportunity for greater diversity and cover more fully some of the subject

areas undertaken. During the first issue we will publish articles by Robert Coles, Vincent Harding, Margaret Long, Robert Sherrill. We will have included excerpts from the new edition of James Silver's Mississippi, The Closed Society, and a reprint of one of the lectures in the William Cook Lecture Series of Leslie W. Dunbar at the University of Michigan. Articles will be included that will be reprinted for considerably wider distribution than that of the magazine's distribution. With the new format there will be experimentation in theme issues dealing with urban planning, regional economics, school desegregation, voting, and other pertinent subject areas. We are excited about the potentials of the New South.

As the year ended, certain conclusions were reached about our research and information functions. In general, policy emphasis will continue on serving efficiently and fully the information needs of individuals, from college professors to newspaper reporters to students doing term papers. Sizeable increases in number and varieties of publications published by the Council are anticipated. This reflects in part expansion of program, in part the growing demand for materials that people can work with -- how-to-do-it pamphlets, descriptions of governmental processes, and the like. At the same time, there will be no let-up in the effort to provide information and

opinion about events and issues as the need arises.

The need is clear for continued emphasis in research and publications on the areas of past concern: education, justice, housing, government, poverty, jobs, voting. New resources will allow us to address ourselves to these needs. What will likely be more innovative this year will be an intensification of treatment, a seeing of the problems in new dimensions. Community action, for example, seems to be an approach that will be applicable to nearly all of these areas of concern. The role of planning is another new part of the program. Beyond these things which can be anticipated, a first principle will continue to be alertness for the unexpected, and flexibility to be able to handle it adequately, including awareness of opportunity to treat problems before they become critical.

In an exploratory vein, there will be attention to the possibility of developing material in media not previously used by SRC, including movies and recordings. This may be a necessity as more and more local groups come into being with a need for these resources. There will be attention also to the possibilities of constructive service to the South in encouraging and collecting creative work in the area and folklore of the area.

Efforts will be made to compile information and recollections of the founders and movers of SRC and others for SRC archives and otherwise to improve condition, cataloguing and availability of the archives. The Atlanta University Library staff will cooperate in this undertaking.

New and Expanded Programs

In October, the Ford Foundation made a substantial grant to the Council. This support and that of other foundations will enable us to considerably expand several of our programs and to institute others.

These programs fall under three general headings: Governmental Programs, Special Studies, and Technical Assistance. The interests of the several projects overlap considerably and we hope to achieve a high degree of cooperation among them. In brief description they are:

(1) Governmental Programs:

A. Urban Planning Project. This project will attempt, with both short term and long term programs and goals, to slow the trend toward establishing ghettos and to develop positive programs to reverse that trend. Major emphasis will be on offering technical assistance to urban planners and other public officials. (This is already being done in one city in Florida.) We shall attempt also to offer assistance to the appropriate departments of the federal government and to study, analyze, and interpret the role of these departments. Special attention will be given to the regional and state offices of these departments. Consultative services will be available to local groups who wish to develop an interest in this area and to those who

wish to stabilize a changing neighborhood or those who want to begin the process of neighborhood integration. Programs concerned with neighborhood improvement will also be assisted. An incidental but important part of this project will be to work with schools of architecture and urban planning in curriculum development to see that planners now being trained will have a better understanding of the necessary technical and social aspects of adequate urban planning.

To direct this project we have been fortunate to secure Mr. Moreland Smith, the distinguished architect formerly of Montgomery, Alabama. Mr. Smith has been at work since November and the progress to date is most encouraging.

B. Fair Employment and Anti-Poverty Programs. Emphasis here will be on offering assistance to and analyzing the effectiveness of all appropriate federal programs, especially those concerned with employment and poverty. An effort will be made to develop greater community interest in these programs. In cooperation with

several of the other projects considerable materials will be prepared to reach those for whom the federal programs are intended. We hope to encourage the federal agencies to prepare much more of this material themselves and to allow SRC and other private agencies to concentrate on the distribution of it. Consultants will be available to assist local groups in organizing and seeking federal assistance. Some attention too will be given to the role of state and local governments. A project director has not been secured for this program.

C. School Integration. We shall continue our interest in public school integration with emphasis on research in developing more adequate programs to bring about this essential change. Consultants will be available to assist parents and local groups who wish to contribute to this process. At this point it is generally premature for an agency like the Council, but we do anticipate a gradual shift in interest from the mechanics of school

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desegregation to the broad area of achieving quality education for the region's children. Responsibility for this program rests with several departments, primarily field and research. There is no program director.

2. Special Studies:

A. Welfare Programs. It is generally agreed by everyone, including those who administer them, that our welfare programs do not work. We shall attempt to conduct research for the purpose of developing sound ideas for more effective welfare programs. Consultants will be available to work with public officials and to work with local groups who wish to assist in this program in their communities.

B. Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration. In the fall we had a tentative agreement with Mr. George Randall, then Director of Prisons for North Carolina, to direct this project. Mr. Randall, whose accomplishments in this area are outstanding, was to serve as a full-time consultant to officials in other states. Subsequently, the state of Oregon lured

Mr. Randall and it was a real loss to SRC and to the region. (As we told Mr. Randall, any state enlightened enough to employ him did not need his services.) We continue to look for a director of this project, but the results to date are not encouraging. It may, therefore, be necessary to redesign the project. Whether or not this is done, the project will provide consultants to persons in public and private life concerned with these subjects and research will be conducted.

C. Technological Unemployment. This is a research program designed to go beyond further documentation of the fact that automation is creating unemployment. As a first step we hope to determine more accurately than heretofore has been done the true number of unemployed and the location and characteristics of these persons. If we are able to do this we believe it will provide us and others with information essential for sound programs.

3. Technical Assistance:

A. Project in Community Organization.

There are now springing up in the region innumerable self-help programs. These range from city slum improvement efforts to agricultural co-operatives. We hope to learn as much as we can of these programs and to make this information available to others. Technical consultants will be available. (We have just been asked to provide a specialist in vegetable marketing, and could use immediately a candle maker, a home construction specialist and innumerable others.) We hope, too, to experiment with the idea of using persons from slums or tenant farms who have participated in sound programs as consultants to others in like circumstances. How-to-do-it materials will be prepared, efforts will be made to put private groups in touch with appropriate federal programs, and in some instances we shall attempt to assist groups in developing their programs to the point where they qualify for federal assistance.

In this project, as with the Voter Education Project, considerable experimentation will

be done in the use of college students during the school year as well as in the summer.

Thus far we have learned enough to become concerned about the development of many of these programs without sufficient knowledge or resources. The idea of the all-embracing magic of co-operatives has spread to an alarming degree and raises the possibility of serious disillusionment. As a result of this, one of our first publications will suggest some of the limitations of co-operatives, point out some of the essential requirements for successful efforts and identify situations to be avoided.

Many of these interests will be developed in cooperation with the Rural Advancement Project staff of the four state councils, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

Al Ulmer, formerly of the field department, is director of this project. We find that his Peace Corps experience in Nigeria, his work on a Kibbutz in Israel,

and his year-long private work in one of Atlanta's slums have provided him with a uniquely valuable background for this assignment.

B. Labor Education Program. This program is conducted in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education of American University. The primary focus of the labor program is on work with intermediate union leadership in the South on problems of racial relations and the contemporary South. "Intermediate leadership" will be broadly defined to embrace at least top local union leadership up to and including full-time union staff.

The methods of the labor program will be largely educational. In the first instance this will mean developing two-to-five-day programs devoted to regional problems with a primary emphasis on matters pertaining to civil rights and race relations. In other instances, SRC staff will be involved in programs concerned with other issues sponsored by unions or other groups in which it was thought wise to include some human relations material.

On occasion, the labor program will experiment with other ways for reaching unionists. For example, it is frequently more effective to deal with race relations problems within the normal framework of the union's operation. So, if the consideration of such matters can be included in stewards' training or union administration classes, so much the better.

The program will continue to perform a liaison function between human relations agencies and unions. It will serve in a consultant capacity to individuals and organizations where this is seen to be mutually desirable. The program will seek to develop and distribute materials pertaining to the Council's areas of interest which will be useable within the labor movement.

The program works cooperatively with the state AFL-CIO bodies in the South and with the national AFL-CIO departments of Civil Rights and Education. Similarly, the program will cooperate with the national unions represented in the region which have education or civil rights programs.

To direct this program we have been fortunate to secure Dr. Emory F. Via, on leave from the University of Wisconsin. It is very good to have back this valuable man who worked with us in the late '50's.

C. The Voter Education Project. This project is essentially a continuation of the Council's earlier program of voter education. However, a number of changes have been made, reflecting the new situations and the new needs of the voters and potential voters of the region. For instance, a much greater emphasis will be placed on citizenship education. We have no illusions of the difficulty of providing programs of sound non-partisan, civic education. But we believe such programs are necessary and we shall attempt to develop them. Many of these programs will be conducted in the larger cities where voter registration is relatively high. Frequently they will be conducted along with programs of voter registration and community organization.

In the rural and small town areas emphasis will probably continue to be on voter registration, though here too we find a

substantial need for organization and citizenship training. To the extent that violence and reprisals continue to be used as means to prevent the participation of Negroes in the political process this is especially true.

We plan to offer a number of "work scholarships" to students during the summer and during the school year for work with local groups. We hope in this way to tap the energy and resources of these young people and to offer encouragement and training for their continued participation in these vital areas of citizenship.

There are plans to utilize southern campuses for workshops and to prepare voter education materials on private and federal betterment efforts where feasible. Our research effort will document techniques, develop needed materials, encourage effective reporting by participants, and interpret events through frequent publications.

We have assurances of cooperation in implementing these programs, from the five major civil rights agencies and

expressions of serious interest from many local organizations. Since grants of funds and personnel assignments will be arranged directly with these groups, we require only a core of staff -- project director, secretary, fiscal officer, research aide, and for the foreseeable future, a field director. Resources which cut across special interest boundaries are provided the project by an Advisory Committee, which held its first meeting December 30, 1965.

Only a portion of the funds needed for this project are currently available. However, we hope to secure and invest more than $300,000 in this program during the year.

Vernon E. Jordan, formerly assistant to the director, is director of this project. In July Mr. Jordan took a leave of absence to serve as a special consultant in the regional Office of Economic Opportunity. It is good to have him back and to have his considerable talents available for this important work.

This opportunity to expand the Council's programs and to develop new ones is, to us, both exciting and

significant. It has long been a dream of our founders and Members that the Council be a repository of skills needed for the region's development. We are now approaching the realization of that dream and the timing is appropriate.

For a number of years this was not possible because the resources were not available. Such resources as there were had to be used to meet the most immediate situations. This has not been unfortunate. The Council has made a considerable contribution. It has grown painfully and slowly but in the process we have grown in influence and gained invaluable experience.

During the past months I have given considerable thought to these matters, what the Council is and what this position of director is.

In the case of the Council, I recently attempted to describe the organization to one of our supporters. In that description was the following:

"We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources

as we can bring to bear will make a difference. These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of specialized skills, interests, and resources..."

So I see the Southern Regional Council.

My understanding of the position of the executive director is considerably less clear. Certainly it is, more than ever before, an administrative one. During the past months, in staff, programs and budget, we have literally exploded. It is not easy, in this field, to spend a great deal of money with wisdom and maximum efficiency. It is extremely difficult to find a large number of new staff persons, to incorporate them into the organization and to make the best use of their talents. We have had a great deal of this to accomplish in a very short time. I can report to you in all honesty that the beginnings of this undertaking have not been disappointing. But, I have no illusions that it is only a beginning.

There is yet much to be done before we can be comfortable with these magnificent new resources and opportunities.

We must be careful too, no matter what resources we find, to keep our lean look and to depend on the Council's traditional ingenuity. It may be heresy to make this observation, but I firmly believe we are blessed by having no endowment. It is good that the Council and staff are regularly submitted to scrutiny and evaluation not only by the Members of the Council but by outside observers as well. We are an institution, but we became a valuable one because of this leanness and this ingenuity and a good measure of brilliance on the part of those who have led the organization. It would be fatal to get to the point where these characteristics were not essential to survival.

In the concluding paragraph of my report to you at the Annual Meeting I attempted to say this to you in the following way: "We have come too far now -- late as it is -- and too many have done too much -- to fail at this point. We have many opportunities -- some of them as a direct result of having succeeded in doing what we tried to do. We have gone through lean, hard years. Now, neither we the Council nor we the South can let progress and opportunity defeat us when adversity could not."

Finally, this position of Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council -- whatever else -- is a

magnificent one for any person who loves this region and has a concern for its development. This is true for many of our positions at SRC and I, and we all, pledge to you the most productive year we are capable of providing.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1966
JANUARY 1967

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

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1966

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SENIOR PROFESSIONAL STAFF

- : -

Executive Director - Paul Anthony

Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Alexander

Director of Field Activities - J. Edwin Stanfield

Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Director of Information - Pat Watters

Managing Editor, SRC Publications - Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Writer in Residence - Margaret Long

Director, Voter Education Project - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Research Director, V.E.P. - Marvin Wall

Director, Labor Education - Emory F. Via

Director, Community Organization - Al Ulmer

Director, Urban Planning - Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA

Director, Crime and Rehabilitation - John O. Boone
(began appointment July 18, 1966)

Senior Research Assistant - Glenda Bartley

Librarian - Bernice Morrison

Executive Assistant - Edwyn Lewis, Jr. (Resigned, August 19, 1966)
- James N. Wood (Appointment effective January, 1967)

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1966

In last year's report, a brief assessment of conditions in the region concluded with the following:

> "The year ended with an important question still unanswered. Given the commendable new awareness and the higher standards, were these conditions yet of sufficient quality and depth to meet the old need and the new promise? We will know much of the answer in 1966."

As the year ended we did, indeed, know much of the answer and such as we knew was not encouraging.

To be sure a few more jobs opened up, a few more Negro children transferred to "white" schools, and in some instances real and identifiable progress took place in communities. But the title of our school desegregation report for the year might summarize our evaluation of things generally. The report was entitled, School Desegregation 1966; The Slow Undoing.

As in years past statistics changed and generally for the better. But in years past we have cautioned that statistics did not tell the whole story and implied that more change was taking place than was statistically evident. And, so I believe, it was,

especially in understanding. White Southerners and, to a lesser but still an important degree, Negro Southerners have gone through an incredible educational experience during the past decade.

During 1966 there was at least a slowing and perhaps a retrogression in this process of understanding and the benefits which came from it. For fifteen years we have had in the region a formula for working slowly out of a terrible dilemma. Always delicately, sometimes with success, sometimes without, the scales which balanced order have painfully sought and found that position between what Negroes would demand and what whites would accept. And, the balance, as inadequate as it was, has gone slowly upward, quicker and quicker. More importantly, this formula worked -- achieving both progress and stability.

Essential to the formula was at least partial good will and some understanding on the part of many white Southerners, good leadership and phenomenal patience on the part of many Negro Southerners. Essential, too, was the substantial measure of self-interest to which whites particularly, but again both groups, responded.

Understanding, patience, sensible response to self-interest, these were all placed in jeopardy during 1966.

White Southerners have gone through an incredible revolution. It is not just that they believe it, it is so. Their whole society and all of its patterns have changed. With considerable justification many are proud of the way in which they have accommodated this change. They have changed structures, accepted laws, and become accustomed to radical tokenism. Now they are impatient, embittered, defiant, and confused that more would be demanded. This is because the typical white Southerner (and undoubtedly the typical white American) believes the Negro now has an equal chance, that this is the essence of American society -- as indeed it is -- and enough is enough.

1966 was the year when the white South decided it was going fast enough and perhaps much too fast. This is, of course, serious. And if, as seems to be the case from here, much of the nation agreed, then it is critical.

Negro Southerners are aware of this and to a degree which I have not heretofore witnessed, there

is a growing question among this part of our citizenry as to whether or not integration and the democratic society can ever be achieved.

To be sure such instances as the recent Georgia gubernatorial election -- or non-election -- may be too heavy an influence on our judgment. (The wags of the office say SRC may move its offices to Birmingham where there is "a more favorable climate.") The growing retreat into Negro society for Negro Southerners may be only the prelude to healthy independence. But, I think not.

We are not, of course, without a fundamental hope and optimism. Indeed, I trust that every working hour of the SRC staff and every function of the Council is, itself, an expression of hope, confidence, and optimism. The remainder of this report has as its purpose a summary documentation of that hope and our expressions of it.

However, as we review the events of 1966 it is difficult for me to conclude other than the sad analysis that we have yet many years of an essentially segregated society. One must wonder if we can stand that costly, costly moral burden.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Council Affairs

On recommendation of the Nominating Committee, the Members of the Council during the Annual Meeting in November unanimously reelected Mr. John H. Wheeler as President of the Council. The Members expressed their appreciation to Mr. Wheeler and to Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler who served as Chairman of the Executive Committee during 1966. A new chairman of the Executive Committee will be selected when that group holds its first meeting in 1967. To these expressions of the Members I should like to add my own word of deep gratitude. The year was a busy one, hectic in detail and most important in policy. It was also a good year, but it would not have been without the leadership of these two outstanding men and the thorough participation of all of the Members of the Executive Committee.

Elected as Vice-Presidents for the coming year were Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta; Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta; Mr. Paul R. Christopher of Knoxville; and Mr. Thomas W. Young of Norfolk. Mr. Joseph F. Haas of Atlanta was reelected Counsel.

Elected to the Executive Committee were Dr. Lucius Pitts of Birmingham; Dr. James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville; Dr. Albert W. Dent of New Orleans; Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute (Ala.); Mrs. Martin Harvey of Jackson (Miss.); Mr. McNeill Smith of Greensboro; Dr. H. Franklin Williams of Coral Gables; and Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls.

The officers of the Council also serve as ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

During the year the Council lost the leadership of Vice-President Stephen J. Wright who left the region to head the United Negro College Fund in New York, and two Members, Dr. James A. Colston who became President of Bronx Community College, New York, and Mr. Henry Lehmann who was transferred by his company, General Electric, from the region.

To fill these vacancies Mr. George Owens of Tougaloo was elected to the Class of 1967 and Mr. Brooks Hays of Little Rock was elected to the Class of 1968.

New Members elected to the Class of 1970 were: Mr. Brad Ansley, Sarasota, Florida; Mr. Edward Elson, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Jerome H. Holland, Hampton

Institute (Va.); Dr. Vivian Henderson, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Glen E. Laskey, Ruston, Louisiana; Mr. Alan Parker, Tuskegee, Alabama; Dr. Vascoe Smith, Memphis, Tennessee; and, Mr. Julius Chambers, Charlotte, North Carolina.

On recommendation of the Executive Committee the Council elected three Life Fellows: Father Theodore Gibson of Miami, Florida; Colonel Francis Pickens Miller of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Dr. Riley B. Montgomery of Lexington, Kentucky.

Sadly, the Council lost one of its Life Fellows -- and as one of its great spirits -- Miss Lillian Smith. The Members adopted a tribute to Miss Smith from which the following is excerpted:

> "Lillian Smith, Georgia author whose books on the South are acclaimed around the world, died September 28 in an Atlanta hospital in her last struggle of a 13-year-illness, concluding the career of a Southerner 'who never wanted to write about race, but just about people.'
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> *********
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> "In her later years, Miss Smith studied, mused and wrote about vast and troubling changes in human life leading to 'the tremendous future' of man, and this year regretted, and withdrew her support from the new disciples of 'black power.' 'What we want,' she said shortly before her death, is 'human power.'

"Lillian Smith's friendships and influence reached to the powerful people of the earth and to humble neighbors on a Georgia mountainside. Students, politicians, writers from Europe, Asia and Africa visited her home on Old Screamer Mountain, as did American intellectuals, literary people, old friends and plain book-readers on pilgrimages to a brave thinker.

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"Lillian Smith paid the price it costs a prophet to tell the truth to his own country. STRANGE FRUIT brought her fame and money, and persecution and insult such as few women have sustained. Other books of importance were, she felt, killed by silent censorship North and South. And up from Clayton beneath Old Screamer Mountain, three times came enemies to burn down buildings, so that she lost a novel and other manuscripts and treasured notes, documents and household goods.

"The author summoned equal valor in her long fight with recurrent cancer, a trial she turned into a source of hope and courage for thousands with fatal illness and other ordeals.

"It is fitting that the Council honor the brave intelligence, the righteous judgments and the penetrating work of this Southern Regional Council life member."

Programs and Projects

1966 was the year of substantial expansion for the Council. Late in 1965 we began recruitment of staff for a second Voter Education Project and for a number of

specialists in such fields as urban planning, labor education, community organization, prison reform and criminal rehabilitation, and research and editing.

In addition to normal staff turnover, we have grown by some 60% during the year. Recruiting staff, working with them as programs are developed and incorporating individuals and projects into the SRC structure have been the demanding and priority responsibilities of the year.

While all of this has by no means been completed, we have made a reasonable amount of progress and the results are satisfying. This is particularly true in the caliber of people we have found and the degree to which they have been able to conceive of this agency's philosophy and method of work.

To those familiar with the Council, our growth in staff and funds is impressive. But, in this growth we have, I think, been able to preserve the idea of attempting to accomplish significant results with modest resources. For example, expenditures in excess of a million dollars is certainly substantial by SRC standards. Broken into its parts, however, puts the resources into better perspective: $33,000 for urban planning, $22,000

for community organization and $34,000 for prison reform, for instance. Given talented individuals, we believe these relatively limited funds for serious program areas are a challenge and sufficient to be effective; certainly, these relatively small amounts are not a liability.

The following program reports will attempt to describe -- by department and project -- the major interests and efforts of 1966. While space is too limited to do any of them justice, I trust this accounting will reflect the overlapping and cooperation of the various programs, the cooperation and support to sister agencies and others who share our concerns, and the integrity and skill of these SRC staff persons for whom I have sincere admiration and to whom I am grateful for that which has been accomplished during the year.

The Department of Field Activities

Service and assistance to the state Councils on Human Relations continues as the primary interest and responsibility of this department. During 1966, our grant-in-aid program for the state Councils increased significantly

to $150,000. In addition, approximately $50,000 was provided for an additional staff person for each of four state Councils to work exclusively in rural areas (The Rural Advancement Project, developed in cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund). This support, along with modest grants in a number of program areas brought our total aid to state Councils to well above $225,000 for the year.

We continue to hope and work toward the goal of having the state Councils self-sustaining in their basic operations, and substantial progress is being made toward that goal. Dues-paid membership now stands at about 11,500; an increase of 23% over last year. (The George S. Mitchell Award for the greatest percentage increase in membership went to the Arkansas Council, which grew by 95%.) The state Councils had 26 full-time, professional employees and we hope for a continued modest increase in this number. The Councils raised about $120,000 from local sources, an increase of 20%, and their operating budgets increased by about 25%, exceeding $400,000.

We continue to define and develop the relationship between SRC and the independent state Councils

on Human Relations which we organized more than a decade ago. In programs we have made considerable progress in cooperation and support. In areas such as school integration, court reform, welfare, and voter education we have been able to conduct joint programs and/or to offer each other support that has definitely enhanced the value and effectiveness of each agency. Many of these will be referred to throughout the remainder of this report.

(Ironically, much work has been required to make use of the resources available in the subject areas referred to above. We had been so many years without such resources that we had to work hard to get state and local Councils adjusted to the idea that relatively substantial staff and financial resources were available for local program development.)

In response to overtures from state Council directors and presidents, a special committee of SRC members and Council presidents was set up to consider the continuing relationship between the two groups. The committee has met twice and considerable thinking and discussion has gone into this work.

It is impossible within a brief report to do more than suggest the difference that increased growth and support of the state Councils has made in the lives of people. In Virginia, 1,075 religious leaders gathered in Richmond under the sponsorship of all major religious groups for a conference on "People, Religion, and A Changing Virginia." As one of the speakers put it, "We have never been here before." In Georgia, more than 30,000 copies of a booklet titled, Know Your Rights have been distributed to help poor people in dealing with the police; and, surprisingly, police departments from several cities and counties asked for copies to give to policemen. In Houston, 1,500 people have had a chance to air their complaints and discuss city problems with the mayor as a part of the Houston Council's "Meet the Mayor" program. In Arkansas, citizens' groups have been organized to secure fair and integrated housing and to work for better conditions and practices in the state's penal system. In Huntsville, Alabama, 120 maids have been helped to organize a union to secure fairer wages and working conditions and to form a credit union. Also in Alabama, hundreds of Negro farmers have

been taught how to participate in Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections, which means participation in determining their crop allotments -- and a few have for the first time been elected to community and county committees. And, in South Carolina, rural people from 30 of the state's 46 counties meet in ten Rural Advancement Project groups to work for economic improvement; and they are backed by 1,178 state Council members from 153 communities.

In the spring and early summer we cooperated with other private agencies and the United States Commission on Civil Rights in a series of conferences on school desegregation in each of the Southern states. This was a model of the potential of cooperation among private agencies and between private agencies and a public agency. In consultation with the private agencies the Commission set up programs to describe the laws and procedures of school desegregation. Private agencies saw to it that specialists and consultants were available and, more importantly, such groups as the state Councils, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP and

others saw to it that concerned Negro parents got to these meetings where school superintendents, board members, and state officials were in attendance. SRC coordinated much of this and administered a special grant to provide modest travel funds for those who could not otherwise attend. This program brought together more than 7,000 people for these deliberations.

The field department, the state Councils, and the project on Crime and Corrections assisted a program on court reform developed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work. In the spring, Mrs. Tilly called together the leaders of some twenty national women's organizations asking for their support for such a program. The support was enthusiastically given and thereafter meetings were held in each of the states describing courts, prisons and procedures of justice, or the lack of it,to concerned women. We hope for considerable followup on these meetings and that from it will come a substantial program of court visitation, concern with such matters as jury selection and arrest procedures, and several statewide programs for prison reform.

We received during 1966 a grant of $25,000 for an experimental program in the distribution of paperback

books. Conducted for SRC by Miss Louise Cole, special assistant to the director, more than 58,000 volumes have been distributed to community centers, school libraries, tutorial projects, study halls in slum communities, and the like. The project, slow in developing, eventually provided books to more than 50 community programs and half-again that number had to be rejected for lack of funds.

Again in 1966 SRC was asked to serve as secretariat to the Southern Interagency Conference, the informal gathering four times each year of some forty agencies, church groups, and others with programs of race relations in the region. We consider this a highly valuable service of the Council and were happy that we were again asked to provide it.

Throughout much of the remainder of this report the involvement of this department and the work of the state Councils will be reflected. Were this not true much additional attention would have to be given to the cooperation among agencies, the considerable accomplishments of the several state Councils and, certainly, the excellence of the work of Edwin Stanfield, the SRC director of Field Activities.

Research and Information

We have continued the progress of merging these two departments into a single operation.

A major research and information effort has been reflected in the quarterly New South, first printed in this form with the Winter 1966 issue. Each issue has reflected a range of our several program interests and has been planned with this in mind. We have been particularly gratified at the quality of authors we have been able to attract. In addition to material prepared by the staff (most notably that of Pat Watters and Margaret Long) we have published works by persons such as James Silver, Vincent Harding, Leslie Dunbar, Robert Coles, Jack Patterson, Jack Nelson, August Meier, Robert Sherrill, Paul Good, Eric Lincoln and Frank Smith.

We have been pleased, too, at the critical reaction and the quality of subscribers. ("An impressive magazine," Granville Hicks) The number of subscribers is not as important to us as the nature of the reader, but we do have as a goal that paid subscriptions will cover the cost of printing and distribution by the end of 1968.

Most of the publications prepared and issued during the year are referred to elsewhere. Two, however, should be commented on. In the spring SRC, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, issued The Continuing Crisis - May 1966. This was an assessment and documentation of the new racial tensions in the South and our expression of concern that these tensions were being overlooked and misunderstood. The report was well received and we believe of value. (The Washington Post referred to it editorially as "thoughtful" and a "useful jar to complacency.")

Again in 1966 we attempted to issue a report on school desegregation in the region. Initially, we had planned to issue this report in late September or early October. We commissioned a group of reporters -- one in each state -- to assist us in collecting statistics on school desegregation and hoped for a prompt and factual report. This schedule was completely disrupted because of the difficulty we encountered in obtaining statistical information from school authorities. Eventually, we were able to collect much of this information and the delay proved fortunate. Our report, issued

in December, coincided with a peak of national interest in the Office of Education and it contributed, we believe, some measure of understanding and perhaps even sanity to a complicated and greatly misunderstood situation.

Late in the year a number of manuscripts and studies were completed that are being held for orderly and adequate distribution. These include: The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics (a study by Mrs. Sue Rusche); Mr. Mayor, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? (a memorandum for municipal leadership, prepared by the research firm Candeub, Fleissig and Associates); In Their Own Words (a study of school desegregation in Alabama, by Dr. Mark Chesler, University of Michigan); Neighbors, Inc. (a study of voluntary neighborhood programs in three cities, by Mrs. Margaret Price -- no title); a study of the Atlanta riots (by Wayne Kelly -- no title); and, a study of the Ku Klux Klan and the National States Rights Party (by Robert Sherrill -- no title.)

Our information gathering service, headed by Mrs. Glenda Bartley, Senior Research Associate, has had an extremely busy year with an increase in the

number of requests for assistance and some change from past years in their nature. Requests for information from the department have increased by about one-third during the past year, with telephone requests (especially from outside the South and from sources such as news media and law firms rather than students) accounting for most of the growth. The types of requests have changed too. More and more, people want information that cannot be obtained from newspaper clippings, though requests for specific news items or accounts of incidents have not diminished. The trend is toward statistical data, economics, and employment information, that must be gathered from government and federal reserve sources and other statistical sources in our library. Too, the nature of the research requests shows some shifting from "what do you know?" to "what do you think?" or "how do you interpret?" (Based on the fact that newspaper reporting is necessarily selective and evaluative, the new requests require evaluation and judgment by the researcher.) In general, the staff has been able to change to meet new requirements.

We have been able to cut down the number of daily newspapers to about twenty, but have increased the number of magazines and journals as well as the number of pamphlets and other publications dealing with specifics. Again, the trend during the past year has been toward expanding interests and coverage to respond adequately to increasingly sophisticated requests.

In preparation of this report, I asked Pat Watters, Director of Information and senior person in this department, to give me his comments on the year's work and the major needs for 1967. His memorandum seemed to me to be such an excellent summary and critique as well as an indication of the integrity and quality of the leadership of this important function of the Council, that it is reproduced here:

> "Much energy during the past year has gone into setting the new character of New South. That seems generally established now; the effort will be to keep it abreast of current trends, and sophisticated in approach to them.
>
> "Special reports and publications have been of a high quality and something less probably than anticipated quantity. Part of this is explainable by the New South's using matter that in previous years would have gone into the report form. Part of it, too, reflects

the time and energy put into the VEP book which will be published by Harcourt, Brace and World in the fall of 1967. And part of it reflects a firm resistance to the temptation to publish for the sake of publishing, the publish or perish syndrome. If there has been in the past year a serious neglect, it seems to me to be in our ability to be flexible, to react to the unexpected acts and events that are always part of the fundamental change and reality of the area. We should have by now published balanced and perspicacious interpretations of black power and of the drastic diminishing of national-organization movement activity in the South. Both subjects should be dealt with early in the coming year. New South has dealt with them adequately in a current sense, but not in the depth required.

"The tone and thrust of publications may be somewhat altered by the schizophrenic situation now in the South -- the split between the ongoing efforts to build on the new law and opportunities, and the continuing, if not increasing racial hostility reflecting at its roots worsening economic, social and cultural deficiencies that are in a sense of the word, at crisis point. We must continue to emphasize "how to" build, while at the same time pointing to destructive forces, and forcefully fighting racism. In all of this, the demand on us is for a grasp of the fundamentals of a complex and still shifting set of social phenomena, and for more and more sophisticated knowledge and insight into them. The research department reflects and has responded admirably to these demands. There will be continuing effort to keep abreast of intelligent research and all the facts.

"Accuracy and balance remain the first responsibility. The success of our 'press relations' depends only on living up to that responsibility; to do so must remain our only 'public relations' program."

The Voter Education Project

During 1966 VEP was the single largest operation within SRC. The project operated on a budget slightly in excess of $350,000, and we hope for a similar operation during 1967. The project, directed by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., has an excellent staff of six persons.

While initially the Project planned major emphasis on programs of citizenship education and leadership training, about 66 per cent of the programs funded during the year were voter registration programs. This fact does not reflect any failure on the part of the Project to stress citizenship education and leadership training; rather it evidences the Project's response to a tremendous volume of requests from communities throughout the region for funds with which to conduct registration programs. More than 400 requests for funds were submitted to the Project during 1966. In all but a few cases, the requests were for programs aimed principally at voter registration.

Two factors were largely responsible for the intense interest during 1966 in registration projects:

(1) the presence of federal examiners in some 40 southern counties to lend federal assistance for the first time to Negro registration; and (2) statewide primaries and elections, hotly contested local races, and a large field of Negro candidates, running in many communities for the first time, throughout the region.

The registration programs accounted for more than 100,000 newly registered voters in 11 states. By category, the number of projects funded was as follows:

Citizenship Education	6
Citizenship Education and Voter Registration	21
Leadership Training	7
Program Development and Technical Assistance	1
Program Development T/A and Statewide Program Coordination	1
Voter Registration	70
Total	106

The programs of citizenship education and leadership training funded during the past year leave the Project with valuable experience and "know-how" which can be applied on a broader basis in 1967. Our most striking finding was not the need for these programs

(we knew that) but the great interest in them and desire for them. In virtually every funded registration project, there has been a subsequent request for funds for citizenship education.

The most successful citizenship education programs have been the demonstrative type in which newly registered persons were given the opportunity to actually practice voting on a voting machine set up for use in a forthcoming election. Projects of this nature in Lee County, Alabama, sponsored by the Auburn League of Women Voters, and in Knox County, Tennessee, conducted by the Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations, provided VEP -- through research reports and field trips -- with proven techniques for this kind of project.

Projects conducted by the Tuskegee Civic Association in Alabama and by the Southern Consumers Cooperative in Louisiana provide good examples of classroom-type citizenship education. Classes on citizenship responsibilities and governmental structure were welcomed by voters in those communities. The Voter Education Project, working with the Georgia chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, has

completed the first in a series of pamphlets to be used as teaching aids in citizenship education classes. The illustrated booklet entitled "Know Your Rights," will be distributed throughout the region. Several leaders of VEP-affiliated projects in Georgia attended a presentation of the booklet at a community meeting in the Vine City area of Atlanta. They later carried supplies of the booklet back home to their rural communities.

The second VEP teaching aid called "Know Your Local Government in Georgia," is nearing completion and soon will go to the printer. A similar booklet will be prepared for each state in the region. These booklets will be put into use in the spring and summer when registration and voting activities resume.

In Alabama and Georgia, VEP is testing techniques of citizenship education through use of the mass media. The Auburn League of Women Voters is writing, producing and distributing a series of three television programs on registration and voting in Alabama. The first show was carried October 29 by NBC stations in Montgomery and Decatur and was seen by an estimated 33,000 Alabama viewers. The second in the series soon will be ready for showing. Talent and advice from the

Auburn-Tuskegee area is used in producing the shows.

Another VEP grant made it possible for the Georgia League of Women Voters to produce and distribute a television spot on how to cast a ballot in the Georgia general election. The film demonstrated how to vote a straight ticket, how to vote a split ticket, and how to write-in. As in Alabama, stations provided free public-service time and talent was volunteered. Again, therefore, expenses were minimal. Seven stations with nearly a million viewers used the Georgia tape. The League also sent out radio spots which were used by several dozen stations with more than five million listeners.

The leadership training programs have been among the most useful and memorable efforts. Outstanding among these was a two-day seminar at the end of the year for Negro legislators from three states -- Georgia, Tennessee, and Texas. Of 20 Negro legislators now serving in the South, 19 attended some portion of the seminar. Authorities in such fields as welfare, corrections, economics, unemployment and individual rights addressed the seminar, which was held in Atlanta.

The occasion was historic; it was the first such meeting of Southern Negro legislators (none previously had been elected during modern times in Texas, and only one had in Tennessee). At the conclusion of the seminar, the legislators voted unanimously to ask VEP to hold another such meeting prior to the next legislative season. VEP chose not to publicize the Seminar, so that all discussions could be off-the-record and frank.

Other notable leadership training programs were conducted during the spring in Alabama and South Carolina. These were one-day institutes for Negro candidates and poll-watchers. Held in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the institutes dealt with election laws and procedures and the duties and responsibilities of poll-watchers and candidates. Those who attended the institutes were in a position later to file several lawsuits charging election irregularities.

The first venture with a statewide leadership conference proved well worth the time, effort and money invested. This was a day-long conference held in cooperation with the South Carolina Voter Education

Project at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia. More than 400 South Carolina Negro leaders and civil rights workers attended sessions on effective registration campaigns, state and federal election laws, the politics of poverty programs, and getting out the vote.

VEP supported a regional leadership training workshop which was sponsored by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc., and held July 20 - 24 at Frogmore, South Carolina. A recent grant to the regional office of the Urban League is providing leadership training in rural and urban settings. The grant was for pilot programs in Calhoun County, Alabama, and Jacksonville, Florida.

Student involvement through stipends and part-time employment in community organizations is a major effort of the Voter Education Project. Numerous projects used students as task force workers in registration campaigns. VEP supported student activities through such organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee. The latter organization has been engaged in impressive citizenship education work in

Southside Virginia. The Friends Service Committee likewise engaged in some citizenship education in Sumter, South Carolina.

Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta has agreed to employ the first VEP intern for part-time work at City Hall, beginning with the second semester of the current academic year. Arrangements are being made with the National YWCA for use of college students in registration campaigns during spring holidays in 1967. And discussions are underway with certain Peace Corps officials regarding the possible use of Peace Corps returnees as teachers for citizenship education classes in the South this summer.

Finally, the Project has been the main source of support for the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the only statewide organization of its kind in the South. Through the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the ground has been prepared for formation of an organization in Arkansas patterned after SCVEP. A Little Rock office with a full-time director already is being financed by VEP. It is expected that the statewide organization will be in operation by early spring. There is interest in such statewide organizations

in North Carolina and Florida. In the latter state, the Florida Council on Human Relations has agreed to coordinate the initial organizational work.

The VEP office in Atlanta supervised field activities, maintained financial records and provided vital election-year data to the news media. Numerous requests for information were answered throughout the year for the major networks, news magazines and the nation's leading newspapers. In addition to the election analysis, a booklet of registration statistics was published and a study was made on the effects of federal registrars.

Vernon Jordan, the project director, has been quite busy in a number of other activities as well; including serving on two Presidential commissions (the Planning Council of The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," and the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service). He and the project staff have done an outstanding job, and they cannot be too highly commended.

Community Organization Project

This project, directed by Al Ulmer, has as its purpose to become informed of the interests and needs

of the innumerable urban and rural self-help and cooperative programs in the region sponsored by the poor, to share this information, to offer technical assistance and to attempt to bring together the interests and resources of private and public agencies and these self-help programs.

Early in the year an extensive survey -- largely through the travel of the project director -- was made of community organization efforts in the South. From this developed the first technical assistance offered and two publications: Poor People and Problems and Co-Ops, Credit Unions and Poor People.

Technical Assistance was offered to:

Wilcox County, Ala. (Farm cooperative effort)
Thomas County, Ga. (Self-help housing project, proposal to OEO for $56,000)
Baker County, Ga. (Credit Union - community group)
Huntsville, Ala. (Credit Union - Maids' union)
Reserve, La. (Credit Union - sugar cane workers)
Hale County, Ala. (Credit Union - three community groups)
Pinellas County, Fla. (Tenants' association)
Wilcox and Lowndes County, Ala. (Provided manager of Freedom Quilting Bee Co-Op for summer)
Hines County, Miss. (Co-Op education and managerial assistance for Poor people's Co-Op)

Opelousas, La. (Grand Marie Vegetable Co-Op)
YWCA Summer Project (Community involvement program)
North Carolina Fund (Community Action Program evaluation)
VISTA (Four training programs and two area-wide conferences)

The project provided work-scholarships for students working with groups in the slums of Atlanta and Nashville and for rural programs in Amelia County, Virginia, and Auburn, Alabama. There was tri-sponsorship of a conference on self-help housing in Florida with the American Friends Service Committee and the Florida Migrant Ministry. Under the project, SRC co-sponsored, with the Encampment for Citizenship, a program for high-school age young people in Barbourville, Kentucky. In Atlanta, the project encouraged and provided assistance to and experiment between a large Negro church and a large white church to determine if the two institutions, together, could develop a significantly funded and staffed program for work in a slum area.

Two other extremely important programs were developed during the year. Jointly with the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., we have called five meetings of members of low-income cooperatives, organizers and

co-op education experts to develop a program of cooperative education for self-help groups. The results are that a program has been developed and a grant of $850,000 is now being sought for this purpose under the sponsorship of the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation. Secondly, and partially as an outgrowth of these meetings, SRC is supporting an effort for a southwide "federation" of low income cooperatives.

Urban Planning Project

The Urban Planning Project has as its purposes to assess urban planning in the region, to encourage involvement of all the community in progressive programs, to encourage local governments to make all services available on an equal basis, and to evaluate the policies of and cooperate with the several federal agencies. The project is directed by Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA, and assisted by Susan Bresler.

Publications during the year were: Neighborhood Stabilization (a guide to a changing neighborhood); A Home of Our Own (a guide for the new home buyer); Mr. Mayor, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? (a guide for civic leadership); and, yet-to-be-published, studies

of housing in Atlanta and of neighborhood housing and community improvement volunteer efforts.

The project staff has been heavily involved in professicnal consultations with the leadership, official and unofficial, of a number of communities and with several of the local and state Councils on Human Relations. They have been requested and are giving professional analyses to the overall urban planning efforts of six southern cities. There have been a number of consultations with persons in the regional and national office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, as well as a meeting with Secretary Weaver. The staff and the Executive Director have worked with the staff of Doxiadis and Associates and have conferred with Dr. Doxiadis. From the conferences may come a proposal for an experimental metropolitan regional study.

In the hopes of encouraging a more realistic curriculum for students of architecture and urban planning, there have been several meetings with university faculties, particularly those of the Universities of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. We hope to continue and expand this work.

The Urban Planning Project epitomizes the SRC dilemma and opportunity: how, with very limited staff and resources, to develop programs that make a difference. We are encouraged with the first year's experimentation.

Labor Education Project

The project has as its purpose to develop educational materials for and offer professional services to the intermediate labor leadership in the region. Fortunately, we were able to persuade Dr. Emory Via to obtain a second year's leave of absence to continue directing this program.

Work has ranged from participation in single meetings through participation in weekend and one week institutes, to the direction of the one month National Institute of Labor Education Southern Union Staff Training Institute. This has included three institutes with the Steelworkers in Florida, Louisiana, and Kentucky; three weekend institutes in cooperation with the Alabama State AFL-CIO; two institutes with the ILGWU; and participation in the Tri-State Labor School, the Rubber Workers' School and the Kentucky Labor School.

Throughout the year the project director has had repeated occasion to have successful and detailed collaborative undertakings with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. This relationship has proved valuable to both parties.

The project director also served as a member of the Task Force of The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights." Thereafter, Dr. Via was selected as the spokesman for a panel which appeared before four sessions of The White House Conference itself.

Project on Crime and Corrections

This project is concerned with prison reform, criminal rehabilitation, crime prevention and juvenile delinquency. Because of the unique qualifications required for the project director, we were not able to fill this position until mid-year when John Boone and his assistant, William Farmar, joined the staff.

Shortly thereafter we asked a number of persons to attend a one-day meeting in Atlanta to review plans for the project and advise us on them. Among those attending were the directors of the prison systems of North Carolina, South Carolina and Oregon, the general

secretary of the American Correctional Association, and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. This was an excellent start for the project and we are deeply grateful for the contribution of all the advisory committee members, and hope for continuing cooperation with them.

The project has commissioned a study of prison systems of the Southern states, and the first draft is completed. We hope to publish in the spring this guide for interested professionals and lay persons. A second study on the culture of slum-dwelling teen-agers has also been commissioned.

In cooperation with the Arkansas Council, the project staff has prepared information on state prisons in Arkansas, one of the worst in the region. In October, a statewide group was convened to pursue this situation. Governor Rockefeller has expressed interest in reforming the entire system, and despite resistance reform appears likely.

In Alabama, the ACLU used data previously collected by the project in a brief seeking prison desegregation, and the project director was called as a witness for the plaintiff. The material and testimony were said to have been instrumental in securing the broad desegregation order issued by the Federal Court.

In Georgia, at the request of The United Churchwomen, a position paper was prepared by the project staff on the state prison system with particular attention given to the Boys' School at Alto. Presumably,

The United Churchwomen and others will use this information in seeking reform. A similar request has come from The United Churchwomen of Florida and is being processed.

The project director has been engaged as a consultant by a number of agencies and groups, and is a member of the Atlanta Police Training Advisory Committee. He is assisting in the development of a pilot project, sponsored by the YMCA, designed to help boys and young adults who have been prison inmates.

While we were anxious to have this project, the first six months of the program has demonstrated to us a potential substantially greater than we had hoped.

OTHER PROGRAMS IN BRIEF

Relationships with Federal Agencies

During the year there was a heavy involvement with federal agencies ranging from the Commission on Civil Rights to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Consultants for employee training were provided to HEW for hospital and school desegregation personnel, to VISTA for volunteers and supervisory persons and to the Post Office Department. We have cooperated with HUD in a study of federal housing

policies, developed materials describing federal assistance available and assisted local groups in applying for such assistance. Modest grants have been made to the Councils on Human Relations in Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Atlanta for analyses of anti-poverty programs in their areas. We have cooperated with the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty in establishing their Southern program and the Director served on the CCAP Board of Inquiry to investigate charges against the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

School Desegregation

The special report on school desegregation and the state-by-state conferences, in cooperation with the Civil Rights Commission, have been referred to. Again, during the year we enjoyed close cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and their school desegregation task force. We helped finance and plan a statewide, six-month, staffed program of school desegregation in South Carolina sponsored by Penn Community Services. Dr. Mark Chesler, University of Michigan,completed research on the experiences of Negro children in initial school desegregation in Alabama.

The report will be published in January, 1967. Financial support was given to the Virginia Council for a statewide program on providing adequate and accurate textbooks and the materials developed by VCHR were made available to other states. School desegregation programs were developed and financially supported with Councils on Human Relations in North Carolina, Alabama, and Arkansas. Instructors and speakers were provided for teacher and supervisor training programs sponsored by five universities.

Welfare Programs

A study was made of welfare programs and expenditures in the Southern states and issued under the title of Public Assistance in the South. Follow-up is being given to encourage state and local councils and others to develop an interest in this area. Financial support was provided the Georgia Council for an excellent program developed by them in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work. Program and financial assistance was also provided the Atlanta Council and the state Councils in Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama.

Technological Unemployment

Under the direction of Mrs. Sue Rusche a close relationship has been established with the U. S. Department of Labor. Fortunately for us, it was necessary for Mrs. Rusche to spend some months in Washington. Thus, we have had a liaison person with the Department at minimum cost to us. Mrs. Rusche has prepared the study The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics, to be issued in February, 1967. A follow-up study, of more detail and suggested re-training procedures, is now being developed.

Other

Continued cooperation with the National Student Association's Books for Equal Education, with assistance given in program, accounting, and office space. The director served on the program's advisory committee as well as that of the NSA's Southern Project.

From a special grant, financial assistance was given for work with Student Human Relations Councils through the state Councils in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and with the YWCA.

Approximately $2,000 was provided for consultants in housing in local communities.

In addition to those referred to elsewhere, seminars were sponsored and/or jointly sponsored and financed on SRC-state Councils relations; state Council staff and presidents' program seminars; a special conference of media leadership with the Southern Education Foundation; and, a meeting of the staffs of SRC and the North Carolina Fund.

There was heavy involvement of SRC staff and policy people in planning and participating in The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

We assisted in the recruitment of Negro students in the eighth grade who would be apt candidates for attendance with substantial scholarships to six top Southern "prep" schools in 1967.

There has been developed, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, a six-point study on Southern white opinion, and efforts being made to influence opinion. Three parts have been commissioned. A series of studies will be issued and the full report may be published in hard-cover.

SRC sponsored in Atlanta a luncheon for approximately 250 persons from throughout the region interested in voter registration at which Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was the speaker.

Work has begun with the Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta University, on preserving the records of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, SRC, and other documents of historical value. We began with Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, the taping of reports of SRC founders and other pioneers in race relations work.

Through a special grant for that purpose, Joan Titus has been commissioned to do a biography of Lillian Smith.

The first few pages of this report attempted to analyze the region and its posture at the end of the year. The remainder has been a report of our work and hopes.

Yet, I remain unsatisfied with it. It may be adequate for recording our efforts during the year. It does not do justice to the Southern Regional Council. Perhaps no limited set of words can; certainly I do not have them.

This report -- given reality -- pays little enough respect to the 40 people in Atlanta who are the SRC staff; to their talents, their dedication, their life-time-built (young and old) experience, their

determination. It doesn't even mention humanly the jockeying for office space or the status of a window, the demand for wages and hours, the chucking of it all as the whole staff stuffs envelopes long after hours during a mail room crisis. It has none of the frustrations of those who travel and miss home at nights and on weekends, or of the madness of being trapped on an airplane with a seatmate who tells of the good schools the "colored" of his community have. It tells nothing of late night and weekend phone calls that remind you a staff is not working at but living a job. It tells nothing of the confused, frantic, excessive, varied traffic through an office, the mountain of paper which cannot be shuffled fast enough, the satisfaction -- seldom but just often enough -- of knowing it makes a difference.

And, if the staff was not fully in focus, the Council leadership was more grievously ignored. The staff of SRC has great responsibility, but in the eleven years I have been with this agency there has been no time, to my knowledge, when the Council's leadership was not essential; when it did not indeed

lead and guide this agency. (In fact, the staff, as we all agree, is fortunate. We are paid to do what we want an opportunity to do. Our policy leadership gives without remuneration; at least without monetary remuneration.)

Therefore, this report does not to any degree reflect the life of the busy banker, incredibly overworked, who leads this agency and works seriously at it. It does not reflect the willingness of the time given -- the phone calls and the days away from home and practice -- of the busy physician. There is no mention of the lady who might be traveling extensively -- and wants to -- but instead worries about whether or not this Council can be supported. There is the gentleman from Tuskegee who comes repeatedly to Atlanta leaving job and family complications to serve. And these are but examples of the many.

Beyond this of course there are our friends. The good people who send us small personal -- and deeply valuable -- contributions even though we never solicit them. The foundation officials who know we are not givers and receivers but partners in a common cause; they responsible to see that we do it right and we careful to prove it -- but partners nevertheless.

There are, finally, not only staff and members and friends, but basic policy as we see it, which is a part of the inadequately reported section of this report. These include the concern that we not become bureaucratic, that we help others find resources rather than attract them for ourselves (while still hoping to pay the rent), the determination that we preserve the skills and approaches we have developed over more than twenty years, and that we not succumb to the temptation, if we could, of becoming grandiose and swollen.

Every year one is tempted to fall back on the cliché of "a good year." But 1966 was a good year. And, I am sincerely grateful to those -- the Council Members, the staff, our friends and colleagues -- who made that good year possible.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

1.31.37

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1968

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS

1968

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VICE-PRESIDENTS

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Marion A. Wright

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

*ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

SENIOR PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Executive Director - Paul Anthony

Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Vick

Director of Field Activities - J. Edwin Stanfield

Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Director of Information - Pat Watters

Editor, SRC Publications - Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Editorial Assistant - Warren Pritchard
(began appointment September 1968)

Director, Voter Education Project - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Research Director, V.E.P. - Marvin Wall

Director of Field Activities, V.E.P. - Weldon Rougeau

Administrative Assistant, V.E.P. - Thaddeus Olive

Director, Labor Education Project - Emory F. Via

Director, Community Organization Project - John Lewis

Director, Urban Planning Project - Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA

Director, Project on Crime and Corrections - John O. Boone

Director of Research - Mrs. Glenda H. Bartley

Librarian - Mrs. Bernice Morrison

Executive Assistant - James N. Wood

Traditionally these reports have begun with some observation by the Director on the year just past. The dreary and tragic year 1968 has been so well and so frequently commented on that it would be superfluous to follow that tradition.

Rather, in this document I should like to concentrate on a reporting of the Council's affairs and programs during the year, followed by a brief commentary on those programs which the Director feels should be the emphasis for the Council in 1969 and thereafter. We may look to the past with grief; we have no choice but to look to the future. We, here, do so with concern, faith, and some measure of confidence.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

Atlanta, January 1969

COUNCIL AFFAIRS

The Annual Meeting of the Council was held in Atlanta on November 13-15, 1968. At that time Mr. John Wheeler of Durham was re-elected President. In the January 1969 meeting of the Executive Committee, Dr. Raymond Wheeler of Charlotte was re-elected Chairman of that Committee. The full list of officers and members of the Executive Committee are listed on the first page of this report. I join with the members of the Council in expressing my most sincere appreciation to Mr. Wheeler, Dr. Wheeler, and the members of the Committee for the leadership and support they have given the staff during the year.

An unprecedented number of Life Fellows were elected at the Annual Meeting. These persons, recognized for their long and outstanding contributions to the cause of decency, are: Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Miami, Fla.; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta, Ga.; Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Longview, Tex.; Dr. C. H. Parrish, Louisville, Ky.; Mrs. Eugenia Rayzor, Houston, Tex.; Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg,

Louisville, Ky.; and Mrs. J. Fount Tillman, Lewisburg, Tenn.

New members elected to Council membership are: The Honorable Julian Bond, Atlanta, Ga.; The Reverend Walter B. Clancy, Little Rock, Ark.; The Reverend Philip Cousins, Durham, N. C.; Mr. Nils Douglas, New Orleans, La.; Dr. Charles M. Grigg, Tallahassee, Fla,; Dr. Aaron Henry, Clarksdale, Miss.; Miss Ruth L. Harvey, Danville, Va.; Mrs. Helen Howard, Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. Harry Huge, Alexandria, Va.; Mr. Henry Marsh, Richmond, Va.; Dr. Jewel Prestage, Baton Rouge, La.; and Mr. Avon Williams, Nashville, Tenn.

Also at the Annual Meeting the George S. Mitchell Award was given, for the second year to the same group, the Louisiana Council on Human Relations. The Lillian Smith Award, created in 1967, was made to Dr. George B. Tindall of Chapel Hill, North Carolina for his book, The Emergence of the New South: 1913-1945. The inscription on this award read:

SHE LOVED THE SOUTH SO MUCH SHE TRIED
TO MAKE IT BETTER --

Born in the South and spending most of her life here, Lillian Smith was that rare Southerner whose feet are planted at home, but whose thoughts encompass the world. Long before civil rights became a battle cry she stood unflinchingly for human rights. By her writings, her teachings, and her example, she became an inspiration to those who followed. Even during her lifetime, she became a legend and her home, atop Old Screamer Mountain, in North Georgia, a point of pilgrimage. This award is made to honor her memory, and to recognize the achievement of one who has contributed like her to the life of the South.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

This "heart of the Council's operation," somewhat expanded and considerably busier, was reorganized during the year. Pat Watters remains Director of Information and the senior member of the department. Under his direction two co-equal positions have been created and staffed. Mrs. Glenda Bartley has been appointed Director of Research and Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Editor of SRC Publications.

The reports and pamphlets and the contents of New South reflected our interests during the year and the major events of the region. Specifically, the reports

and pamphlets included:

In Memphis: More Than A Garbage Strike. -- A three-part series covering the background for the strike and on-the-scene developments both before and after the assassination of Dr. King. The author was J. Edwin Stanfield, former Director of SRC Field Activities. This report was used extensively by reporters for background information and interpretation. It enjoys the ominous distinction of having attempted to define the seriousness of the situation in that city and the potential for tragedy.

Events at Orangeburg. -- This was an on-the-scene report written by Pat Watters and Weldon Rougeau following the tragedy at South Carolina State College in which three Negro students were killed and many others injured. This report represented a major effort on the part of the Council to call attention to that situation.

Delta Prisons: Punishment for Profit. -- This was a study of the conditions at prison camps in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It

was based on research done by the staff of the Project on Crime and Corrections.

Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis. -- Also a product of SRC Project on Crime and Corrections, this survey, by James E. Conyers and William J. Farmar, evaluates the attitudes and values of urban Negro youth. The report has stimulated surveys, usually university related, in a number of other cities in the country.

Lawlessness and Disorder: Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation. -- This report commenting on federal administrative failures and their causes, congressional failure, the influence of national public opinion, and the continued ability of southern officials to thwart the law. The report was written by Glenda Bartley and Robert E. Anderson, Jr. It was chosen as one of the ten major educational events of 1968 by the Educational Press Association of America.

Radicalism: Southern Style. -- A study of regional extremism of the right with concluding observations about the November elections and the Wallace vote. The report was authored by Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal. The report received considerable national attention and we were surprised by the amount of coverage, especially editorial comment, in the press of the region, most of it favorable.

New South continues to receive a favorable response and is frequently our instrument for beginning a chain-reaction of program through the printed word. By far the most outstanding issue of the year -- perhaps of all time -- was the illustrated winter 1968 edition, "Poverty in the Rural South," by Paul Good with photographs by Al Clayton. The text of the edition was later published in a hard-back by G. P. Putnam's Sons under the title, The American Serfs, and drew excellent reviews in a number of publications, including The Nation and the Saturday Review. The author, a first-rate journalist, drew upon SRC's research for the copious documentation

which went into the book. It must have been, by the time it got to Putnam's, the easiest book the company ever had to edit, for the back-up work done on it was of the highest degree of professional excellence.

This issue of the magazine and the book were among our continuing efforts to focus attention on poverty and hunger in the region. Also, during 1969, we financed a study of a plantation county in Mississippi and sponsored an additional book (referred to later). Both of these will be published in the spring of 1969.

Other issues of the magazine, however, were of comparable merit, if the subjects they explored were not as exhaustively examined. I would call attention to these articles:

"The Poor People's Campaign," by Warren Pritchard. (Many writers whom one would normally have expected to write about this subject avoided doing so. It wasn't an easy thing to do for one sympathetic to the cause of the poor people there. Inevitably, one was put in the position of seeming at least to be hard on one's best friends. But I think, on the whole, this is an honest account and will prove to be an invaluable historical document.)

"Violence in Miami: One More Warning," by John Boone and William Farmar. What we finally published here was a hard-hitting and sound examination of the one southern racial clash which had the explosive potential of a Watts. This article is still being widely used in Miami and may be reprinted.

"Alabama vs. the Courts," by Ray Jenkins. At a time when freedom of choice and the Fifth Circuit cases adjudicating the issues involved in the administration of federal guidelines are more and more likely to receive national attention, this article provides valuable background and historical insights.

"A Look Inside the Invisible Empire," by Robert Sherrill. In typically spirited fashion, the author takes the reader on a jaunt through Ku Klux Klan territory.

"At the Hearings: An American Microcosm," by Robert Anderson. This piece was valuable from the standpoint of examining federal accomplishments in the areas of enforcement and poverty.

"In St. Petersburg: A Profile of Failure," a balanced article by J. Edwin Stanfield, whose knowledge of Memphis's

garbage strike gave him a special perspective, dealing essentially with the labor and civil rights leadership of a city lulled into inaction by the apparent moderation of its political leaders.

"Climax of a Revolution," by Benjamin Muse. A summary of five turbulent years in the development of the civil rights movement.

"Chicago and the Aftermath: Six Southern Views." These comments and impressions of six Southerners who attended the Chicago convention as members of either challenge or regular delegations provided a wide range of commentary on one of the most important events of 1968 relating to Negro political participation.

Production was completed by The New American Library, and March 1969 publication is expected of a book of photographs of rural poverty by Al Clayton with commentary by Robert Coles, M.D., and an introduction by Senator Ted Kennedy. SRC holds the copyright on this publication; it will be issued in hard-back (first printing 40,000 copies) and later in a mass-audience paperback edition.

This book, Still Hunger in America, has been selected by the Book-of-the-Month Club and Senator Kennedy will appear on the Today Show in behalf of the book on the date of publication. (Also, on March 25th an exhibit of photographs on hunger in America will open in New York and thereafter be available throughout the country. A Committee for Hungry Americans has been sponsored by SRC to receive and distribute funds for emergency and long-range relief. This is being done in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation.)

An outline by Bob Anderson for an anthology of New South articles has been favorably reacted to by knowledgeable people connected with publishing, and is being submitted to publishers.

During the early part of 1968, there was a decrease in the number of requests for information from the sources which reflect national interest in southern events -- the news media and other non-southern civil rights oriented agencies. While requests for information related to the presidential campaign more than compensated for the decreased volume mentioned above, they reflected

only the extraordinary nature of an election year. The Research Department in 1968 handled about 12,000 queries from all sources.

After the election, interest in southern affairs sharply increased, if the gauges used above are accurate. These new requests seem to be motivated by a rather more realistic premise, moving away from earlier disturbing tendencies to assume that the South had all but solved its problems toward a tentative hope that the South might, with help, solve its own and the nation's problems.

Individual research, conducted within the department has been generated in part by requests, such as Doris Reed's preparation of an extensive bibliography of Negro history, and in part by events reported by the press, such as Susan Morgan's activities on behalf of a Negro man sentenced to life imprisonment for rape. (An article in the Richmond News Leader reported that the man's defense was based on sentence disparity between blacks and whites in rape cases in Virginia, but that the court claimed the proof was not substantial enough to reverse the conviction. Mrs. Morgan got the name of

the defendant's lawyer, and wrote him about the Crime and Corrections Project study on sentence disparities. She arranged for John Boone to send him the study, which the lawyer intends to use in his appeal to the Supreme Court.)

The staff continues to clip, categorize, and file about 20 newspapers per day and about 20 magazines per week. Journals, reports, and pamphlets, as well as hard cover books are filed in the library. Members of the staff assisted the staff of the newly established Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Library to set up its information-research system.

Pat Watters has completed for 1969 publication, probably in the fall, a book drawing heavily on SRC research and experience, though not to be an SRC publication. Tentative title: The South and the Nation. He also had articles in Atlantic and The Nation, and a lengthy piece to appear next month in New American Review. Mr. Watters was awarded a generous fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation and will spend most of 1969 in independent writing.

The number and seriousness of the requests we receive and the briefings we are asked to conduct pleases us and continues to serve as a reminder of our need for accuracy and integrity. They remind us, too, of the value of this function as a means for social reform.

DEPARTMENT OF FIELD ACTIVITIES

This department, under the direction of J. Edwin Stanfield, concluded the last year of unrestricted grants-in-aid to the state Councils. Since November 1957, when the Grants-in-Aid effort was begun for the state Councils over $2,000,000 has been raised and disbursed in this effort to create an interracial movement throughout the South.

During 1968 it was determined that state Councils would be designated as either viable or non-viable, depending on the strength and involvement of the leadership, the strength of the staff, the effectiveness of programs and fund-raising. For those Councils meeting the qualifications of viability, grants will be made in 1969 for specific programs. A special committee of three

state Council directors and three members of the Southern Regional Council Executive Committee was established to review the state Councils.

This committee determined that eight of the Councils (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) were viable and eligible to receive program support. The committee determined that two of them (Florida and North Carolina) were non-viable. If funds can be raised, these two state Councils will be offered the opportunity to have SRC provide them with a director who would attempt to create a meaningful program in those states. The director would be an employee of SRC, with the state Council Board serving in an advisory capacity.

At year's end we had a commitment for $100,000 from the Ford Foundation in support of our continued assistance to state Councils. Since program needs were so great with the viable Councils, and since planning time was essential, the Executive Committee instructed the staff to proceed immediately to review program proposals and distribute these funds to the viable Councils. The staff

was further instructed to attempt to raise additional funds for the staffing of the Florida and North Carolina Councils.

The Director of Field Activities was substantially involved in some of the major events in the region during the year. Part of this involvement is reflected in the special reports on Memphis and in the New South article on St. Petersburg, referred to earlier.

We continue to serve as secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference and continue to enjoy a profitable working relationship with a large number of the local, regional and national private and public agencies in this field.

Some 200 foreign visitors came through our offices during the year for long or short visits, and we frequently assisted them in planning itineraries throughout the region.

During the year, and earlier, we have worked with a group of individuals in the Southwest who were exploring the possibility of creating an agency somewhat akin to SRC for the region, Texas to California. It

was very interesting to have this group review our structure and activities and to see it determine what it would do in a similar way, what it would not do, and what it would alter. We were sufficiently impressed with the quality of the group's leadership and the potential of this new organization that we agreed to assign Mr. Stanfield to the Southwest Intergroup Relations Council as a full-time consultant for a period of up to six months. Mr. Stanfield moved to Austin in August, 1968 and has since devoted full-time to that effort.

To date, we have been somewhat disappointed in the reluctance of foundations in the Southwest to support this new group. The group has, however, received some modest, but important, assistance from several foundations in the East, and we are still hopeful that an effective organization will be created and funded in that area.

THE PROJECT ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

This project continues to be conducted by Mr. John Lewis and it continues a major concern with economic development of the poor, particularly in rural areas.

A first effort of the project is simply to know who is doing what, which is no small task. Thus, we hope to be in a position to consult knowledgeably with public agencies such as the Economic Development Administration and with foundations and religious bodies who have an interest in these programs. We were able to assist the SCLC staff in compiling lists of groups, including Indian and Mexican ones, for the Poor People's Campaign. Toward these ends a number of field trips were made, largely in the Deep South, but ranging as far afield as Missouri.

A major effort is to relate to and assist the progress of existing or emerging programs such as those conducted by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the Southern Cooperative Development Program, and a large number of local groups and individuals in the region. We have provided, on request, information on cooperatives, credit unions and consumer education. A number of how-to-do-it publications such as the Consumers Quick Credit Guide (U. S. Government Printing Office) and the Public Affairs Pamphlet, People Help Themselves, have been circulated.

The project provided several groups with small grants, i.e., a sewing cooperative in Alabama, funds for the drafting of proposals, and the transportation costs of representatives of local groups to confer with federal officials in Washington.

At the request of several organizations such as Model Neighborhoods, Inc., National Domestic Workers Union, Southwest Georgia Project, the Delta Ministry's Mississippi Youth Project and the Vine City Foundation, we have helped develop or review proposals and made suggestions and recommendations on possible sources of funds. We assisted the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Cooperative Development Program in securing $130,000 in loans and grants for the Panola Land Buyers Association to purchase 901 acres of land in Sumter County, Alabama. The land will be used to resettle forty evicted families. Grants were received on behalf of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the Freedom Quilting Bee, Southern Media in Mississippi, and others.

Newsweek recently referred to Mr. Lewis's work as follows: "...(he) directs a small, Ford Foundation funded project aimed at assisting the rural poor. In his one-man office, Lewis helps such groups as..." Perhaps it will give some dimension to this modestly funded project to report that through the above and similar efforts we assisted with or were instrumental in generating grants, public and private, well in excess of a million dollars during the year and well in excess of three million dollars since the project was begun.

Finally, I believe it appropriate to record that John Lewis suffered more than most of us in the loss of his two close friends, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. He has long served on Dr. King's board and was on leave of absence campaigning with Senator Kennedy at the time of the assassination.

THE URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

This project ended its third year under the direction of Moreland G. Smith, FAIA.

The project has had a particular interest in determining the impact of the new federal housing law and the Model Cities Program. With the latter, several local community groups have been organized in Model Cities areas and we have been interested in assessing their strengths and needs, and determining what support we can give to them.

On a broader scale we have been interested in continuing to work with city leadership in interpreting the need for adequate planning, the dangers inherent in our trend toward building larger and larger ghettos, and the practical advantages of open occupancy.

There are now a significant number of private groups in the region concerned with non-discrimination in housing. Some of these groups are quite weak, some are concerned largely with a "holding" operation in a neighborhood in transition, and some are primarily interested in creating pressures for local open-occupancy ordinances. We have attempted to work with each of these types of efforts, to supply information and consultants to them and, in several instances, to provide modest funds

for conferences, consultants, and other costs.

In 1969, this program will be more directly coordinated with the other economic development projects in the Council and we hope to find a second staff person - preferably a young person with professional training in planning - who can spend full-time working with these emerging neighborhood and community groups, particularly those in the ghetto.

THE PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS

This project, under the direction of John O. Boone, pursued a number of activities in its efforts to enhance the functioning of law enforcement and correctional systems in the South.

There was participation with the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower, assessing the professional manpower needs of correctional institutions, participating in and providing technical aid at law enforcement conferences at the Universities of Georgia and Oklahoma, and assistance provided in developing the curriculum for the University of Georgia Police Training Institute. We co-sponsored correctional conferences in Arkansas and Virginia using a combination of correctional experts and ex-offenders as resources.

The project director spent considerable time in Miami during and after the riots there studying law enforcement and community attitudes in that city.

Two additional studies were completed but await publication in 1969. These are a study on the work camp systems in the region and a study on sentence disparity by race.

When the Project on Crime and Corrections was initiated in July of 1966, corrections was already in a period of flux and change. Experimental programs existed, side by side in many cases, with relics of the dark ages of Penology and this is still the case to a large degree. In this region, agencies are still haunted by political domination and motivation of management, in spite of the very high caliber of many of the correctional managers in the South. Exponents of tough law enforcement and correctional procedures are increasingly vocal and the public's ability to objectively evaluate the social problem of crime and delinquency have been reduced. Ideas concerning law and order have developed that threaten to arrest the limited

progress that was made during calmer times. Congress passed the omnibus Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967 only because it was a vehicle for riot control legislation.

The picture on the state level is more dismal. Even the more progressive plans of southern systems, that would merely serve to bring the systems up to minimum standards, face considerable resistance in legislative bodies. In fact, some of the systems seem to be retreating.

Because of these trends our former assumptions about the future role of this project must be modified. In the spring of 1969, Mr. Boone will return to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, although he and others will continue to provide consultative services to us. This program effort will be incorporated into our new Center for Economic Development, referred to later in this report.

THE LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

The Labor Project, under the direction of Emory F. Via, has worked in two broad areas since being reconstituted in September 1968. These areas are labor education and manpower policies.

The labor education effort springs from the recognition that there are few organized channels for reaching middle and lower-middle income working people. Educational activities with unions provide a major opportunity to make contact with an important segment of these groups. It provides, too, a significant means of reaching southern white workers. Most often these programs have been at the initiative of unions with SRC supplying special educational services.

Our intention in these educational efforts is to assist union leaders and members, and thereby their organizations, to achieve greater maturity in confronting the social, economic, and political changes affecting both region and nation. The subject matter varies from the changing South, civil rights issues, protest movements, coalitions, to problems of poverty, individual economic security, welfare reform, and to problems of how unions relate to these matters.

In the area of manpower policies the primary focus has been on matters relating to equal opportunity in employment. But there is an interest, too, in motivation, recruitment, placement, training, and other matters that

affect the utilization of manpower broadly and also have specific application to matters of discrimination.

The labor program has continued its interest in supporting moves to end discrimination in skilled trades employment. It cooperates with local and regional programs in this regard and has continued on a consulting basis to work with the Atlanta program in this area which it helped originate (now operated by the Atlanta Urban League).

Substantial energies have been placed into the effort to improve the employment of Negroes in the southern textile industry. SRC was instrumental, along with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, in establishing a project sponsored by six private agencies (also including the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League, Penn Community Services, the Rural Action Project, and the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department). This project, chiefly through SRC efforts, has secured funding for field activity which alerts local citizens to their job rights, informs them of openings, assists in filing complaints, monitors practices of

agencies affecting employment (e.g., placement and training services). The project has cooperated extensively with federal agencies (primarily EEOC and OFCC) in their efforts to come to grips with this particular southern employment problem. Our interest has been an important factor in keeping the government's activity lively, in evaluating private and public activities, and in facilitating communication between agencies and individuals working on this problem.

The project director has worked with the University of Kentucky in initiating its labor education services.

During the coming year the Labor Project will continue its participation in labor education activities, follow current programs affecting employment opportunities, uncover new avenues for tackling the broad range of activities that affect manpower utilization in a more reasonable and equitable way.

Dr. Via directed this project for two years before returning to his teaching position at the University of Wisconsin in 1967. We are pleased that he is now back at the Council on a permanent basis.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Nineteen-sixty-eight was the third and busiest year of the current Voter Education Project. One hundred seventy-five projects were funded, as compared with 122 the year before and 106 the year before that. Projects were funded in all eleven Old South states.

In addition, VEP continued to sponsor statewide Voter Education Projects in Arkansas, South Carolina and North Carolina. The Arkansas and South Carolina projects experienced a change of executive directors during the year but continued operations without interruption. In March, the formation of a Louisiana Voter Education Project was announced, with William H. Samuel, Jr. as director.

Since 1968 was a major election year, voter registration was heavily emphasized. Black registration in the region rose to 3,112,000 in the summer of 1968, an increase of 200,000 over the fall of 1967 and nearly one million over the last presidential election year.

Meeting needs occasioned by the political year, VEP supported one-day institutes for Negro candidates in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

The former two were held jointly with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, as has been the custom in the past. The latter was held at VEP's new Mississippi Center for Black Elected Officials at Tougaloo College, about which more will be said later.

Following a pattern established in Mississippi late in 1967 after a significant number of Negroes were elected to office, VEP held two institutes for newly elected officeholders in Louisiana -- a state which uniquely holds a general election in February. The first institute was held March 1-2 at the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans, with 28 of the black officials then elected in Louisiana attending. Later, on July 13, there was a one-day workshop jointly sponsored by the Louisiana VEP and the political science department of Southern University, with 25 officeholders attending. Speakers at the New Orleans institute included Julian Bond, Vivian Henderson, and Jack Greenberg. As had been done at the Mississippi institute, discussions were held on the duties and responsibilities of office-holding, serving the people, politics, economics and dealing with the press.

In addition, the Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina Voter Education Projects conducted the usual leadership training meetings on state and congressional district levels.

All of these were leading up to the largest and boldest meeting ever conducted by VEP -- the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials, which was held in Atlanta December 11-14. With a record number of Negroes being sent from the South to political conventions (more than 100) and a record number of blacks running for office in the South, it was evident during 1968 that there would be a sizeable jump in the number of Negroes holding elected office in the region. Accordingly, plans were made to close the year with a regional meeting of black elected officials.

Planning went forward during the fall. The Reverend John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, was employed to serve as conference coordinator.

By early December, the number of black officeholders elected in the South had grown to about 385. Of this number, some 190 attended the Atlanta meeting, which was

the first of its kind ever held. Main speakers for the conference were Julian Bond, Samuel D. Cook, Vivian Henderson, Richard Hatcher, Ramsey Clark and Shirley Chisholm. All sessions except two were held at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel in downtown Atlanta. Mayor Hatcher spoke at a public-forum session at Clark College, and Attorney General Clark spoke at a banquet session held at the American Motor Hotel. In addition to these general sessions, workshops were conducted by recognized experts for six groups -- city officials, county officials, school board members, law enforcement officials, legislators, and election commissioners.

Part of the purpose of the conference was to put the white South and the nation on notice regarding the growing political strength of blacks in the region, and in this respect -- as in others -- we believe the conference was successful. The conference was heavily publicized, both inside the region and outside. NBC and CBS gave the conference on-the-spot television coverage. Moreover, the conference was the basis of articles in such national publications as The New York Times, The Washington Post, the Christian Science Monitor, and Time magazine. The

officials responded enthusiastically to the conference and participated vigorously in the discussions. At the conclusion of the four-day conference, they adopted a resolution calling for more such gatherings. We count the conference as a success in every respect.

However, in the course of our contact with the nearly 400 black elected officials in the region, we have become convinced that they need more assistance than can be provided in an occasional conference, institute, or workshop. We have found that these officials, especially in the Deep South, need competent assistance to whom they can turn on short notice.

Accordingly, as 1968 came to a close, VEP completed arrangements for setting up five service centers for black elected officials at predominantly Negro colleges in the Deep South. The center at Mississippi, already mentioned, was the first to begin operating, with Mrs. Taunya L. Banks, recent Howard University law graduate, as director. This center, located at Tougaloo, began functioning in September. The other centers were in various stages of planning as the year ended. The

colleges and the areas to be served are: Clark College, Georgia; Southern University, Louisiana; Talladega College, Alabama; and Miles College, Birmingham area.

VEP had its largest student intern program yet during the summer of 1968. At its peak, the program had 25 students employed. Under the supervision of Tony Dunbar, some of the students worked in voter registration, some assisted elected officials, and others worked in the VEP offices in Atlanta and Louisiana.

In addition to the monthly newsletter, VEP published during 1968 "Voter Registration in the South, Summer 1968," giving county-by-county registration figures by race, and "Know Your North Carolina Government," in cooperation with the North Carolina Voter Education Project. NCVEP published, for special use in North Carolina, the following: "You Too Can Register," "You Too Can Take Part in Precinct Meetings," "Know Your Voting Rights," and "Know Your Government -- the Local School Board." The Louisiana VEP published "How To Register in Louisiana." There was a new printing of 10,000 copies of the popular "Know Your Rights."

During the summer of 1968, Julian Bond was employed by VEP for a special research undertaking. He interviewed about 20 black candidates -- rural and urban, successful and unsuccessful. The thrust of the interviews is to tell other prospective Negro candidates how the interviewees conducted their campaigns. This booklet is set in type and will be published when a summary of the interview is written. Also on hand at the end of 1968 was a manuscript for "Know Your Arkansas Government," now in the editing stage.

Because 1968 was a presidential election year, VEP research was called upon with increasing frequency as the primary source in the nation of information about voter registration, Negro candidates, and Negro office-holders in the South. Hardly a day went by without some inquiry from a major agency -- news, governmental, political, academic, or civil rights. On some days these inquiries absorbed all, or almost all, of the day.

Director Vernon Jordan during 1968 was named one of five Fellows at the Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, at Harvard University.

His five months of study began in January of 1969. In addition to taking courses relating to urban studies, Mr. Jordan is teaching a seminar called "The Black Man in the Southern Political Process: 1944 to the Present."

In February 1968 Mr. Jordan addressed the Foundations Group in New York on "New Forces of Urban Political Power" and later in the year addressed the Associated Press Managing Editors. He had an article published in the October 21, 1968 issue of The Nation.

* * *

It would be presumptuous and misleading to say that the last several years, and the present time, are those of the greatest difficulty for SRC. I am sufficiently familiar with the earlier periods not to understand this. But, these last several years have been hard for significantly different reasons than our earlier ones. Then, periodically and frequently, we certainly had our money problems. (Last year Dr. Hancock wrote me a touching letter on how good it was to listen to deliberations of spending over a million dollars rather

than whether or not we should declare the Corporation bankrupt. And, may we never forget Dr. Mitchell's magnificent gestures.) We certainly had our enemies; powerful ones, from the street to the statehouse and we still have them. But, there was a purity to our troubles. We knew we were right, we knew we were doing what we could. We easily identified the good and the bad. And, the beleaguered little bands of people like those of the Council were bound together tightly in common cause and in common defense.

In the past several years this has changed considerably. It has become extremely difficult to define as easily as we used to, the good and the bad. As an interracial organization devoted to integration we have been thrust into the midst of a most significant separatist movement coming, incidentally, as strongly from the white right as the black left. This agency, devoted to the unified whole society, still clinging to the dream of the possibility of the good life in the good society, has been between the rock and the hard place.

During the past several years we saw first the culmination of so many years of battle by forces of good

to achieve much of the right legislation, many of the right objectives of the federal government, most of the right decisions and protections of the court. But having seen this we have had to witness the deterioration of much of it. A painful and costly war divided us, has cost the lives of thousands and perhaps hundreds of thousands, and drained away incredible sums of money which earlier many had denied having available for any purpose. Laws were rejected or appealed, or laughed at as in the disgusting reaction of some elected officials to the issue of rats versus children. Administrative programs have been sometimes ill conceived, frequently ill managed, and consistently thwarted, subverted and under-financed. And, in the dreary repetitions of history, the decisions of the courts have been repeatedly flouted and ignored.

So, it has been discouraging and disillusioning. For many blacks and whites it has been hard to keep the faith and for some it has been impossible.

There are, in my opinion, two general areas of programming for the Council in the next several years. These two areas are, to me, equally important and necessary

if we are to further contribute to the region and the nation.

One: A substantially increased effort to do what we can to see that black Southerners achieve power -- a bargaining position and the ability to bargain -- equal to their numbers and presence.

There are currently many efforts on the part of black Southerners to achieve power. Those of these efforts which are really important have to do with gaining a sounder economic position and stronger political muscle. These better efforts are not a thrust toward separatism, but rather a healthy drive toward gaining strength from which to enter the larger society. Further, basic reform in this region will not be possible until these programs are successful.

We have talked for years about the "power structure." There is one, and it is significant, though I doubt that the classic power structure is as all important as is generally thought. But, there are power structures, and there are power structures which can be created.

At this point, as we all know, black Southerners have a pathetically disproportionate lack of access to

economic opportunity and the accumulation of capital. This, probably more than any of the other tragic situations, is why we have our present deadlock and why we have the tragic chain of despair that locks each new generation into a society of hopelessness.

There are innumerable and commendable programs to correct this situation, but most of them are small, with inadequate resources, financial and technical. SRC can contribute to this need, and on more than a patchwork basis, and I believe we must.

In doing so we must be realistic. Some of the best financed and most needed economic self-help programs are not doing well. They are long -- and honorably -- in idealism and determination but woefully, though understandably, short on skill. In a substantial way SRC must be concerned about this and we must seek resources far in excess of our present staff capability or budgeted finances.

Because of this reasoning we began in December to formulate plans for an SRC Center for Economic Development. We hope to submit these plans to the Executive Committee in March 1969 for review and approval and immediately

thereafter to seek additional funds to make the Center possible. As a first effort we will coordinate our existing programs in economic development. These include our projects in Urban Planning, Community Organization, and Labor Education. A new program of publications in this field will also be included. This work will be directed by Mr. Reese Cleghorn, formerly Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal who joins the staff in 1969.

The same need applies to the area of political power. Our two Voter Education Projects are, in my opinion, two of the most important and successful projects ever conducted by any agency, public or private. But, as successful as these programs have been, they have barely begun to bring into adjustment the number of black Southerners relative to their potential, or fair, political importance and we are wrong if we exaggerate the degree of success of these projects.

We know now, as we have long known, that registering people -- as important as that is -- is not sufficient. After generations of denial of the ballot, of poor education and an all-too-long a period of choices

between the lesser of two evils, we delude ourselves if we think black Southerners have yet begun to enter the mainstream of southern political life and decision-making. To be sure, in the past decade precedent has been shattered and history has been made over and over again. ("Mr. Speaker, remove those niggers from the gallery." -- 1962; "Mr. Chairman, I nominate Julian Bond as Vice-President of the United States of America."-- 1968). But, for all of this -- the progress and the drama -- we have only begun.

The black Southerner will not be a man until he can earn a decent wage in a sound economy. He will not be a citizen until he votes and his vote is counted in a democratic society.

The second priority of program for the future, in greatly oversimplified statement, should be to speak truth to power. We have long attempted to do this and we have sometimes done this well. But, we must do more of it better. In this recommendation I mean, of course, to speak to the financial and business leadership of this region -- that "power structure" again, if you must.

But, more is meant by this recommendation. There are leaders in this region, important leaders who are in fields other than business and finance -- and not all of them are white.

We need a sound reassessment of what this leadership is and where it is. We need to determine what interests them and what appeals to them. And, we should not attempt to reach this leadership with preachments. More clearly then ever before, we need to inform the leadership of this region of what are their true self-interests.

We need to tell bank presidents and young JC's the truth of our region's economic growth -- or lack of growth. We need to spell out why this region cannot grow if we use only part of our manpower or educate only some of our children. To the professions and the universities we need to explain why a token black student in the law school, or the school of architecture or medicine, is not enough; not enough for the sake of their profession or their school or for the society in which they will attempt to operate. We need to explain

to the law enforcement profession that the empty slogan, "support your local police" is a fraud compared to the needs for adequate pay, adequate standards, adequate training, and adequate protection and assistance for all the people. We need to explain to the black businessman why he, like the white businessman, must invest in the eradication of poverty. We need to explain to the black politician why unity -- not a petty scramble for individual power -- is essential if black candidates are ever to go into the arena with the full power of the vote.

We need to reach youth, to explain to them how important they have been and are. We need to reassure them that they are being heard and that reform is possible. One of the great potential tragedies of this nation is that the most decent and most intelligent of our young population will "cop out" in discouragement rather than continue with faith in their abilities or the possibility of working with some of us old fogies.

To digress a moment, this second program priority is based on an assumption, perhaps a naive one, that the greatest danger in our society is not deliberate evil but ignorance. I say this recognizing that in November

a candidate representing the personification of bigotry won an appaling 10% of the vote of the people of this nation and another major candidate seemed to have no hesitation to having his representatives, in this region at least, compete -- on an equally low plane -- for those same votes of fear and prejudice.

I honestly believe most people simply don't know, don't understand. The middle-class suburbanite, whose father may well have worked on WPA and whose mother may well have gone for the weekly free government food, honestly is so caught up in his own rat race that he has forgotten. The typical successful man, has no concept of how the kid in the ghetto can't make it no matter what his qualities and his determination. "Law and order" is frequently a statement of the bigot, but for millions it is a sincere yearning for those who cannot understand the riot or the student attempting to close a university.

Perhaps I am wrong if ignorance of the good people is a more serious problem for us than the existence of evil in the bad people. But, if I am I see no hope and

have no heart to fight what must then be an already lost battle.

Here another aside but, to me, a crucial one. The upper and middle class white people of this country run this country. They control our media, they elect most of our officials and they pay -- or refuse to pay -- most of our taxes. If we are to be significant in the process of social reform we must not only recognize this reality we must respond to it. As said earlier there are many "leaders" in the country and we must identify and attempt to reach them all. While we build strength for the bargaining minorities I feel strongly we must, too, build understanding among those to be bargained with, no matter how formidable that may be and no matter how discouraged we may have become at the success of such efforts.

Recently, on a plane trip from Tulsa to Dallas we flew into a very heavy storm. I was frightened. In fact, it may tell you something about me that I am highly skeptical of the Wright Brothers' invention and generally disapprove of most of the efforts that have been made to improve on that invention.

Nevertheless, as we bounced and shuttered over Oklahoma I thought frantically of something to keep my mind off the fact that someone would soon collect my insurance. Suddenly, I thought of Lillian Smith.

In an earlier report I recalled an incident at the Memorial Services for Miss Smith. Suddenly, over Oklahoma, having left a meeting of shouting and dissent and misunderstanding, I remembered this magnificent spirit.

Miss Smith believed in honesty. She spoke honestly whatever the cost, and it cost her dearly. For her honesty she was insulted, maligned, and burned out. To add to that, fate dealt her a terrible and terribly unfair, blow in demanding that she be wracked with the pain of cancer for more than a decade. Yet, this woman died as she lived. She died loving her fellowman, loving her region, having faith in people and her country.

"Miss Lil" has helped me a great deal these past months. Any problems we have had are picayune when one recalls her ordeal. And any act of faith, of continuing to believe, is microscopic, when one remembers her great faith.

To the members of the staff, the Members of the Council, those who have supported our work, and our other friends, I extend my most sincere appreciation for having made this year possible and productive.

Paul Anthony --

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1970

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Officers	ii
List of Staff	iii
Introduction	1
Affairs of the Council	2
Research and Information	4
Office of Director of Information	8
Office of Director of Publications and New South	10
Office of Director of Research	12
The Resources Development Center	14
Housing and Planning	14
The Leadership Project	17
Community Organization	21
Manpower Division	24
Labor Education	24
Employment Discrimination	26
Manpower Practices	28
Other Programs of Resources Development Center	29
Other Programs in Brief	33
Conclusion	35

January, 1970

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Mrs. Joyce Meekins, Research Associate
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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION

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Leon W. Hall, Associate
Miss Mozell Varner, Secretary

LEADERSHIP DIVISION

Reese Cleghorn, Director (Editor, South Today)
Mrs. Kitty Terjen, Assistant to the Director
Mrs. Betsy Fancher, Associate Editor, South Today
Mrs. Ruth C. Howard, Secretary

Here follows a report to our contributors, the Members of the Council, and other friends on the work of the Council during 1970.

It is extremely difficult for me to adequately report on the work and talent of the staff or, of our policy leadership. Because of their dedication to the organization, and more importantly, to our purposes and goals, both groups have exceeded what could be asked of them.

To them for their work, and to the foundations and others who have made this work possible, I am deeply grateful.

Paul Anthony

January, 1971

AFFAIRS OF THE COUNCIL:

For the director's office and the administrative staff, though fortunately not for the program staff, 1970 was a year of interruptions.

Having spent much of 1969 watching the legislative process as it dealt with the "tax reform" bill, early 1970 was spent in assessing and adjusting to the new law. Substantial time was spent in providing foundations the information which they required to be assured that our programs were in compliance. We found ourselves in the position of having to spend considerable time in "fund raising" for funds already committed.

A major policy decision had to be made concerning the Voter Education Project, which had been the subject of much Congressional debate and was considerably affected by the new law. After the most serious deliberations the decision was made to create a separate corporation - if that corporation could receive its own tax-exemption from IRS. Tax exemption was granted VEP, Inc., on May 14th, and that agency now has its own board and staff, and is no longer a part of SRC administratively. Apart from the legal reasons, we believe this was a wise move. VEP, Inc., is a mature and experienced

(Affairs of the Council)

agency in its own right, more than capable of operating and producing one of the most important programs in the region, as has been shown during the past months.

Vacations were cancelled for the Director and the Secretary-Treasurer when it was learned in mid-summer that the Internal Revenue Service planned to do a full audit of Council affairs. Three auditors moved into our conference room on July 20th, and remained there for more than three months, in what was the most exhaustive audit in Council history. We have not yet been informed of the results of that investigation.

In January, the members of the Executive Committee elected Dr. Vivian Henderson to serve as chairman of that body. During the year, Mrs. Paul S. Derian of Jackson, and Mr. Hodding Carter, III, were elected to the Executive Committee. Members elected to the Council who began service in 1970 are: Mr. Howard Lee, Chapel Hill; Dr. John Monro, Birmingham; Dr. Ray Marshall, Austin; Mr. William T. Mason, Jr., Norfolk; Mrs. C. Bette Wimbish, St. Petersburg; Mr. Earl Johnson, Jacksonville; Dr. Martin Brooks, Pembroke; Dr. James Lawson, Nashville; Mr. Fred Gray, Montgomery; The Rev. C. K. Yarber, Texarkana; and Mr. E. H. Gadsden of Savannah.

Sadly, four of the Council's long and great champions were lost to us by death during the year. They were:

(Affairs of the Council)

James McBride Dabbs, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dr. Gordon Hancock and Dr. W. D. Weatherford.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION:

In a very real sense this department is the nerve center of the Council and in one sense every member of the staff is a member of the department, contributing to it and making demands on it. Field staff feeds information into this intelligence center, not only for their own needs but for the needs of other groups and agencies in the region. (For instance, information to a day care center about federal funding or a rundown of the housing programs of the Farmers Home Administration.)

The terms "research and information" can be misleading and they are often misunderstood by those who are not familiar with our interpretation of them. To us these functions are programs in an emphatic sense of that word. They are too, I believe, unique both in the degree of results which we get from using them and in the degree of skill and reliability which the Council has developed over a long period.

Our information and research work consists basically of two parts. One responds, the other initiates.

(Research and Information)

The response function is based largely on our internal collection of information. This consists of clipping and filing of about twenty newspapers daily, and of innumerable magazines, community newspapers or newsletters, journals and reports of state and federal governments. Work space is provided for the constant number of persons ranging from students to journalists who come here to use this material and that space is seldom vacant. In addition, more than seven hundred mail and phone inquiries were responded to during the year. This function is not, per se, particularly unique, although the subject areas and more particularly the reliability probably are.

(Senator Walter Mondale, Chariman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, commented on July 1: "It is what we can expect from the Southern Regional Council, which I regard as one of the best, if not the best, source of facts on what is happening in the South, to which we turn almost daily. We are most grateful for the work of your organization.")

The initiating function of the research and information operation is somewhat more complex. In this function we are program oriented, in that whether it be an incident or a basic

(Research and Information)

issue we attempt to get direct attention and action on that incident or issue. Perhaps several examples will best illustrate this approach.

In February 1968, state police fired shotguns into a crowd of black students at South Carolina State College, killing three. The Council immediately issued a report, "Events at Orangeburg," which documented this tragedy and warned of the implications. The report received attention and indeed led to a book by reporters Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, but the indignation and thoughtfulness that should have been forthcoming were not. In May 1970, shortly after the Kent State tragedy, state police fired on black students at Jackson State College, killing two. I, and SRC president Raymond Wheeler, immediately issued a statement which included: "The grave warning implicit in the Orangeburg situation of two years ago was not heeded...until such solutions (of indiscriminate force in the face of conflict) are repudiated as public policy from the Presidency on down, no segment of society, no person is safe."

Thereafter an SRC special report documented the Jackson State tragedy and it received wide, and thoughtful, attention from the media. Because of this, and the efforts of many others,

(Research and Information)

the term "Kent State and Jackson State" was added to our vocabulary. It finally became evident to many that what happened at Kent State has long since occured, and continued to occur at black schools.

As another example, on July 2, it was reported to us that a librarian in suburban Atlanta complained that an agent of the Treasury Department had just called on her demanding a list of persons who were checking out "subversive" books. We responded with an urgency which we felt paralleled the situation. On July 9, we published a special edition of South Today with limited circulation which reported that Treasury agents had visited libraries in Atlanta, Milwaukee and elsewhere, attempting to gather the names of people who had checked out books on explosives and, in some cases, simply books loosely described as "subversive" or "militant". Our disclosure of this intrusion upon the rights of privacy, with all its possible police-state ramifications, was widely publicized throughout the country. The Washington Post, which published the full report on its release date of July 9, called it "a signal service to American freedom" and the Charleston News and Courier commented: "Perhaps it's closer to 1984 than we think."

(Research and Information)

The American Library Association took immediate steps to make it a matter of policy to refuse to reveal the names of readers of library books and the Association of American Publishers supported that position. The Treasury issued a directive to its agents telling them to stop such fishing expeditions.

A major contribution was made in the protection of the individual from unwarranted intrusion from government. Other examples of the rationale of the use of the printed word - and related associations with members of the media - and the results of these approaches will be referred to later in the report.

Office of the Director of Information

One of the important requirements of the successful use of the technique of "Information and Research" as a program tool is that those persons immediately associated with that process must be peers of the best creative minds in the nation. There is no doubt in my mind that the SRC staff in this area fits that qualification. Several persons could be used as examples of this but the activities of Pat Watters, Director of Information, is a good example.

Watters is the senior person in the department, and as such, has responsibility for its total operation. In addition,

(Research and Information)

during 1970 he has published, by Pantheon, the book The South and the Nation, with its appeal for support of the South's real strengths and opposition to its real evils. Reviews in the New York Times, The New Yorker, Washington Post, Commentary, and elsewhere, and public appearances by Watters have given us further exposure for our ideas and point of view.

Watters' third book, a study of the Southern Movement during the 1960's, is scheduled for publication in the fall, and South and the Nation will appear in paperback at that time. He has had articles in Dissent and the New York Times Magazine, the latter reproduced for distribution to the annual conference of the Legal Defense and Education Fund; book reviews in the Yale Review, and Progressive, and has been invited to submit occasional columns to the opposite editorial page of the New York Times.

Watters appeared as interviewer and narrator in an hour-long NET documentary on the present day South. It was presented in November as part of the Realities series on over 200 stations throughout the country.

Activities of this nature and quality with all of our creative staff gives us an outreach and influence, I believe,

(Research and Information)

with literally millions of persons who must - on that scale - be exposed to issues and ideas if there is to be basic social reform in this country.

Office of the Editor of Publications and New South

This office, headed by Robert E. Anderson, Jr., has published four special reports, four issues of New South, and has offered substantial editorial assistance to the staff of the Resources Development Center and to other agencies. (Currently, with Susan Morgan, he is doing a major study on medical care in the region, and he plans to do an analysis of how the staff can best use the 1970 census data.) The published reports include a study of violence in Augusta, Georgia and at Jackson State College; a report on the mood of black high school students at the beginning of the school year; a report on efforts to cripple the Head Start Program in Mississippi (appearing in South Today), and a profile of race relations in Daytona Beach, Florida, reprinted in full in the Daytona Beach News-Journal.

New South articles which received substantial attention include the Mississippi school crisis as reported by Wilson J. Minor, an analysis of the meaning of the Wallace election by

(Research and Information)

Ray Jenkins, and the trial of Cleveland Sellers by Jack Bass. (Also excerpts of the book, The Orangeburg Massacre, by Mr. Bass and Jack Nelson, appeared.)

Others included an exclusive interview by William Winn with Erskine Caldwell, an in-depth look at student activities by three University of Wisconsin professors; an evaluation of Southern churches by Donald W. Shriver, Jr.; an analysis of the "southern strategy" as it affects school desegregation by Hayes Mizell; a look at the religion of poor whites by Harry Lefever, an Atlanta University sociologist; an essay on the South and efforts to exploit its human development by Richard Goodwin, first given at the Memphis meeting of the L. Q. C. Lamar Society meeting; a report of hearings in Jackson on the violence at Jackson State by a Washington Attorney, Harry Huge; an analysis of the strategies available to poor whites in Appalachia by Si Kahn, a young community organizer; excerpts from the book, A Mind to Stay Here, dealing with the work of Lucius Pitts at Miles College; an article on the black writer in the southern experience by Alice Walker, Mississippi novelist; a study of the aftermath of a mill closing in a small Georgia town, by Kathy Kahn; a study of how blacks, whites and Mexican-Americans organized in Houston around a community issue by

(Information and Research)

Professor Harold Nelson; and, an essay on the southern environment by Frank Smith, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

By special arrangement, New South is being received by all members of the newly formed L. Q. C. Lamar Society and has been chosen by the Department of Education of Georgia to be taped in their program for the blind.

This quarterly is the Council's effort to see that there is - from our particular perspective and concerns - one thoughtful and well written journal to reach the interested and the active. We are somewhat surprised, and very gratified at the volume and quality of manuscripts submitted to us and the affirmative response we usually get when some of the best writers and journalists are asked to prepare an article. Authors' fees are few and extremely modest.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

In July, Dr. Paul Gaston, Professor of History at the University of Virginia and author of the book The New South Creed, joined the staff as Director of Research. This is an extremely important position within the staff structure, and

(Office of the Director of Research)

we were all the more pleased that Dr. Gaston agreed to take a leave of absence from the University since the research position had been vacant for some time.

Dr. Gaston has worked with Mrs. Doris Reed, senior research associate, and her staff in making some basic changes in the methods by which we collect and file our materials. He has also made arrangements for temporary help to review and place in better order all SRC records before they are turned over to Atlanta University Library. Negotiations are now underway to have our very substantial collection of clippings and some other materials placed on microfilm (as New South now is through the University of Michigan) and offered for sale to universities and others who have need of them.

In cooperation with the editor, the research staff has done a major review of violence in the region during the past three years for a report which will be issued shortly. Tragically, the analysis and editing of this material has been slowed because of the sheer volume of instances of violence which we found; the first draft of this report, tightly summarizing each instance, came to over 150 pages of single spaced copy.

Dr. Gaston has developed a major interest in the school desegregation process, and is preparing a major portion of the

(Office of the Director of Research)

SRC report on school desegregation in 1970 which will appear in February 1971.

THE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER:

Created in 1969, the Resources Development Center was functional for the first time during 1970. The Center is the Council's effort to bring more coordination to our work in those areas dealing with economic development and the development of the region's human resources.

At present we have staffed work in Housing and Planning, Community Organization, Manpower, and the Leadership Project. Additional areas of interest are concentrated on through consultants and temporary employees on a short term project basis. Dr. Emory F. Via directs the Center as well as our work in manpower and labor.

Housing and Planning

The Housing and Planning Staff consists of Moreland G. Smith, an architect, and Arthur Campbell, a planner. On a temporary basis, Horace Barker serves the division, largely in a research capacity.

(The Resources Development Center)

The group has undertaken a survey of regional and sub-regional housing groups working in rural areas and/or small towns to determine the extent of activity and those places where this staff might be of some significant assistance. Growing partially out of this has been a study of the housing policies and results of those policies of the Farmer's Home Administration. This will be released shortly.

Consultative assistance is being given a group in Fairfield, Alabama which is interested in sponsoring a low-income housing program. Through the cooperation of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing a consultant has been provided to create a corporation and seek funds for a low-income housing project.

A study is almost completed on the problems and patterns associated with racial transition of residential neighborhoods over a ten year period. This information should be of considerable value to neighborhood stabilization groups such as the one in Jackson, Mississippi with which we are working.

Because of the requests for such information, we have collected materials on the problems of equal housing opportunities, a study of state and local fair housing laws in the South, and an assessment of enforcement of the federal open

(The Resources Development Center)

housing act of 1968. In this regard we are also doing background and supportive work toward the aim of organizing an entity to promote fair housing in the metropolitan Atlanta area.

We are hopeful of providing considerable specific assistance to the Panola Land Buyers Association in developing immediate and long range plans for its 1164 acres in Sumter County, Alabama. Preliminary work of this nature has been done with New Communities, Inc., of Albany, Georgia in planning layout for land utilization for housing, light industries and commercial purposes in the implementation of utility plans, sewer, water, electricity, and gas. (We have also given emergency assistance to families now living on that site.)

We have worked with Tuskegee Institute in their interest in Tuskegee's Model Cities program and in the Institute's attempt to establish a regional agrarian medical service delivery program in a five-county area.

Communication continues with the state and national offices of the American Institute of Architects and the American Institute of Planners to urge them to implement their avowed social responsibility.

(The Resources Development Center)

With the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation of North Carolina, we have advised on land-banking operational techniques and how it might be used for housing development. Toward the end of the year the Council and the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation had tentatively worked out plans whereby the Council during 1971 would establish a regional Low Income Housing Development Corporation with considerable assistance from the North Carolina group. If established, the new regional housing agency would be independent rather than a part of SRC, and would seek very substantial federal funding.

The Leadership Project

Beginning in 1969 the Council created this program as a means of reaching the existing and emerging leadership with information they needed for intelligent decisions which they did not then have, and were not getting through other sources. The project continues to have this purpose but has added as well, a very substantial thrust in achieving program ends through investigative reporting. South Today, the 8-12 page monthly newspaper, is the primary means by which both efforts are carried out.

(The Resources Development Center)

Reese Cleghorn has directed this project since its beginning, with Mrs. Kitty Griffith Terjen and Mrs. Betsy Fancher as Associate Editors of South Today.

In October Reese Cleghorn responded to a complimentary letter about a particular article with this observation: "South Today's best function so far, I think, has been in priming the press to do things it wasn't doing. We haven't yet had an issue that didn't produce some of this. Most surprising, maybe, is the extent to which these reports have been covered in some of the worst newspapers in the Deep South, which if the Associated Press picks up the report, frequently carry them just as nicely as a Washington or New York paper would."

This summarizes well, I think, one of the most significant contributions of South Today. Through this publication we have substantially increased coverage of our concerns and facts in the national media, but for the first time we have gotten this material significantly into the total southern media. And, frequently we see where the information is being used without direct reference to source, such as in a number of "moderate" to "conservative" editorial pages.

Among the 1970 reports selected for program ends through publication in South Today were: those which critiqued Florida state programs dealing with migrant workers; disclosure of

(The Resources Development Center)

widespread ownership of slums by state and local welfare departments; exploration of the plight of local-government employees, such as garbage workers, and the need for better city hall methods of dealing with the lowest-income workers; revelation for the first time nationally of the Treasury Department's use of agents to obtain names of borrowers of certain library books; a report showing that "segregation academies" are busing more children and busing them further than public schools (one of only a number of reports on "segregation" academies), and more recently exposure of IRS tax-exempt policies toward them; an examination of racism in Hollywood films and in Southern college and high school athletics; a study of the Catholic Church's performance on Southern social problems; a report on the price of pollution and corporate collusion with government in the despoliation of Amelia Island, Florida.

To illustrate the program intent and the potential of this type reporting one of the above mentioned reports can be cited. The July-August issue's report on four state welfare departments' use of lien/claim laws to discourage people from being on the welfare rolls, resulting often in

(The Resources Development Center)

state ownership of slums, received widespread coverage. In North Carolina, the practices and the bad ramifications were acknowledged officially, and there may be steps toward change. In South Carolina, the state welfare director disputed the report; but at least one local welfare director in his state then publicly disputed his contentions, agreeing with our conclusions.

From Florida, came a sad letter of appreciation from a Fort Lauderdale woman entitled to welfare payments who has refused to sign a statement entitling the state to her small home upon her death. She said she "went out at 72 years to clean homes" to avoid signing the papers. "My loved little home, bought with sweat and tears will not be taken away" she said.

Virginia, the fourth state, nullified all such liens on welfare recipients' property effective May 5. Our report noted the change, but it may not have sufficiently underscored the fact that Virginia hereafter will not be among the South's biggest slum owners.

The booklet on out migration, "The Chickenbone Special," by Dwayne Walls has been expanded to book length and will be published by Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc. During

(The Resources Development Center)

the year the director of the project testified by invitation before the Mondale education subcommittee on the subject of segregated private schools. We continue to monitor the IRS and its tax-exemption policies with these schools.

Community Organization

This division is headed by Clarence Wright, who joined the staff in September after John Lewis resigned to become Director of the Voter Education Project, Inc. A primary goal of the project is to maintain a file on all significant minority oriented economic development programs and to provide assistance to them where possible, to assist emerging groups in organization and funding, and to encourage the use of indigenous resources in fostering community development.

The first months of the division director's time were spent largely in orienting himself to groups in the region, which has in turn led to much of our program in the latter part of the year. These included establishing a relationship with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and attending their annual meeting in Selma. Relationships have been established with the Hilton Head Shrimp Cooperative and with the Jasper County Catfish Cooperative.

(The Resources Development Center)

The Division Director has assisted in running a training program for the twelve community health trainees of the Beaufort/Jasper Comprehensive Health Center. This has included reviewing the training curriculum and supplying additional materials and information for training, and assistance with the recruitment of doctors for the program.

Consultation has taken place with the St. Helenas' Farm Cooperative and if the land is secured by that group, we are prepared to offer technical assistance in developing 275 acres for low-income housing and a shopping center.

Substantial association has taken place with the Clay County Economic Development Corporation, headquartered in West Point, Mississippi. In addition to other assistance, $10,000 was provided to the Corporation to assist in the rebuilding of the Corporation's community center after that building was burned, and we have provided $2,500 through a special grant to assist in the building of a home for the widow and children of a murdered civil rights worker. Also, we have assisted in having the Ball Corporation provide a free cannery for the community.

The division has been providing ongoing technical assistance to the Black Appalachian Commission in cooperation

(The Resources Development Center)

with the Legal Defense Fund and the Southern Education Foundation. So far we have assisted this group in planning and writing a proposal and in planning meetings with the Appalachian Regional Commission concerning the lack of services and resources available to Appalachian blacks. As a result of these efforts, the Commission recently received a $25,000 grant to carry on their program for the next six to eight months.

Following the opening of schools and growing out of a meeting in Beaufort, S. C., the division director became convinced that there was a potential for black and white high school students in new environments of desegregation to work out their differences. He further concluded that black and white college students could be of substantial assistance to these teen-agers in their own home towns. From these observations a special program was developed to recruit college students for this purpose. Mr. Leon Hall, former SCLC community organizer, was brought on the staff to direct the program.

The two staffers, Wright and Hall, have worked to establish first programs in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina with encouraging results. For instance, in Mississippi, the three participating colleges are Jackson State, Tougaloo and

(The Resources Development Center)

Millsaps. Fourteen students from Tougaloo have undertaken this program as their Interim Project of study for the school year. They will be working in their home communities full-time through January 22. Meetings with students have also been held in Florida, Alabama, and Virginia, in an effort to initiate programs in those states.

Manpower Division

The manpower project focuses on three main areas: 1) labor education, 2) manpower practices, and 3) employment discrimination as a special part of manpower practices. Emory Via is the director of this division, as well as director of the center.

Labor Education

We recognize in the labor education activities that almost no agencies other than some unions endeavor to reach working people on matters that concern SRC. This is especially true in reaching white workers or workers in integrated situations. Our primary focus continues to be on an intermediate range of leaders. We have provided direct teaching services, usually meaning that the project director serves as an instructor. Included this past year have been participations in two

(The Resources Development Center)

one-week schools for young workers, in an institute for public employee representatives and public employers, a regional education program of a national program for national union staff people with civil rights union responsibilities. We have arranged for other members of the staff to take part in education programs such as Paul Gaston's appearance before the Advanced Southern Labor School. The Manpower Program is frequently called upon to suggest resource people for educational programs, to assist in securing such people, to advise on programs' content, and to recommend and supply materials. We also attempt to expand the idea of labor education with unions and others. We have paid special attention to trying to interest southern universities in establishing full time programs. We envision this as a long run solution, providing a needed resource which can go far beyond the Council's capacities. We have had extended talks during the past year with several Georgia schools and preliminary conversations with representatives of other institutions. These efforts have been coupled with approaches to selected union leaders. In this same effort, the director arranged and chaired the Labor Education Section of the national meetings of the Adult Education Association; the meeting was held in Atlanta on the

(The Resources Development Center)

topic: "Southern Labor Education." The division director has been appointed to an advisory committee to the new Labor Education Department at VPI.

Employment Discrimination

In relating to problems of employment discrimination, the year has been an interesting one though perhaps too restricted to educational and consultative approaches as opposed to participating in the start of pragmatic efforts to attack the problems more directly. The director collaborated closely with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations in planning, supporting, suggesting resources, and by his own participation in their first equal employment opportunity conference. SRC was an important resource in this undertaking and it had educational value for those planning the program (and charged with on-going program activities) as well as for those attending it. Somewhat similarly, we jointly sponsored a program with the Arkansas governor's office aimed at showing the need for greater response by state and local governmental agencies in hiring and upgrading practices. Again we were full participants in planning, providing resources and in all

(The Resources Development Center)

aspects of the conference other than recruiting. The project director also participated as a staff resource in an Urban League sponsored program as part of their apprenticeship outreach effort.

The division director has conferred with senior management of a major national corporation on desirable hiring practices for a large factory which will be built in Georgia. This is largely a matter of manpower consultation, but something of the "leadership project" also in that this was something of an introduction to the region for these corporate leaders.

We have played a small part in attempting to get the various sides together in the controversy in Atlanta about adopting a "hometown plan" for increasing minority participation in the building trades. And we have been consulted by both management and union representatives about other problems related to discrimination.

The director of the manpower project participated in a seminar for Southern public works officials sponsored by the University of Georgia. Although his discussion was concerned with several aspects of employee relations, a primary focus was on matters related to discrimination. Similar services have

(The Resources Development Center)

been supplied for reporters on in-depth stories. The project director has participated in developing data and reports as parts of other studies.

Manpower Practices

The other kinds of manpower activities have been diverse and generally of minimal program consequence to date. The director has participated in a small national level manpower seminar. We are in the process of developing first a core of ideas, then a seminar, and later some action guidelines and proposals that relate to the implementation of new manpower policies. This effort is directed primarily toward the moves to decentralize certain manpower activities thereby placing greater responsibility in the hands of state and local governments. Although decentralization can assist the efficiency of manpower efforts, it can be done even better if there are reasonably sophisticated "watchdogs" (regarding adequacy and discrimination) and persons prepared to play advisory roles in such manpower efforts.

In expanding the Manpower Project director's responsibilities to include directing the Resources Development Center,

(The Resources Development Center)

we have necessarily reduced the project's activities considerably. Our efforts to hire a manpower specialist thus far have failed.

Other Programs of The Resources Development Center

Largely through the work of Jim Wood, we continued in 1970 to give special attention to the relief and recovery efforts following Hurricane Camille in Mississippi. The U. S. Senate Public Works Committee held hearings, the subject of which was: "Federal Response to Hurricane Camille." We were invited to testify before the committee twice, first at the January hearings in Biloxi where we entered the joint SRC-AFSC Report titled "In the Wake of Hurricane Camille: An Analysis of the Federal Response." Our second testimony was made in Washington in May, and was directly related to proposed new disaster legislation. A new disaster law became effective on December 31, 1970. While this law does not contain all of our recommendations, it is a large step forward. We began in December to work with groups in Mississippi in an attempt to develop a strategy for economic development for low-income families with the ten Mississippi counties most effected by the storm. In August, we went to Corpus Christi following

(The Resources Development Center)

Hurricane Celia. Here we found that administrative changes in the Federal and Red Cross response had brought about vast improvement in the delivery of services to the victims of the storm. Recommendations made by us and others have been accepted. Unfortunately, many similar recommendations are yet unheeded.

Through the use of consultants we have done further work in identifying poverty among whites in the region, including an unpublished background study of the characteristics of poor whites in an urban area. Other interests, largely in Appalachia, are referred to in our publications program.

The staff of the Center spent a day in Knoxville with the Senior staff of the Tennessee Valley Authority as a means of both staffs becoming more familiar with the work and resources of the other.

Research Seminar

SRC through its Resources Development Center and the Ford Foundation, through George Esser, held a research seminar October 9-11. A small group of scholars gathered at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel to consider research needs related to the economic and social development of the South. Discussion

(The Resources Development Center)

was not limited to those topics which SRC might undertake by itself.

A conscious effort was made to have a variety of disciplines represented. Nineteen persons accepted our invitation to participate. They came from 12 institutions of higher learning, and four agencies with research interests. The invitees were joined by two members of the Ford Foundation staff, and eight members of the SRC staff. About half of the participants were new to the Council.

The seminar was important in giving us a new opportunity to think through research needs with people of varying perspectives. It was not a seminar which laid out an agenda of research needs, even though this had been one original aim. It did underscore the utility of what SRC now does and pointed to the need to expand our interaction with existing research efforts. The researchers were, in general, pleased at the opportunity to get to know each other and the Council staff. Our staff has made valuable contacts through this effort with individuals and programs which have already led to idea and data sharing.

If financial resources could be found it would be most useful to carry through with one idea developed during the

(The Resources Development Center)

seminar. This would be to establish a research center as a part of SRC, which could help generate useful research ideas calling for more extensive research than is now generally possible for us, but which would still hold to standards of relatively quick production and high relevance to problems. By using an SRC based research center, we can better select those individuals in institutions and elsewhere who are most likely to be able to perform according to those standards, to insure application of findings, and to provide for more popular interpretation of results where that is needed.

Education

The Resources Development Center recognizes that there are crucial problems in education that must be faced. While we have been unable to find the funds for a permanent full-time staff member, we have been active. In the reports of the Community Organization Division and the Leadership Project, there are descriptions of a student desegregation program and efforts to expose and monitor the segregationist academies. We made a small grant to the Norfolk Committee on Improvement of Education. The purpose of this grant was to aid the committee's work in introducing Black History into the public school system.

(The Resources Development Center)

We sponsored in January a meeting of several agencies, all of whom have at least a regional concern in the area of school desegregation. The discussion was around the immediate problems of Mississippi and the expected problems of the fall term which would come with greatly expanded school desegregation. In the spring, Professor Bickel of Yale announced his retreat. We assisted in seeing that he was challenged. The chief challengers were Charles Morgan, Pat Watters, Hayes Mizell, and Reese Cleghorn. In the fall we worked with HEW and private agencies in an effort to make the Emergency School Assistance Program effective. Closely related to this effort was the holding of several discussions about the creation of a Regional Education Institute that could express our kinds of concerns.

OTHER PROGRAMS IN BRIEF:

We have conferred with two governors elect on establishing state human relations commissions, provided materials to their staffs and hope to interest them enough that we can continue to provide consultative services.

SRC is an initial sponsor of the National Alliance for Safer Cities, and the Executive Director serves on the executive committee of this new program.

(Other programs in brief)

We continue to work closely with Ed Stanfield and the Southwest Council on Intergroup Relations, an agency which we substantially formed and staffed during its early stages.

Dr. Raymond Wheeler worked closely with Martin Carr on the CBS documentary on hunger. We are providing assistance to Mr. Carr for a similar NBC documentary on innocent children behind bars.

We have agreed to sponsor a three month trip for the Reverend and Mrs. Theo Kotze of Capetown, South Africa. Mr. Kotze is director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. Others are raising funds for this trip, and SRC will administer them.

During the year we received and briefed more than one hundred-fifty foreign visitors.

During the year we have made grants totaling $18,022.50, to thirty local agencies for food and medicine for children. No contributions received by us have been spent by either SRC, or local recipients, for any other purpose.

CONCLUSION:

At the Annual Meeting in November, it was decided that at this time the Council should do a thorough review and assessment of itself, its program, its structure, its purposes, and its effectiveness. This was an extremely wise decision; one that should periodically be made by every agency and one that certainly we should make as we enter the decade of the 1970's.

It was also wisely decided that persons in addition to those most intimately associated with SRC should be asked to serve on this review committee. Accordingly, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, as President, appointed a committee of twenty-one in December, and that group held its first weekend meeting in mid-January and scheduled a second meeting on the last weekend of the month. This is a demanding responsibility on the part of those asked to serve, and we are most grateful that each has agreed to do so.

Members of the committee are: Mr. Frank Smith (Chairman), Director, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee; Dr. John Griffin (Vice-Chairman), Executive Director, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. John Walker (Secretary), Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas; Mrs. Paul Derian, Jackson, Mississippi; Mr. Joel Fleishman, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive

(Conclusion)

Director, The United Negro College Fund, Inc., New York; The Honorable Howard Lee, Mayor, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Mrs. Joan Cashin, Huntsville, Alabama; Mr. Joseph Haas, Attorney, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Aaron Henry, Pharmacist, Clarksdale, Mississippi; Mr. Baxton Bryant, Executive Director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. Charles Silberman, Fortune Magazine, New York; Mr. Harold Fleming, President, Potomac Institute, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Raymond Wheeler, President-SRC, Charlotte, N. C.; Dr. Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia; Miss Jean Fairfax, Director, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc., New York; Mr. Will Campbell, Committee of Southern Churchmen, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.; Dean David A. Shannon, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; Dr. Herman H. Long, President, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; and Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

I believe the existence and potential of this committee is a healthy and encouraging indication that the agency born in 1944 remains in early 1971 a productive and flexible resource for social change in the region and the nation.

(Conclusion)

Again, to those who have been associated with and supportive of the Southern Regional Council during 1970, I am most deeply grateful.

Paul Anthony

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1971

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

List of Officers---------- i

List of Staff---------- ii

Introduction----------iii

Affairs of the Council---------- 1

Information and Research---------- 7

Office of Director of Information---------- 8

Office of Editor of Publications---------- 10

Office of Director of Research---------- 16

The Resources Development Center---------- 18

The Leadership Project---------- 18

Community Organization Division---------- 23

School Desegregation Project---------- 23

Housing and Planning Division---------- 29

Manpower and Labor Education---------- 33

Other Programs of the Resources Development Center---------- 37

Conclusion---------- 38

January, 1971

OFFICERS*

PRESIDENT

Raymond M. Wheeler*

VICE-PRESIDENTS

C. G. Gomillion*

Lucius H. Pitts*

Josephine Wilkins*

Frank Smith*

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman

Hodding Carter, III

Joan Cashin

Julius L. Chambers

Patt Derian

Donald L. Hollowell

Henry Marsh

Robert J. Palmer

John H. Wheeler

H. Franklin Williams

James Youngdahl

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Paul Anthony**

*Ex officio members of the Executive Committee
**Resigned as Executive Director, November, 1971

S T A F F

ADMINISTRATION

Paul Anthony, Executive Director*
Jerusha Brothers, Secretary to the Director
James N. Wood, Executive Assistant
Ruth House Vick, Secretary-Treasurer
Priscilla Eddy, Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer
Nobbie Morgan, Administrative Assistant
Betty Childres, Receptionist
Eugenia Kemp, Clerk-Typist
Jesse Hinton, Mailroom Clerk
Ronald Wray, Mailroom*
Janet Smith, Publications-Distribution
Marge Manderson, Staff Artist, Special Research

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

Pat Watters, Director of Information
Robert Anderson, Editor of Publications
Paul Gaston, Director of Research*
Bernice Morrison, Librarian
Doris Reed, Senior Research Associate
Barnetta Jackson, Research Associate*
Joyce Meekins, Research Associate*
Reese Cleghorn, Director, Leadership Division*
Kitty Terjen, Managing Editor, South Today*
Betsy Fancher, Associate Editor, South Today
Ruth P. Howard, Secretary

RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Emory F. Via, Director
Gwendolyn Sapp, Administrative Secretary

HOUSING AND PLANNING DIVISION

Moreland G. Smith, Director*
Arthur C. Campbell, Co-Director

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION

Clarence Wright, Director
Leon W. Hall, Director, School Desegregation Project
Mozell Varner, Secretary*

MANPOWER AND LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

Emory F. Via, Director

Staff (Continued)

<u>INTERNS DURING 1971</u>: Eddie Cazayoux, Andrew Gray, Linda Hay, Judith Hippler, Grayson Kirtland, Murdell Varnado.

<u>TEMPORARY OR PART-TIME EMPLOYEES IN 1971</u>: Cordelia Gear, Jackie Hall, Ed Stanfield, Emily Barefield, Susan Morgan, Horace Barker.

*Resigned during 1971; see specific program reports.

This is a report to the members, our contributors, and other friends of the Southern Regional Council on the activities of the organization during 1971.

What is reported here has been the product of a dedicated staff and policy leadership during a year of heavy and varied demands.

We continue to be grateful for the devotion to the organization's purposes that characterizes both staff and members. Our appreciation runs deep for foundation and other contributors who know what we do, comprehend its meaning, and make our work possible.

Emory F. Via

Ruth H. Vick

James N. Wood, Jr.

Acting Co-Directors, February, 1972

AFFAIRS OF THE COUNCIL

Resignation of Executive Director

Emotional tugs and practical problems intertwined as Council and staff faced the resignation of its executive director. Paul Anthony first requested the Executive Committee in July to accept, at their pleasure, his resignation as executive director. In November he asked that they move to relieve him of further administrative duties. So it was a year full of feeling and the practical pressures of transition and future facing.

Anthony was in his sixth year as director and had been with the Council since 1956 as special field investigator, administrative assistant, field program director and then as executive director. Paul had commented that "five years as director is all anyone should serve." In his letter of resignation he wrote: "SRC has been my family and I have been extremely fortunate to earn a living while spending my working hours with my most immediate interests.... No one committed to its purposes ever really leaves the Southern Regional Council." This is so, he said in a South Today interview, because the Council "is not an entity unto itself, a group of 100 liberal Southerners, a staff of 30. It is an idea--the striving for realization of the best spirit in man."

In accepting Paul Anthony's resignation President Raymond Wheeler said:

> "Paul Anthony has served the Council and the Southern region with loyalty and devotion and deep personal commitment. I regret that after six years of providing us with that kind of leadership he finds it necessary to resign.
>
> "He leaves the Council at a time when the prospects for the future of the organization are indeed bright. We have an unusually well-informed and active board and executive committee, a talented staff, and new and exciting plans for applying our special skills and concerns to the problems of the Southern region during the 1970's.
>
> "Paul Anthony leaves a valuable legacy."

The SRC staff presented a scroll to Paul inscribed as follows:

PAUL ANTHONY

Staff of the Southern Regional Council
1956-1971

Executive Director
1965-1971

In recognition of your many contributions to the betterment of the South, your encouragement of those seeking justice and understanding among people, your love of the Southern Regional Council and devotion to its goals and principles, and your leadership, exercised with wisdom, humaneness and good humor, often in the face of adversity, we present this permanent token of our respect and affection.

Staff of the Southern Regional Council
November, 1971

When the Executive Committee accepted Mr. Anthony's resignation as executive director it requested three members of the staff to assume responsibility for the administration of Council affairs. Ruth Vick, secretary-treasurer, Emory Via, director of Resources Development Center, and Jim Wood, executive assistant, were designated as acting co-directors and asked to function until a new executive director was selected and had taken office.

Following a thorough search by the Personnel and Executive Committees and with careful consideration of the organization's needs in coming years, on February 4, 1972, the Executive Committee appointed George H. Esser, Jr., as the new executive director, effective May 1, 1972.

Special Annual Meeting

In our last annual report, Paul Anthony noted approvingly that the 1970 meeting of the Council had called for an assessment of program, structure, purpose, and effectiveness.

A twenty-one member review committee was appointed which was broadly representative of the Council's membership and inclusive of other informed observers of the Southern scene. After a series of meetings and consideration of a number of presentations related to the Council and social change strategies, the Review Committee reported to the whole

Council. At a special meeting of the Council on April 24, the members adopted "A New Strategy for the Southern Regional Council." It is appropriate here to quote from that document:

> At various times in its history, changing circumstances have confronted the Southern Regional Council with the need to re-examine its assumptions, structure, and functions in the light of new imperatives. This is such a time....
>
> The increasing despair about the viability of the American system can be counteracted only by visible and measurable improvements in the status of minority group citizens and the poor which they experience as the closing of the gap between themselves and affluent white Americans. This will require the identification of key issues, the careful selection of targets, the development of sophisticated strategies, the mobilization of resources for change agents and maximum use of the mass media as vehicles for the restructuring of the economic and social order....
>
> What is needed is a more conscious, planned, coordinated use of these competencies. This will require changes in both policy and program procedures and in staff organization.
>
> This is an attempt to suggest, in bare summary, a way of recombining and strengthening SRC's most valuable elements so as to achieve the following objectives:
>
> 1. Build on the demonstrable strengths that SRC has developed.
>
> 2. Involve the members of the Council more deeply and creatively in policy decision-making, program development, and implementation.
>
> 3. Strengthen SRC's working ties to activist groups and grassroots work in community development.

4. Integrate the various talents and functions within SRC around specific strategies directed toward specific results, so that there will be concerted and persistent efforts to achieve clear-cut objectives.

5. Employ the many unused or under-used networks of manpower and potential commitments across the South...."

The "New Strategy" envisioned staff activities organized around four basic activities: field investigation, information, community organization, and research. Staff for task force efforts would come from a mix of existing personnel across functional lines, and special extra staff as required.

A Change of Address

After more than ten years at the 5 Forsyth Street address, SRC was forced to find new quarters because of the closing of the building. New space was found at 52 Fairlie Street, N. W. Both the Voter Education Project and the regional office of the American Civil Liberties Union were able to find space in the same building. Our kind of operation presented sizeable difficulties in making such a move. A mere recital of the fact of moving belies the strain, work, and space appraisal required to refit us to new quarters. The brunt of this load was borne by Jim Wood who greatly eased the pains of transition for the rest of the staff.

The old building in giving shelter to us and other cause agencies had become something of a symbol. New York Times reporter James Wooten in September reported Gunnar Myrdal when visiting the building as saying, "So this is where it begins." When queried as to what he meant, he responded, "Why, the New South, young man. The brand new American South." The same news story quoted from an early Ralph McGill editorial: "I think of that old wreck as a sanctuary for renegades who insist on telling the truth." And Julian Bond told the Times writer: "Sooner or later, the people who work there figure in most of what is important to the South and much of what is important to the nation." The article went on to say, "...the black and white men and women who have labored within its walls--lawyers, politicians and propagandists--have created a flood of projects, campaigns, lawsuits, books, pamphlets and papers whose impact on the South can only be described as substantial."

Council Members

During the year Mr. Robert Palmer of Sumter, S. C., was elected to the Executive Committee. Members elected to the Council to begin service in 1971 were: Mrs. Millie Charles, New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Edith Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.; Mr. Herbert U. Fielding, Charleston, S. C.; Mrs. Eva Clayton,

Warrenton, N. C.; Mr. Gary Lloyd, New Orleans, La.; Mr. Henry Lambert, New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Anna Rubin, Sumter, S. C.; and Dr. Aaron Shirley, Jackson, Miss.

Sadly, we report the death of Mr. Irving E. Carlyle, Life Fellow and long-time friend of the Council.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

The Information and Research section of the Council is central to all that we do. It informs staff, researchers, media representatives and many special publics. Of course, program staff are also information gatherers and their interaction with Information and Research is important to our overall capacity to inform the region and nation about regional problems and progress.

A small staff functions through a myriad of routine and imaginative tasks to meet a wide range of information needs. We clip twenty daily papers and as many weekly magazines plus a variety of special publications. Information requests number into the thousands each year. Miss Barnetta Jackson resigned during the year to join the staff of the Voter Education Project. Her services have already been greatly missed. For much of 1971 our research staff was woefully short of personnel. Credit is due to Mrs. Doris Reed for having ably assisted in meeting this critical situation.

Office of the Director of Information

Pat Watters in varying degrees this past year has been involved with several Southerners who have written good books and were trying to get them advantageously published. Tony Dunbar's Our Land Too, of course, grew out of an SRC publication. Mrs. James McBride Dabbs was attempting to find a publisher for Mr. Dabbs' beautiful book, finished the day he died. Watters worked some with both Tony and Mrs. Dabbs. He read manuscripts and/or suggested publishers for the following: Robert Hooker with his survey of Mississippi newspaper coverage of civil rights; Florence Mars with an extraordinary history of her Mississippi home county, Neshoba, centering on the civil rights murders in 1964; George Mitchell with a book of interviews with some typical young people in Columbus, Georgia, and another book of photographs of plain people across the South; Jim Loewen at Tougaloo with the excellent state history book developed there for use in the public schools; Ed King with his voluminous history of the civil rights movement in Mississippi.

It is important that such work by Southerners get as wide dissemination as possible, and there is the peripheral advantage for us of having access to selections of their work for our publications. Mr. Watters' relationship with writers has brought home (1) how much extraordinary talent there is

down here, (2) how much interest such Southern writers have in the broad concerns which SRC seeks to disseminate information about, and (3) the difficulties of dealing with New York editors inherent in presenting Southern material and the subsequent difficulty of reaching a large national audience with such material. (Even Larry King's highly-rated and very much publicized Confessions of a White Racist failed to sell many copies, he reported recently.) It is important for SRC to be as deeply and intimately involved as possible in the good writing that is going on in the South.

Watters has continued to receive letters from disparate places about his book The South and the Nation. The communications have revealed the kind of influence on the minds of many people such writing and SRC purposes can have. Watters completed this year another book, a personal account of the civil rights movement. Published in January by Pantheon Books, it is entitled Down to Now: Reflections on the Southern Civil Rights Movement. Beginning in December, Mr. Watters went on a leave of absence to edit at the invitation of the organizations involved, a book based on a conference on the FBI sponsored by Princeton University School of Law and the Committee for Public Justice. It is to be published in 1972 by Doubleday.

The director of information attended a conference in New York where a special issue of Dissent magazine on the blue collar worker was planned (and subsequently contributed an article). The conference showed a great need for Southern voices to assert Southern reality at such gatherings.

Watters traveled during the year in Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia, doing reportage and renewing contacts. He was on the program of a three-day symposium at Southwestern at Memphis along with Jack Newfield, Ralph Nader and such, and spoke at the Virginia Council on Human Relations' annual meeting in Danville.

Office of Editor of Publications

Robert Anderson has continued in his post as editor of publications where he has provided the kind of able leadership and applied skill that makes SRC publications successfully significant. A brief review of publications and articles follows.

The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71, involved the work of six SRC staffers. The concept of this report was to look beyond a police-type view of the federal enforcement process (although this was deemed and was reflected in the publication to be an important function) and into the long range, day-to-day human involvements of Southern students black and white, really just beginning an experience, which,

properly nurtured and encouraged -- could result in true integration. Paul Gaston, then director of research, wrote an overview of developments in the entire region. Pat Watters, Robert E. Anderson, Betsy Fancher and Horace Barker wrote in-depth analyses of events in four cities (three of them with cases then pending before the Supreme Court): Charlotte, Mobile, Beaufort, S. C., and Athens, Georgia, respectively, following field trips to the four cities and conversations with knowledgeable private citizens and governmental officials. Kitty Terjen, then assistant editor of South Today, made a major contribution with an update on the status of segregation academies across the South. Without exception, as Paul Anthony noted in his introduction, the six writers "independently concluded that the important and hopeful factor was that the students were there and involved in determining their own destiny."

Newspaper coverage of the report in addition to news articles included comment by Tom Wicker, syndicated New York Times columnist; editorials in the Atlanta Journal, the Miami Herald, Charlotte Observer, Athens, Georgia Banner, and special comment in the Saturday Review and the Economist of London.

Equal Housing Opportunities in the South: A Report on Government and Citizen Action was produced in cooperation with

the Housing and Planning Division. The report was co-authored by Horace Barker and Robert E. Anderson, Jr., with an introduction by Art Campbell and Moreland Smith, co-directors of H&P. Little literature on equal housing deals with events in the South and this report represented an attempt to fill that void. It received wide press coverage and gained national exposure when Frank McGee quoted from it in the NBC Nightly News of July 17. We received excellent comments on the report--but it also drew more crank mail than any other single report of recent years, a fact perhaps reflecting the depth of hard-core feeling the subject touches.

In April, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, President of the Council, delivered a paper on health and human resources at the University of Texas. Susan Morgan of the Research Department and Robert Anderson assisted in the research and editing of the paper which was later published in expanded form in the Fall New South as part of a special issue on medical care in the region. Dr. Wheeler's article dealt with the latest medical research on the effects of nutritional deficiency on child development, and comments on medical resources in the region.

Other articles in that issue of New South include:

"Poor Hungry Babies," by Redding Sugg, an evaluation of the nutritional research at St. Jude Hospital in Memphis and

the cooperative efforts of St. Jude and a Memphis community organization in reaching the poor with food and health programs.

"Whatever Happened to the National Nutrition Survey?" by Robert E. Anderson, a review of the preliminary findings of the national survey and the conflicts over the deliberate pace at which the survey has been concluded.

"Black Lung: Tragedy of Appalachia," by Bernard Aronson, an eloquent, compassionate and carefully documented work, describing the effects of black lung on its victims and the painstakingly slow pace at which they have been able to gain compensation benefits under federal and state law. This article was coordinated at SRC under the auspices of the Labor Education program.

"Worms Turn People Off," by Beekman Winthrop, an examination of the effects of parasite infection on children and efforts in South Carolina to eradicate the problem.

"Family Planning in Louisiana," by Ferrel Guillory, a look at the statewide family planning program of a Southern state.

"A Family Assistance Plan: 40 Acres and a Mule?" by Steve Van Evera, an examination of a family aid program as a means both to political and economic power.

Other New South articles of significance published during the year included:

"Juvenile Corrections in North Carolina," by Elizabeth Tornquist, a description of the treatment received by youthful offenders in North Carolina's corrections system. The article was re-printed by the national publication of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"Spiro Agnew: Firebrand of the Word," by Gilbert Ware. An analysis of the polemical style and political maneuvers of the vice president of the United States during his term as governor of Maryland when confronted with a racial crisis in the aftermath of Dr. King's assassination. The article was written by Agnew's only black staff member at the time of the incident.

"The South After Thirty Years: A Talk with Gunnar Myrdal". Freelance writer William Winn talked with the famed Swedish social scientist during his 1971 visit to the South. The substance of Dr. Myrdal's interview was the subject of several editorials in Southern newspapers and was re-printed in its entirety by the Americans for Democratic Action, in its monthly newspaper.

"The Emancipation of Pure White Southern Womanhood," by Virginia Foster. Publication of this reminiscence by a

Southern woman about the restraining influences on Southern women inherent in the Old South view of womanhood resulted in the author's being awarded a book contract. The article was re-printed by the National Observer.

"Is Martin Luther King, Jr., Irrelevant?" by Samuel DuBois Cook. A thoughtful appraisal of the meaning of the life and work of the late great Southern black civil rights leader by a former school associate of Dr. King's.

"Gore's Lost Cause," by Gene Graham, an evaluation of the factors leading to the political defeat of a Southern liberal, by a Pulitizer Prize winning reporter.

"Two Osceolas and the White Man," by Frye Gaillard. A look at a modern day conflict between a Southern Indian tribe and the federal government.

"Building a Chicano Party in South Texas," by George Rivera, Jr. The political facts of life in a predominantly Mexican-American town in South Texas and the efforts of the majority there to gain political power.

"School Desegregation: A Student View," by Richard Gergel. Mr. Gergel, a high school student in Columbia, S. C. and an active participant in SRC's School Desegregation Project, wrote of his and other's efforts to bring true integration to a Columbia high school.

"School Desegregation: A Teacher's Experience," by Louis Gregory Low. Mr. Low, a teacher in a rural North Carolina high school, describes faculty attempts to make the school desegregation process a meaningful and rewarding experience for both black and white students.

The editor of publications during 1971 approached the Southern Education Foundation for a grant to produce a handbook on school desegregation, using the experience of various North Carolina towns as a microcosm of the South. The grant was approved and Mrs. Elizabeth Tornquist, of Durham, North Carolina, was commissioned to do the work. Mr. Anderson serves as editor of the work now in progress.

Midway through the year the editor of publications on request of Dr. James C. Harvey of Jackson State College wrote the introduction to Dr. Harvey's book Civil Rights During the Kennedy Administration, which was the first book on civil rights to be published by the University of Mississippi Press.

Office of Director of Research

The position of director of research, held by Dr. Paul Gaston at the beginning of the year, was vacated in the summer as Dr. Gaston returned to the University of Virginia after a year's leave. We very much wish that Dr. Gaston could have continued his work with us for a longer period of time. During

his tenure as director of research he familiarized himself with the intricacies of Southern school desegregation and represented the Southern Regional Council on numerous occasions at meetings of private and governmental agencies discussing various aspects of strategy and implementation of federal desegregation law. He authored a major section of the 1970-71 school report and produced a series of lectures which were delivered to the student body at the University of Miami (of Ohio) in the early spring. He spoke about school desegregation before a college audience in Mobile and appeared on television news in Atlanta and Mobile regarding The South and Her Children.

In addition, Dr. Gaston served on a citizens' board of investigation into widespread charges of violation of student rights at the University of Florida.

As part of Dr. Gaston's long-range scholarly interest in the Southern interracial movement he and a research assistant, Jacqueline Hall, drew together the early archives of SRC and its predecessor organizations.

RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER

The Center has continued to operate to provide greater coordination among Council programs and a greater capacity to bring new programs into being. The Center is under the direction of Emory F. Via and is broadly interested in activities related to economic and human resource development.

Leadership Project and South Today

Beginning in 1969 the Council created the Leadership Project as a means of reaching the existing and emerging leadership of the South with information for intelligent decision.

South Today, the 8-12 page monthly newspaper, with a circulation of 15,000, has become the chief means of disseminating this information throughout the region.

With the resignation of Leadership Project Director Reese Cleghorn, (to become editor of the editorial page, the Charlotte Observer) effective August 1, 1971, certain organizational shifts took place. South Today was shifted from the Leadership Project into Publications Section under the supervision of Robert E. Anderson, editor of SRC publications. Mrs. Kitty Terjen became managing editor of South Today, responsible for the day-to-day planning and production of the paper and

the reports that went into it. Mrs. Betsy Fancher continued as associate editor and Mrs. Ruth Howard as circulation manager and secretary. At year's end Mrs. Terjen announced that she would leave SRC to go to New York where her husband had accepted a position. The energy, imagination, and ability of both Mr. Cleghorn and Mrs. Terjen will be much missed.

In January, 1971, South Today sent questionnaires to the 6,400 people on the Leadership list consisting of a cross section of leaders--business, labor, professional, civic, grassroots. These people had been sent the publication without requesting it and in many cases did not know about SRC. We wanted to know what they thought of South Today.

One fourth of those who received the questionnaire returned it, an unusually good response. The more outstanding findings were:

--50 per cent read every issue; 37 per cent read some issues; and 4 per cent never read South Today.

--72 per cent said the paper "often" informs them on subjects they would not otherwise know about; 22 per cent said it "occasionally" does, and 3 per cent said it included "little that I do not already know." Less than 3 per cent checked "I think it is useless and generally object to it."

--79 per cent rated South Today's reliability and credibility as "high" or "very high"; 18 per cent rated it "medium"; and 3 per cent rated it "low."

--60 per cent found South Today specifically useful in community or public endeavors.

--70 per cent said they passed their copy on to someone else.

--70 per cent of the readers preferred "major reports which usually occupy two to four pages of the paper;" 14 per cent preferred articles reprinted from other publications; 12 per cent preferred "report on reports," and 4 per cent specified "other".

One of the more significant contributions of South Today has been to prime the press to do things it is not doing. The paper, accompanied by press releases, is regularly mailed to more than 500 members of the national and regional media. Often South Today reports are picked up by the Associated Press or UPI and run in newspapers all over the region.

Many of the research reports in South Today have had substantial impact. Among those published in 1971 were reports on segregation academies in South Carolina; censorship in the South; an analysis of "new" South politics; a study of the Farmers' Home Administration's failure to provide adequate housing for the rural poor; the crises besetting black colleges; the unique desegregation problems facing North Carolina's Lumbee Indians; the influence of the Voting Rights Act of 1964 and reapportionment on county government in Mississippi; and politics and education in Surry County, Virginia.

In addition to the above reports, there were two special issues of South Today during 1971: A housing issue in March

and an education issue in December. The housing issue contained a special four-page report on rural housing; an analysis of the South's reluctance to enact open housing laws; an evaluation of self-help housing efforts in Alabama; and a survey of proposed "new-town" developments in the South.

The second annual special education issue contained reports on the growth of private schools in North Carolina, the challenges involved in desegregating Louisiana's Catholic schools, regional developments in adult education, and a discussion of the Jackson, Mississippi school desegregation plan.

Kitty Terjen's report on "The Continuing Segregation Academy Movement," first released on February 7 as a special SRC report received widespread attention.

The story told in the second of our Leadership Series booklets, The Chickenbone Special, was published this year in book form under the same name. SRC published the booklet written by Dwayne Walls in March, 1970.

Reese Cleghorn won the Green Eyeshade Award of the Atlanta Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society, for his investigation of inquiries by the Internal Revenue Service agents at several libraries about persons checking out books on explosives. Mr. Cleghorn's article originally appeared in South Today, July, 1970.

The National Council for the Advancement of Education Writing chose Reese Cleghorn's Saturday Review article on segregation academies as the best magazine article in 1970 on an educational subject. The award was presented in Chicago, March 31.

The Leadership Project continues to monitor the growing segregation academy movement in the South and has been recognized as a primary authority on the subject.

In conjunction with monitoring the segregation academy movement, Kitty Terjen was frequently called upon by the press for current information on the subject. In addition she has been asked to consult with several organizations and agencies about the problem. A recent example was her consultation with the American Library Association about how that organization might implement its resolution calling for censure of public libraries and librarians who provide services and materials to segregated private schools.

Betsy Fancher wrote a two-part series in South Today about Pat Conroy who was summarily fired from his job as school teacher on South Carolina's remote Daufuskie Island. As a result Conroy received a year's fellowship from the Ford Foundation's Leadership Program to study open classrooms in California. Mrs. Betsy Fancher is associate editor of South Today.

Community Organization Division

Clarence Wright heads this division of the Council. Through his efforts and utilizing the resources of the Council a student-oriented school desegregation project was initiated in 1970. The school project has been under the leadership of Leon Hall. These two men are called on by SRC and others for a great variety of services but their main energies have gone into building the School Desegregation Project into a force that assists students in voicing their concerns about schools and building programs that can make school desegregation work. In addition, Mr. Wright has been extensively involved in the formation and growth of a new agency, the Black Appalachian Commission. In this latter program, too, other personnel and resources of the Council have been brought into play.

The Community Organization Division broadens the Council's reach into a number of local communities and into varied aspects of regional development. It has furnished us with an important new contact with a segment of the youth of the South.

School Desegregation Project. The staff of the School Desegregation Project (SDP) has drawn attention to the needs of students in in-school situations. SDP recognizes (1) that large-scale school desegregation is now a reality, (2) that,

nothwithstanding continuing discrimination against blacks, all students are affected by the poor handling of in-school situations, and (3) that students see through and react against the contradictory behavior of those educators and their supporters who perpetuate educational wrongs against students.

The School Desegregation Project has worked to establish the idea of treating students as a positive resource in solving school desegregation problems, developing mature ideas about student rights, and in assisting education agencies and the community to achieve quality desegregated education. Our work to date persuades us that with proper support, consultation, and technical assistance a significant number of Southern youths can find a new understanding among themselves, devise strategies to protect their rights, protect their physical and psychological integrity during times of great stress, and provide an important element of leadership in dealing constructively with the region's continuing social problems.

We concentrated on identifying, recruiting and training potential student leaders and/or organizers, assessing the needs of youth, testing and retesting the mood of youth in the South, and experimenting with ways to make resources available to in-school youths.

During the year we have used three mechanisms in implementing the School Desegregation Project. We have used bi-racial teams, state coordinators, and a training institute.

Bi-Racial Teams--A major focus of the project has been to recruit college students into small bi-racial teams that would return either to their own home community or to a community with which they were familiar and work with high school students caught up in school desegregation issues. The secondary school students were assisted in thinking through their problems and in finding answers that could be implemented by student action.

State Coordinators--In each of the states where we have extended activity we have located one or more coordinators. These college student volunteers have served as a communication link on and among campuses and between SRC and students, maintained contact lists, assisted in recruiting volunteers, and were recipients and transmitters of training.

Regional Institute--A ten-day regional training institute was held in August for thirty-three college and high school students. It was a time of serious learning, skill training, experience sharing, and for assessing the youth situation in the region. Considerable attention was given to the kinds of efforts needed to assist young people in playing a full role in

their own affairs. It was also an occasion in which some thirty resource people were involved from one day to a week each; their exposure to the young people, we felt, was equally as important as what they brought to the institute. We participated in shorter conferences that provided more limited opportunities for training and sharing of experiences.

Our staff has had an exciting involvement with the students we have reached. We have been called upon to fill a wide variety of technical assistance and program needs. As an example, SDP staff met with students in Mobile, Selma, and Hale County, Alabama. They have offered assistance to Emergency School Assistance Projects in several states. Through VEP they provided educational services to a conference for black elected school board officials. Seven volunteers from Auburn University spent the Christmas holidays studying the educational programs in their home communities and talking with high school students to lay a foundation for project activities. The Tougaloo students engaged in similar work as a part of a five-week project. One Tougaloo volunteer was given space in a high school counselor's office and designated counselor for racial relations. SDP has assisted tutorial projects in several localities. Extensive advice and counsel were given to a statewide student-directed study group focusing on student

relations and student perceptions of school problems. Students at Mercer University held two desegregation seminars in the Macon, Georgia area. And two Mercer students associated with SDP worked in Columbus, Georgia with students facing a tough local situation. Later in the year the high school there turned to its students for assistance.

The list goes on: Consulting with individual students who "want to do something;" attending meetings of professional associations and others working on educational problems to remind them of the potential role of students and to point the way through large and small practical successful projects; attempting to build communication among students for fellowship, support, sharing of information, and technical assistance; using organizing and communication techniques to build support within states and communities which will be self-generating to greatly expand the impact of what we do.

Distribution of materials from SRC and other agencies

Special distributions have been made to high school and college students of Public School Desegregation: Perspective on the South in 1970-71, prepared for SDP by Paul Gaston, then director of research.

At year's end an SDP Newsletter had been inaugurated. It is now a lively tabloid aimed specifically at students. It

provides information, ideas, and a continuing challenge to students who wish to constructively affect their own affairs.

Black Appalachian Commission. The BAC was formed out of the Council of the Southern Mountains and the interest of individuals and groups who recognized that blacks in Appalachia had received far too little attention. Clarence Wright has worked diligently with the staff and policy people attempting to get this newly organized effort under way. SRC has provided some seed money to make an organizing meeting and follow-up steering committee meeting possible. BAC received a grant from the Black Women's Foundation for Community Development for a pilot project to locate blacks in Appalachia, identify leaders, to monitor the impact of federal programs on blacks in the region, and to encourage community self-studies.

The start-up problems of a new organization are tremendous. In the case of BAC, meeting these problems has required a wide range of skills in community organization, problem perception, program projection and organization building. Mr. Wright has worked on all of these matters with BAC. There have been field visits, technical assistance, and consultations. We have assisted in surveys and in locating community groups and leaders. We have assisted in letting Appalachian blacks know about BAC and in interpreting the organization to them.

The Community Organization Division (COD) coordinated the publication and distribution of a statistical report on black Appalachians prepared under the auspices of the Legal Defense Fund.

The fundamental jobs of doing what was necessary to cause a conference to come into being or to see that a new board of directors is able to meet successfully require much time and effort. The COD has been a part of all this. The organization is under way; the contribution made by the Community Organization Division has been crucial to its success.

Housing and Planning Division

Moreland G. Smith, who had headed the Council program from its beginning, retired at the end of 1971. He is due our appreciation for making it possible to start this important project. His extensive experience as an architect and his contact with various professionals in the fields of housing and planning have proved most valuable in what this program has undertaken. During the year Arthur C. Campbell, who had been serving as associate director, was named co-director of the division. In this capacity he has given energetic leadership in developing worthwhile Council programs.

The Housing and Planning Division works toward the goals of increasing the supply of housing for low-income groups and

to end discrimination in housing. Through both of these efforts we work for a physical and social environment conducive to an open and humane society. There is a special focus on the need for housing in rural and small town areas.

Our efforts have fallen into four broad categories: (a) community planning activities; (b) anti-discrimination projects; (c) housing and planning advocacy; and (d) information sharing.

These four broad areas provide opportunities for SRC to express its standards and values expertly in the fields of housing and planning. We offer planning assistance to low-income community groups that are interested in developing housing projects in small towns and rural areas. This assistance includes:

1. Data gathering to define the group's housing problems.

2. Pulling together the necessary resources for developing solutions to the problems.

3. Assessing government programs to determine their adaptability to the community's housing needs.

4. Tapping university resources--especially using graduate student skills to provide preliminary planning.

Housing and Planning's work with the Panola Land Buyers Association during the past year illustrates how SRC can provide the kinds of assistance outlined above. Our major effort in PLBA's behalf was an intern program utilizing Georgia Tech graduate students in planning. During the summer they developed a comprehensive background report and preliminary site plans for 1164 acres of land owned by the PLBA. Their research was the basis for a class project in Urban Design that is geared to produce a master plan, a public relations brochure, and a visual presentation to be used for promotional purposes.

Through community planning assistance H&P seeks:

1. To focus our limited resources on selected geographic areas with great housing shortages;

2. To identify community leaders, i.e., prospective sponsors of low-income housing;

3. To make available information on federal assistance and other resources; and

4. To cause housing to be developed where it is most needed.

The Council recognizes the need for more programs aimed at ending housing discrimination. Such efforts must be more sophisticated in recognizing the variety of decisions and practices which lead to discrimination. Although community

efforts at a given time may emphasize one or two program areas, we seek to assist them to understand the depth of the problem they face.

H&P's activities during the past year related to housing discrimination include the following.

1. With the SRC Information and Research Division an in-depth report on housing discrimination was published, Equal Housing Opportunities in The South: A Report on Government and Citizen Action (See section on Editor of Publications).

2. Helped initiate, plan, and organize a workshop around housing in Jackson, Mississippi.

3. In Atlanta we organized and coordinated a project to test and document discrimination in housing.

4. We developed a proposal for establishing a staffed metropolitan housing opportunities organization in the Atlanta area.

5. We have identified the fair housing groups operating in the South. To some of these we have provided information and technical assistance.

Council publications state positions on important issues related to housing and planning as in our treatment of the Farmer's Home Administration role in housing and our more general critique of national practices affecting low-income housing and discrimination in housing.

The Housing and Planning Division advocated a broader approach to discrimination in housing to Georgia Governor

Jimmy Carter and members of a special Governor's committee on real estate practices (whose focus was defined as anti-block-busting). H&P's staff met on several occasions with the committee's chairman.

An important part of all Council activities is the sharing of information. This is the case whether the information is aimed at the broadest possible audience or at select publics. The Housing and Planning Division has supplied information for a television documentary, interviews for television newscasts, news releases, a study of the Farmer's Home Administration, a study of housing discrimination and the federal role, provided critiques of statements or positions of other agencies, answered routine information requests, developed a report on "new towns", and produced a specialized report on progress to date in the Panola Project.

Manpower and Labor Education Division

Our manpower and labor education activities come under the supervision of Emory Via who serves also as director of the Resources Development Center. We have not thought of this portion of Council activity as being fully staffed. The primary goals of this division are to expand adult education

with union members in the region, emphasizing the interests of SRC, and to assist and initiate activities to alleviate problems of employment discrimination.

Labor Education. Three kinds of efforts characterize the Council's work in labor education. First is the supplying of direct educational services such as teaching time and materials. During the year for example, we taught a seminar on the changing South for the southern summer school of the International Association of Machinists. Mr. Via participated as an instructor in the civil rights seminar for full-time union staff sponsored by the Labor Studies Center (AFL-CIO) in Washington, and in the Advanced Southern Labor School.

A second phase of labor education is to consult with other unions and agencies about their proposed education programs. This was the case with the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen's first annual conference on civil rights held in Atlanta. SRC not only supplied materials, but made program suggestions, arranged with John Lewis of VEP to be a participant, and provided both Via and Leon Hall as program participants. Of course, many such consultations are informal, in person or by telephone, and we may not directly participate in the projected activity.

The third form of labor education activity is to encourage the expansion of labor education programs in the region. We work with state AFL-CIO bodies, national unions, and with universities in this regard. During the past year we have had consultative conversations with two universities in Georgia and extended consultations with an Alabama university. The University of Alabama at Birmingham has announced the beginning of a full time, funded, labor education and research center. It is the first in the deep South. SRC is pleased to have joined with others in assisting in bringing this program into being and in facing the problems of beginning such activity.

Manpower. Our manpower activities are a mix of using educative techniques with a wide range of groups and giving direct assistance to new or existing programs. Although there are many manpower programs which could contribute to regional development and humane treatment, the Council's limited resources have been used mainly on those efforts related directly to problems of employment discrimination.

We advised the program planners of a special leadership seminar on the future of labor in the South sponsored by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. And we have consulted with regional and local programs of the Human Resources Development

Institute (AFL-CIO). Emory Via was a resource person for a three-day seminar sponsored by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. This was a national program held at the Johnson Foundation's conference center, Wingspread, in Wisconsin.

During the year we consulted with a number of researchers and reporters interested in special aspects of unions or employment in the South. These have included a study of public employee strikes and a local study as part of a national project on negotiations in racial disputes. And Mr. Via served as discussion leader on both unions and employment discrimination for training sessions run by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations for its policy people.

The Manpower program counseled several persons who testified before a special hearing of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance on minority involvement in the Atlanta area building and construction industry.

About mid-year we began preparatory work on a demonstration project, to assist black women in the Atlanta labor market. After studies by persons working for the University of Texas, it was determined that a special need existed for employment opportunities for black women who were either qualified or

could be brought into qualification for jobs at the professional, technical, or managerial levels or into corporate training programs leading to such positions. The particular focus of this project and the research and evaluation components provided by the University of Texas will make this a unique undertaking. The program to be known as the Black Women Employment Project will begin early in 1972.

Other Activities of the Resources Development Center

Several Council activities fall within the purview of the Center but which are not staffed program operations. We have pursued our interest in the ten-county Mississippi area where we contracted with University of Texas researchers to do a background economic study. The study was completed during the year and discussions are under way as to how it can best be utilized for economic improvement for low income persons. Jim Wood and Emory Via have been the liaison persons for SRC in this effort.

The Hunger Fund, administered by the Council, continued during 1971. Though very modest in funds available, it had substantial significance through a careful selection of grantee groups and by their imagination, in turn, as to use of the funds. Mr. Wood has provided oversight for this undertaking.

We have been participants in meetings and projects of the Education Coalition, an informal group of agencies deeply concerned with the problems and lack of progress in Southern school desegregation.

CONCLUSION

No year could be easy for doing the work of the Council. The social ills we seek to remedy are gargantuan and the resources for doing our work are never adequate. This past year has presented challenges which most organizations must face at some time but hopefully not all in the same year. We have reviewed program and structure. We dared not to be comfortable about past or present success. We have, not by choice, been forced to move our operations to a new (and more satisfactory) location. And we have faced the resignation of our Executive Director and taken the steps to guarantee the future with his successor.

Our friends frequently have chided us for understating the problems we face. To say that the year was a difficult one is to continue that tradition. But we think that this report of some of our activities indicates that our programs have continued with vigor, that our commitment to the region and to a humane society is unswerving, and that we can take

satisfaction in a talented staff, organizational insight, and considerable resilience as an agent for change. The Council staff looks forward to the great opportunities for its work this coming year with considerable confidence.

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Origins and Aims—Report on Negro Voters

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South

and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC organized

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the council was held in response to a call issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, CIO; George L. Googe, southern director, AFL; M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ryland Knight, Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, the Methodist Church; Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Dean S. Paden, president, King Hardware Co.; J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, the Protestant Episcopal Church; Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Ralph McGill; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the council. A strong and democratic council had been established to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the council's membership has included distinguished southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for 6 years—from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

How SRC works

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 States of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an executive committee which meets at least every 3 months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

Financial support for the council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, the Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions, and some business firms. Individuals support the council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

What SRC does

The council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities.

Newspaper handling of racial news.

Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest—religion, health, housing, education, etc.

Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

Church support

Church people have always been the moving force in the southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The Court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the southern conferences of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (southern), the Province of Sewanee (southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated State groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council, received the 1953 annual award of the Catholic committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

Affiliated State organizations

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the State involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the State groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

Toward the South of the future

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know firsthand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the Nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and con-

science; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method—that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, following the statement with respect to the Southern Regional Council, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a most extraordinarily able survey the Southern Regional Council has made, which is just off the press, under date of July 18, 1957. Again I wish to emphasize I have obtained the material at my request from the Library of Congress to show that it was in no sense forced upon me, so to speak.

The survey deals State by State with the various ways in which Negroes are prevented from voting in the South. I highly commend this factual account to the Members of the Senate, as we debate part IV of the bill.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH—PART OF A REPORT OF A SURVEY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Furnished on his request to Senator DOUGLAS by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service)

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the citizens council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

Alabama

The Alabama consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his State. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the board of registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only 6 were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried, and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the black-belt section of the State, so-called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 percent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires 3 or 4 times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local citizens council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the board of registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past 2 years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about 2 percent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black-belt county which is somewhat less than 50 percent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters' drive in Choctow County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the State: Added questions about government. They might ask on what date the 10th amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the 14th State to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a State? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about 5 to 1; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have reg-

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

istered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the board of registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for 2 of the 3 members resigned and it takes at least 2 to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

North Carolina

In North Carolina, as in other States with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State board of elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the State constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not satisfy the registrar.

But there are counties throughout the State, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the State constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to prove his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (October 12, 1956) that members of the citizens council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 percent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out colored on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C," the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a citizens council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged 2 weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a southerner born and raised right here in central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls. I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals.[8]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits

[8] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957.

in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman CELLER that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956 by white citizens councils in Louisiana and other Southern States to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600."

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 percent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his happiness and allowed that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana Parishes, all counties with populations over 50 percent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana consultant said, "subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November 1956 Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative watchdog committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a Federal court action."

South Carolina

In South Carolina the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites—10,449 to 4,304—has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina county, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites), an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have lost them.

Texas

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the State usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes—to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

Virginia

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that State, nevertheless it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia capitation tax they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll-tax bills along with their property-tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other States turn up here and there in the State, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are busy or ill or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

Florida

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only 4, and 10 years later only 2. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

County	Negro population over 21	Negro percentage of total population	Number of Negroes registered, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the State, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation—cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

Georgia

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various subregional areas of the State. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the hard core of the State in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 percent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 percent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early County, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the courthouse to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the board of registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the courthouse for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the courthouse square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of 4 Negroes—2 men and 2 women, 1 of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose; but what it is, I don't know."

Arkansas

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll-tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the State dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Mississippi

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other States were found here. Where other sections usually rely on 1 or 2 means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the State which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only 4 percent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 percent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50-percent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the 3 elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and 3 had 1 registered who never voted. In the 7 counties having more than 60-percent Negro population, 2 votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the State.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused; and, in November 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a troublemaker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters' registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the State after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shooting. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the State's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary—long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern States based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

Alabama

In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of

1951 provides: "The following persons * * * shall be qualified to register * * * those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that * * * each applicant shall be furnished * * * a written questionnaire * * *. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance."

Georgia

A registrant must be able to read correctly in English any paragraph of the State or United States Constitution and correctly write the same when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of physical inability may qualify if they can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the State on which an elector resides or property in the State assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

Mississippi

In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the State's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the Constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

Virginia

Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the 1 year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

South Carolina

A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the State constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more.

Arkansas

Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, noncumulative poll tax is the only requirement for voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the State.

Louisiana

A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the State or United States Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write, the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Louisiana and United States Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

North Carolina

Prospective voters must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a State with a literacy law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socioeconomic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the State average, 69 percent show Negro registration above the State median; 68 percent of the counties above the State average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro—80 percent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the State median in the number of school years completed, 89 percent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 percent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the State figure of $1,130, 61 percent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 percent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 percent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 percent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the State average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 percent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the State average in tenancy, 63 percent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1957

Richmond Times-Dispatch

DAVID TENNANT BRYAN, *President and Publisher*

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, *Editor* JOHN H. COLBURN, *Managing Editor*

Thursday, August 21, 1958

A Race Agency and the Facts

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in THE TIMES-DISPATCH, and should be corrected. They appeared — inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by EDWARD B. SIMMONS of the New Bedford, Mass., *Standard-Times* concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

MR. SIMMONS stated in the article appearing in our paper on August 5 that the Southern Regional Council, established in Atlanta in 1944, was an "offshoot of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was dissolved in 1948 after twice being described by the Federal Government as 'Communist front.'" He also said: "'The Communist *Daily Worker* openly boasted that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a co-founder of the Regional Council."

Taking these two charges in order, the Southern Regional Council was not an offshoot of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It was established in response to an appeal from respected Southern Negro leaders, who met at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942, on the call of DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, of the Virginia Union faculty here, and DR. P. B. YOUNG, of Norfolk, publisher of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. These Negro leaders did not ask for the elimination of segregation in the schools or anywhere else; they asked that "separate but equal" be made a reality.

Responding to their appeal, a group of white leaders met in Atlanta in the spring of 1943, and expressed a desire to cooperate. Out of this grew the Southern Regional Council. The Council was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. To repeat, it not only was no "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; it was criticized in some quarters because it was more conservative than that organization and suspected of being in competition with it.

We must remember, too, that when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was established in 1938, it was not suspected of having any Communist connections, and many well-intentioned and patriotic Southerners participated in its early meetings. A number of these later joined the Southern Regional Council when they discovered the true purposes of the Conference for Human Welfare.

As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that JAMES E. JACKSON, chief of the Southern branch of the U. S. Communist party, was a "co-founder of the Southern Regional Council," there is nothing to support this.

A JAMES E. JACKSON is listed as having attended the Durham meeting of Negro leaders in October, 1942, but is not mentioned by the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* as having been on the committee which drew up the statement then issued. JACKSON did not participate in the meetings of white and Negro leaders in 1943 and 1944 which led to the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, and he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a "founder" is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet.

The late DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, noted and respected member of the University of North Carolina faculty, was the first president of the Council. He was succeeded in 1945 by PAUL D. WILLIAMS, prominent Catholic layman of Richmond and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, who served until 1951. MR. WILLIAMS was succeeded in that year by MARION A. WRIGHT, South Carolina attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board and past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

It should be emphasized that SRC worked within the framework of "separate but equal" for seven years, and did not announce for integration until 1951.

While we disagree strongly and completely with its present position on this issue, we feel obligated to point out, in fairness, that it was in no sense Communist in its origins. The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering.

It was hoped that if these could be substantially lessened, the colored South would not look to the colored North for leadership. Insufficient progress was made, unfortunately, and the NAACP moved in and launched its drive for the complete elimination of segregation — sooner than it probably would have done if SRC's accomplishments had been larger.

That is where we stand today.

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Southern Regional Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 2, 1959

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, a sense of fairness impels me to insert the following editorials from two respected southern papers. These editorials from the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the Chattanooga Times discuss certain attacks on the good name of the Southern Regional Council and deserve the careful attention of every fairminded citizen regardless of his views:

[From the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Aug. 21, 1958]

A RACE AGENCY AND THE FACTS

Inaccurate statements as to its origins of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta appeared recently in the Times-Dispatch, and should be corrected. They appeared—inadvertently, we are sure—in one of the series of articles by Edward B. Simmons, of the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times, concerning Communist efforts to incite racial strife in the United States.

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That is where we stand today.

[From the Chattanoga (Tenn.) Times, Dec. 20, 1958]

MATTHEWS AND THE SRC

The Arkansas Legislative Council, concluding that a Communist plot is substantially responsible for the Little Rock desegregation crisis, has aired some charges so grossly unjust as to recall the McCarthyist nightmare.

There was J. B. Matthews, himself a former Communist-front leader, declaring that the Southern Regional Council had Red sympathizers in its ranks.

Just 20 years ago, Mr. Matthews was accusing Shirley Temple of aiding the Bolsheviks. The former chief counsel of the Dies committee is primarily remembered, however, for his July 1953 article in the American Mercury labeling "at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, partyline adherents, and unwilling dupes." The protest,

from President Eisenhower and others, was so strong that Senator Joe McCarthy, who by then had carried his campaign of vilification directly to the White House, was forced to fire Mathews, whom he had just hired as executive director of his subcommittee.

In the Little Rock hearings, other familiar names in the business of smear were trotted out. The Southern Regional Council was a frequent target, though no one dared go so far as to impugn its motives as a whole.

The SRC, as is well known, is made up of foremost southern educators, clergymen, business, labor, and professional leaders. A discussion and research group, it was organized in 1943, as a result of Negro leaders' efforts to see that the "separate but equal" doctrine in southern education be made a reality. It grew also out of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by leading churchmen.

Since then it has favored gradual compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, but even so staunchly segregationist a newspaper as the Richmond Times-Dispatch recently said: "The Southern Regional Council was established because of a sincere desire on the part of white and Negro leaders in the South to eliminate many of the disabilities and discriminations from which Negroes were suffering."

Now the Arkansas Legislative Council, with never a peep about the role of its own Governor Faubus, concludes on the word of former Communists, who are professional name-callers, and others, most of them from out of the region, that little more than a Red plot is the cause of their difficulties.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1959

Personal Income

STATE	CATEGORY / YEAR	1929	1939	1941	1946	1947
ALABAMA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	856	704	1089	2162	2337
	CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR	n.a.	*	*	*	
	PERCENT CHANGE	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	50	97	135	270	223
	PERCENT GOV'T					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	324	250	375	744	794
	CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR	n.a.	*	*	*	
	PERCENT CHANGE	n.a.	*	*	*	
ARKANSAS	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	564	471	664	1316	1320
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	29	67	89	146	100
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	305	242	338	729	719
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
GEORGIA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	1015	967	1350	2744	2890
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	66	122	204	359	282
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	350	310	424	844	884
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
FLORIDA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	753	892	1211	2813	2903
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	58	109	191	453	366
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	521	486	597	1137	1143
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	

* 1939 vs. 1929 * 1941 vs 1939 * 1946 vs 1941

ne Data, Southern States, 1929–1963 – – – TOTA PER

1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
2337	2542	2429	2659	3030	3223	3344	3258	3708
223	231	243	272	407	491	515	491	546
794	856	810	869	986	1044	1084	1068	1199
1320	1544	1438	1539	1735	1797	1809	1782	1933
100	113	126	122	175	194	209	219	221
719	846	780	807	905	965	995	1001	1087
2890	3088	3098	3510	4046	4337	4460	4414	4918
282	309	368	418	591	689	680	713	744
884	948	932	1017	1141	1201	1239	1209	1332
2903	3053	3210	3632	4077	4543	5041	5312	6088
366	353	402	446	580	727	795	818	873
1143	1184	1203	1287	1375	1457	1535	1534	1659

--TOTAL INCOME DATA IN MILLIONS OF CURRENT DOLLARS
PER CAPITA INCOME DATA IN CURRENT DOLLARS

1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
3708	3932	4206	4382	4617	4789	4947	5164	5538
546				735	792	840	879	946
1199	1258	1325	1360	1425	1462	1487	1557	1655
1933	2006	2060	2144	2360	2394	2615	2782	2986
221				273	272	306	336	354
1087	1136	1148	1209	1327	1338	1450	1510	1607
4918	5274	5432	5676	6079	6368	6599	7145	7715
744				917	970	1034	1153	1260
1332	1402	1418	1469	1558	1609	1642	1750	1864
6088	6979	7763	8481	9384	9843	10319	11221	11933
823				1205	1268	1393	1483	1635
1659	1771	1829	1855	1959	1967	1969	2065	2111

Personal Income Data

STATE	CATEGORY / YEAR	1929	1939	1941	1946	1947
KENTUCKY	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	1020	855	1118	2235	2383
	Change from previous yr.	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	56	107	138	248	200
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	391	303	392	811	850
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
LOUISIANA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	866	834	1123	2106	2272
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	58	106	186	272	203
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	415	357	449	829	881
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
MISSISSIPPI	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	570	444	684	1254	1395
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	29	65	122	177	135
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	285	205	313	605	662
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
NORTH CAROLINA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	1046	1111	1533	3198	3372
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	63	106	185	385	301
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	334	316	426	858	894
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	

* 1939 vs. 1929 * 1941 vs. 1939 * 1946 vs 1941

1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
2719	2624	2834	3318	3524	3644	3627	3782
257	261	306	438	492	485	465	484
965	921	958	1121	1203	1250	1246	1297
2601	2789	2937	3248	3540	3721	3756	3985
235	262	293	368	443	464	465	459
1.002	1059	1087	1173	1243	1295	1301	1357
1564	1391	1590	1740	1862	1889	1836	2065
138	153	183	228	244	249	270	249
753	667	733	793	855	886	883	994
3620	3596	4108	4613	4768	4885	5023	5535
329	384	454	549	618	634	664	691
943	919	1012	1115	1201	1239	1209	1332

1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
4022	4203	4347	4563	4672	5007	5283	5545
			559	603	666	741	761
1385	1429	1453	1514	1536	1635	1713	1792
4424	4884	4929	5165	5240	5396	5692	6072
			637	661	712	791	825
1461	1565	1560	1611	1608	1630	1689	1776
2097	2116	2281	2490	2552	2751	2906	3183
			352	387	409	445	462
989	992	1075	1152	1168	1240	1285	1390
5902	5976	6300	6716	7138	7617	8177	8601
			855	904	1017	1116	1164
1402	1418	1469	1558	1609	1642	1750	1864

Personal Income Data, Page 3

STATE	CATEGORY / YEAR	1929	1939	1941	1946	1947
OKLAHOMA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	1077	805	982	2000	2166
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	59	114	130	231	200
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	454	345	434	939	1015
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
SOUTH CAROLINA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	470	511	769	1484	1554
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	32	76	180	217	183
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	270	273	392	763	779
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
TENNESSEE	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	982	886	1290	2634	2776
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	56	107	160	219	239
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	377	308	433	856	876
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
TEXAS	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	2752	2600	3459	7400	8332
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	160	272	445	907	737
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	478	409	524	1028	1128
	Change from previous year	n.a.	*	*	*	
	Percent change	n.a.	*	*	*	

*1939 vs. 1929 *1941 vs. 1939 *1946 vs 1941

1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
2359	2432	2514	2806	3060	3161	3162	3341
222	249	280	373	437	451	455	478
1129	1155	1146	1283	1402	1476	1466	1528
1755	1700	1869	2284	2468	2543	2414	2604
218	214	224	388	417	403	411	408
879	838	882	1046	1117	1141	1081	1147
3006	2992	3288	3633	3796	4058	4056	4347
274	290	319	391	436	458	466	492
935	925	995	1080	1132	1218	1206	1270
9054	9778	10375	11826	12712	13013	13391	14380
800	996	1153	1480	1717	1769	1854	1908
1187	1283	1339	1453	1523	1549	1585	1645

1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
3572	3730	3942	4083	4305	4502	4675	4858
			616	644	680	732	775
1595	1641	1736	1774	1840	1881	1910	1953
2711	2818	2931	3142	3300	3472	3745	3944
			523	553	571	613	642
1182	1210	1249	1327	1379	1438	1530	1588
4652	4864	5016	5346	5494	5844	6184	6588
			649	664	711	769	837
1351	1401	1433	1507	1539	1622	1693	1783
15422	16556	17165	18132	18486	19569	20437	21351
			2332	2462	2647	2811	2999
1732	1815	1843	1918	1917	1973	2019	2068

Personal Income Data

STATE	CATEGORY/YEAR	1929	1939	1941	1946	1947
VIRGINIA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	1054	1127	1729	3336	3278
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	108	206	404	965	700
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	435	422	581	990	1002
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					
WEST VIRGINIA	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	794	723	933	1683	1936
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	36	75	76	124	116
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	462	387	495	921	1029
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					
SOUTH-EAST ((TWELVE OF THE 14 STATES ABOVE; EXCEPTING TEXAS & OKLAHOMA))	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	9990	9525	13493	26965	28416
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	642	1244	2071	3895	3048
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	368	319	435	849	883
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					
UNITED STATES	TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME	85661	72753	175701	189077	207414
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					
	INCOME FROM GOV'T SOURCES	4833	8062	9863	18288	15843
	Percent Gov't					
	PER CAPITA INCOME	703	556	719	1249	1316
	Change from previous year					
	Percent change					

1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
3565	3626	4024	4737	5130	5220	5256	5603
733	819	934	1288	1454	1491	1425	1468
1112	1101	1234	1393	1475	1484	1509	1571
2176	2050	2203	2439	2540	2547	2414	2586
127	133	141	160	173	169	174	180
1146	1062	1098	1221	1290	1307	1253	1356
31233	30943	34193	38900	41528	43153	43148	47154
3316	3655	4112	5563	6377	6553	6581	6815
968	943	1011	1127	1194	1237	1232	1323
205452	225473	252960	269050	283140	284747	285339	306598
17383	19071	20777	26404	30178	31043	31741	33211
1420	1382	1491	1649	1727	1788	1770	1866

1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
6094	6386	6641	7043	7379	7760	8399	8907
			1713	1764	1867	2027	2195
1647	1671	1702	1793	1852	1886	1977	2057
			248	255	284	293	314
2878	3082	2974	3060	3099	3125	3224	3348
1521	1636	1582	1635	1676	1727	1795	1883
50971	53790	56102	59965	62268	65452	69922	74360
			8665	9092	9809	10645	11395
1402	1446	1485	1565	1601	1654	1738	1820
330380	348724	357498	381326	399028	415182	439977	461610
			42703	46144	49405	53101	56783
1975	2048	2064	2163	2217	2268	2368	2449

The Manpower Revolution And Human Resource Adjustment

AGRICULTURAL POLICY INSTITUTE

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS
QUEEN CHARLOTTE HOTEL

Sponsored by the Agricultural Policy Institute in Cooperation with North Carolina A & T College

December 9-11, 1964

The Agricultural Policy Institute

School of Agriculture and Life Sciences
North Carolina State

Objectives

The Agricultural Policy Institute was established at North Carolina State in 1960 through a grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. The purpose of this grant was to inaugurate a special educational program relating to problems of agricultural adjustment and problems of public policy relating to agriculture.

The program of the Institute consists of activities directed toward the development of information pertaining to agricultural adjustment problems of the South and a presentation of alternative policies and programs which might be employed in effecting necessary adjustments. An attempt is made to clarify the basic nature and scope of these adjustment problems.

Information is assembled which should contribute toward a sound understanding of the manner in which public policies and programs effect the agriculture of the region and provide a basis for evaluating and choosing among alternative agricultural policies. The Institute's program aids farmers and those business firms serving farmers to become better informed about their role in the formulation of agricultural policy and assists those leaders in the region who have the responsibility for guiding farm people, agricultural business and legislative policy makers in choosing types of action which will bring about higher levels of living for the farming community and for the region as a whole.

Emphasis is placed upon mobilization of existing knowledge pertaining to agricultural adjustment and public policy programs in the South and upon communication of this information to those in positions to put it to the most advantageous use for the good of agriculture in the South and in the nation.

Three Phases of Program

In general, this program in agricultural adjustment and public policy is organized around three basic areas.

First, new research is being undertaken to answer specific farm questions. Studies are being conducted on new ways in which farmers might increase their income. Other studies check on the effectiveness of public programs in raising farm income. Still other studies seek to determine why farmers adjust to changing situations as they do.

Secondly, a concentrated effort is being made to bring southern leaders together to exchange views on the South's farm problems and opportunities.

This second phase of the program is being carried out mainly through seminars and workshops held in locations throughout the South. Agricultural, political and educational leaders, plus other molders of public opinion attend these sessions.

A new series of educational programs at North Carolina State forms the third and final phase of the program.

Short courses are being offered for county agricultural workers. A special one-year program of study is offered state and regional agricultural workers. Advance level study in agricultural adjustment and policy is offered college teachers and research workers.

Institute funds will be used primarily on the second and third phases of the program. North Carolina State will use existing funds to conduct the research.

The Four Point Plan

The program of the Agricultural Policy Institute calls for a four-point plan of studying agricultural problems of the southern region.

These include:

Effectiveness of Farmer Adjustments. New research is being undertaken to analyze the effectiveness of public programs in raising per capita incomes of farmers. Other studies are conducted to find new and suitable ways of raising farm incomes.

How and Why Farmers Adjust. The Agricultural Policy Institute is taking a concentrated look at why and how farmers adjust as they do. Plans also call for a look at some of the major impediments to adjustment processes in southern agriculture.

Influence of Public Programs. Studies will be conducted to gain an understanding of the influence of public programs on resource use and distribution.

The Educational Process. Agricultural leaders in the South and in the nation are brought together to exchange ideas and views on the South's farm problems and opportunities. This is carried out by special conferences, workshops and seminars held throughout the region. A quarterly publication called the Agricultural Policy Review provides additional information to the region on agricultural adjustments and public policies affecting the South.

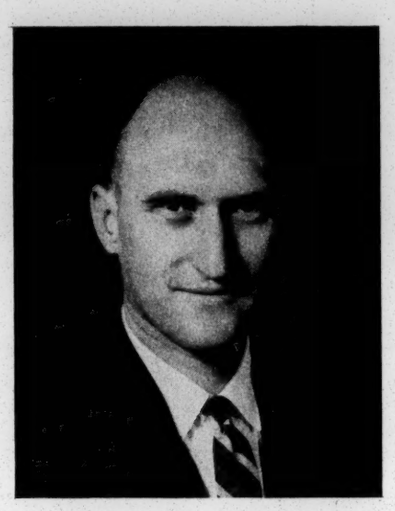
The Educational Challenge

The complex and comprehensive kind of adjustments which face agriculture to raise the per capita income to levels comparable to those of the nonfarm segment will necessarily involve a wide range of changes.

The educational institutions of the southern region and indeed of the entire nation have both an opportunity and responsibility to provide information and leadership in bringing about the changes in an expeditious and constructive manner.

The School of Agriculture and Life Sciences at North Carolina State in cooperation with educational institutions from throughout the nation proposes to aid in this responsibility through an expanded program aimed specifically at the adjustment problems and public policy problems of agriculture in the South.

The Agricultural Policy Institute is administered by the School of Agriculture and Life Sciences at North Carolina State, Dr. H. Brooks James, Dean. Dr. C. E. Bishop, Head, Department of Agricultural Economics, is serving as Executive Director of the Agricultural Policy Institute. Other members of the staff include Dr. James G. Maddox, Associate Director and Professor of Agricultural Economics and Harry T. Daniel, Director of Information.



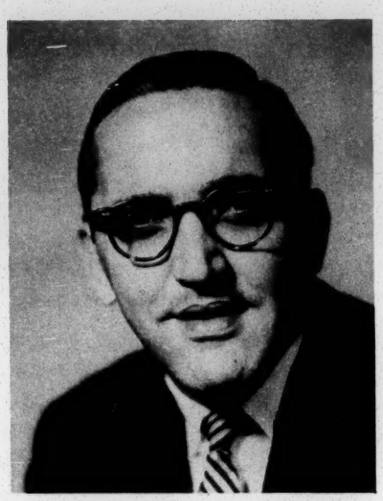
Charles E. Bishop

Charles E. Bishop is a William Neal Reynolds Professor, Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Director of the Agricultural Policy Institute at North Carolina State. He received his B. S. degree at Berea College, his M. S. degree at the University of Kentucky, and his Ph. D. at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Bishop has conducted extensive research on the problems of operators of small farms in the United States. He has an extensive list of research publications and is the co-author of a textbook in economic analysis. At present he is serving on the following national assignments: National Committee on Agricultural Policy, Agricultural Committee of the National Planning Association, Agricultural Board of the National Academy of Sciences, Science Advisory Committee of the Secretary of Agriculture and Advisory Committee on Manpower Training and Development.

Stanford R. Brookshire

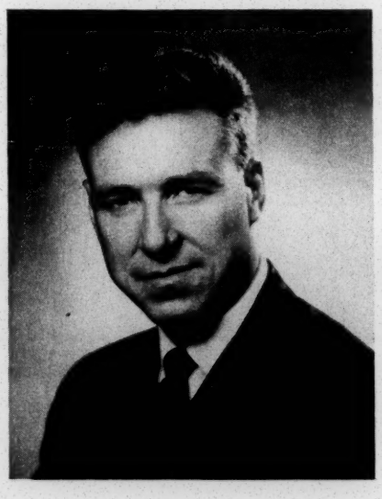
Stanford R. Brookshire is Mayor of the City of Charlotte and President and Treasurer of the Engineering Sales Company of Charlotte, Inc. He is a native of North Carolina and a graduate of Duke University. He has served as President of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, Charlotte Executives Club, United Community Services and North Carolina League of Municipalities. He is a member of the North Carolina Society of Engineers, the Duke University National Council, and the President's National Committee on Human Relations. He is a trustee of High Point College, the Duke University Methodist Student Center, the Methodist Home for Aged, the Mint Museum of Art, and the United Community Foundation.



Howard G. Schaller

Howard G. Schaller is Professor of Business Economics and Public Policy in the Graduate School of Business at Indiana University. He is a native of Pennsylvania and received his A. B. degree from Duke University, his M. A. degree from Northwestern University, and his Ph. D. degree in Economics from Duke University.

Dr. Schaller has served on the faculty of Tulane University and was Chairman of Tulane's Department of Economics from 1955 to 1960, and Dean of its School of Business Administration from 1960 to 1963. He has also served on the faculties of Auburn University and the University of Tennessee. Dr. Schaller served on the Board of Editors of the Southern Economics Journal from 1957 to 1960 and on the Executive Committee of the Southern Economics Association from 1960 to 1962. He has contributed a number of articles to professional and technical journals.



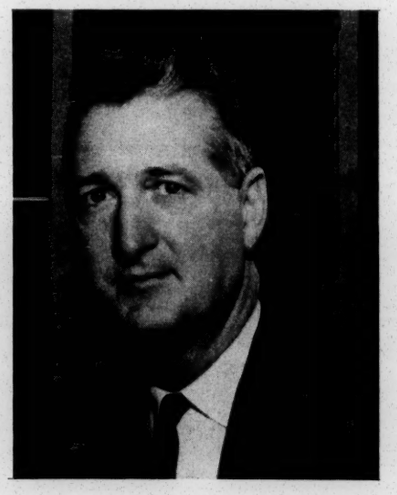
Garth L. Mangum

Garth L. Mangum is Executive Director of the President's Committee on Manpower. This committee is a cabinet-level committee to coordinate manpower policy. He is a native of Utah and attended Brigham Young University where he received his B. S. degree. He also holds the M. P. A. and Ph. D. degrees from Harvard University.

Dr. Mangum has served as Research Director for the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, as Mediator with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and Department of Labor, as Consultant for the Bureau of the Census, and as Senior Staff Analyst and Consultant on the Presidential Railroad Commission. He has also served as a member of the faculty at Brigham Young University and Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. He has been Research Assistant with the Brookings Institution and Research Professor with the Ford Foundation.

Juanita M. Kreps

Juanita M. Kreps is Associate Professor of Economics at Duke University. She holds the A. B. degree from Berea College and the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees from Duke University. Before joining the Duke staff Dr. Kreps taught at Denison University, Hofstra College, and Queens College (N. Y.). She is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council on the Aging, a member of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Southern Economic Association. She is a member of the American Economic Association, the Southern Economic Association, the American Association of University Women, and the Industrial Relations Research Association. Dr. Kreps is the author of numerous professional articles and co-author of the book Principles of Economics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

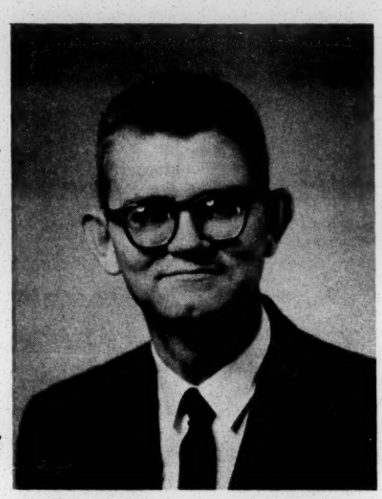


James A. Morris

James A. Morris is Dean of the School of Business Administration and Professor of Economics at the University of South Carolina. He is a native of Lawrence, Massachusetts and received his B.A. degree from Northeastern University and his A. M. and Ph. D. degrees from Harvard University. Dr. Morris was formerly Director of Graduate Studies in Business and Director of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research. He has been a member of the faculty at the University of South Carolina since 1947.

Dr. Morris for two years served as Special Economic Advisor to the Director of the United States Operations Mission to Turkey and in the fall of 1955 was Consultant to the Director of the International Cooperation Administration. Among the organizations in which he holds an active membership are the American Economic Association, Southern Economic Association, National Academy of Arbitrators and is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Voorhees School and Junior College, Healthwood Hall Episcopal School.

Erwin E. Liebhafsky



Erwin E. Liebhafsky is Professor of Economics at the University of Houston. He is a native of Texas and holds B.S. and M.S. degrees from Texas A and M University and the Ph. D. degree from the University of Illinois. He has served on the staff of Western Reserve University, Pennsylvania State University, Texas A and M University, and North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina. He has also served with the Bureau of Employment Security of the United States Department of Labor. He is a member of the American Economic Association, Southern Economic Association, Industrial Relations Research Association and the American Arbitration Association.

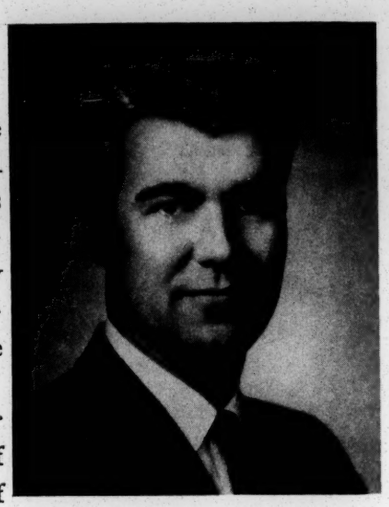
Among his current research projects is The Southern Economy: Human Resources and Prospects for Development, with James G. Maddox, Vivian W. Henderson, and H. M. Hamlin, a Twentieth Century Fund Study, forthcoming in 1965.

G. S. Tolley

G. S. Tolley is Professor of Agricultural Economics at North Carolina State and has been a member of the staff there since 1956. Previously he was a member of the Economics faculty of the University of Chicago. In fall 1962 he was Visiting Professor at the University of California. He is on the Executive Committee of the Agricultural Policy Institute and is a member of several regional and national committees concerned with research in agricultural economics.

Dr. Tolley has served as consultant to the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, the Center for Regional Studies of the University of Pittsburgh, Water Resources Center of the University of California, and the President's Panel on Vocational Education. Fields of research and writing include agricultural adjustment and policy, monetary-fiscal policy, natural resource development, national and area economic development, and consumer demand analysis.

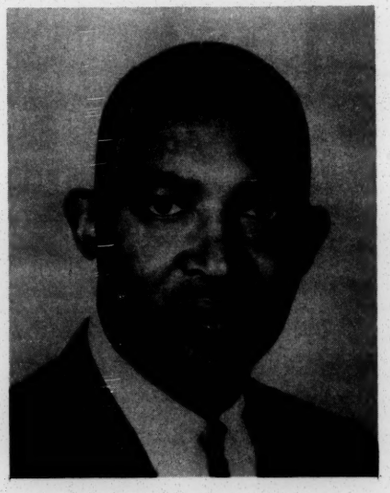
James L. Miller, Jr.



James L. Miller, Jr. is Associate Director for Research, Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Georgia. He is a native of Ohio and received his B. A. degree in political science from the University of Florida, his M. A. degree from the University of Alabama, and his Ph. D. degree from the University of Michigan.

Dr. Miller has served as Supervisor of the Lansing Office for the Institute of Public Administration at the University of Michigan, as Executive Director of the Kentucky Council on Public Higher Education, as Budget Analyst in the Kentucky Department of Finance, and as special consultant to numerous boards and committees throughout the country. He is a member of the American Political Science Association, American Society for Public Administration, and the Association for Higher Education. In 1963 he served as President of the Georgia chapters of the American Society for Public Administration and Public Personnel Association.

Leonard H. Robinson

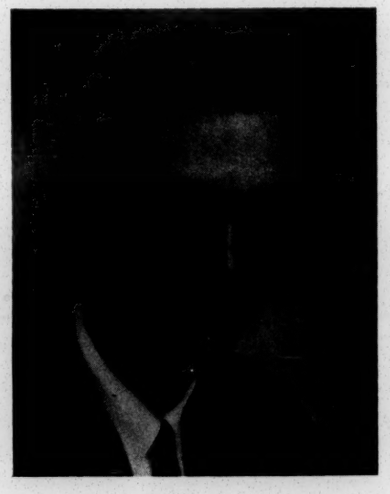


Leonard H. Robinson is Dean of the School of Education and General Studies at North Carolina A and T College in Greensboro. He received his B. S. degree in sociology from Wilberforce University in Ohio. He holds the M. S. degree from Atlanta University and the Ph. D. degree from Ohio State University. He has taught at Morehouse College, Clark University, Elizabeth City State Teacher's College, and Fayetteville State Teacher's College.

Dr. Robinson is a member of the American Sociological Society, Southern Sociological Society, the American Association of Social Science Teachers, and the American Public Welfare Association. He serves on the Greensboro Recreation Commission and the Greensboro Community Council. Dr. Robinson is a native of Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Lewis C. Dowdy

Lewis C. Dowdy is President of the Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, North Carolina. He holds an A. B. degree from Allen University, South Carolina, and M. A. degree from Indiana State College. He has done additional graduate study at Indiana University. He is a member of the National Education Association, Association of Higher Education, and Vice Chairman of the Section on Public Institutions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. He has served as principal and teacher in two South Carolina high schools, and before becoming President of A and T College he served as Director of Student Teaching, Dean of the School of Education and General Studies, and Dean of Instruction.



W. D. McClurkin

W. D. McClurkin is Director of the Center for Southern Education Studies at George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee. He holds the A. B. degree from Hendrix College, the M. S. degree from the University of Arkansas, and the Ph.D. degree from George Peabody College. He is a native of Arkansas and has served as science teacher, assistant high school principal and superintendent of city schools in Blytheville, Arkansas.

Dr. McClurkin joined the Peabody College staff as Professor of Educational Administration and has also served as Director of the Division of Surveys and Field Services. He was also Visiting Professor at the University of Arkansas and the University of Wisconsin.

Seymour Brandwein

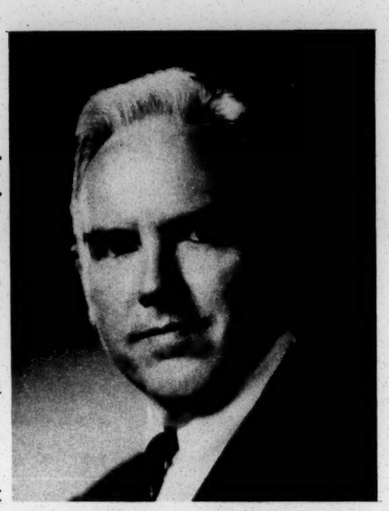
Seymour Brandwein is Deputy Assistant Director for Research of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U. S. Department of Labor. Among the major responsibilities of his office are drafting of the Manpower Report of the President and administering of the contract research program under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

He has served as Economist for AFL-CIO headquarters, specializing in industrial relations and economic development problems, as Economist with the National Wage Stabilization Board, as editor with the Bureau of National Affairs, and as Economist with the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. He has served as President of the Washington Industrial Relations Research Association and holds a degree in labor economics from Brooklyn College.

J. Earl Williams

J. Earl Williams is on leave from the University of Tennessee where he is Professor of Economics. At the present time he is serving as Director of the Southern Rural Training Project for the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training. His special field is labor economics with particular emphasis on industrial relations, labor law, and the labor market.

Dr. Williams serves as consultant for labor and management educational programs, he is a member of the Arbitration panels of the American Arbitration Association and the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, he is past president of the Tennessee Chapter of the Industrial Relations Research Association, and has published a number of articles on retraining in the South.



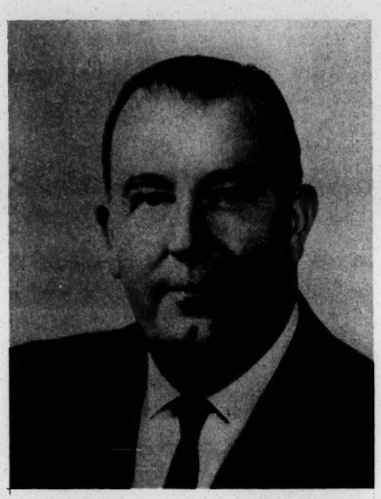
John Tyler Caldwell

John Tyler Caldwell is Chancellor of North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. He is a native of Mississippi and holds a B.S. degree from Mississippi State University, M.A. degrees from Duke University and Columbia University, and the Ph. D. degree from Princeton University. He has served as Junior Economist with the U. S. Resettlement Administration, member of the faculty of Vanderbilt University, and Consultant to the Ford Foundation on Education in Pakistan. He has been President of Alabama College, Montevallo, Alabama, and the University of Arkansas. In 1962 he served as President of the Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and in 1963 he served as Chairman of the Executive Committee of National Associations.

Grant Venn

Grant Venn is Superintendent of Wood County Schools in West Virginia. He holds B. S. and M. A. degrees from Washington State University, and he has done additional graduate work at the University of Minnesota. He has served as Director of Field Training and Acting Chief of Selection for the United States Peace Corps; Assistant Professor at Washington State University; Assistant Superintendent and Planning Coordinator for Bellevue Public Schools in Bellevue, Washington; Consultant for the American Council on Education; and Director of Guidance and Curriculum with Yakima Public Schools, Yakima, Washington. He is the author of numerous articles in professional education journals and several books, including the Bellevue Story.

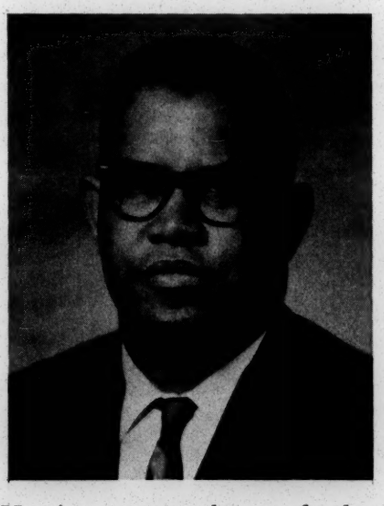
Jennings Randolph



Jennings Randolph is a member of the U. S. Senate from West Virginia. He is a native of Salem, West Virginia, and a graduate of the Salem Academy and Salem College. He holds honorary doctorate degrees in law from Davis and Elkins College; letters, Southeastern University; aeronautical science, Salem College; and humanities, West Virginia State College.

He has served as editor of The Message in Salem, a member of the editorial staff of the Clarksburg Daily Telegram, associate editor of the West Virginia Review, and professor of public speaking and journalism at Davis and Elkins College. He was elected to the United States House of Representatives (73rd Congress), and reelected six consecutive terms. He was elected as a West Virginia delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Conventions 1948, 1952 and 1956, and served on the subcommittee which drafted the 1956 Democratic Platform. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1958 and reelected in 1960.

Vivian W. Henderson



Vivian W. Henderson is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. He received his B. S. C. degree from North Carolina College, Durham, in business administration and economics; and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from State University of Iowa. He is a native of Tennessee.

Dr. Henderson has been on the staff of Prairie View A and M College in Texas and North Carolina College in Durham. He is a member of the American Economic Association, the Southern Economic Association and a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Council on Economic Education. Among his research activities was Research Associate for the United States Small Business Administration project on Tennessee Business Firms, conducted at Tennessee A and I State University. He is the author of numerous articles and reports published in professional journals and magazines.

Rupert B. Vance

Rupert B. Vance is Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is a native of Plummerville, Arkansas and received his B. A. degree from Henderson-Brown College; his M. A. degree from Vanderbilt University; and his Ph.D. degree in Sociology from the University of North Carolina. Dr. Vance also holds the LL. D. degree from Hendrix College.

He has received the Mayflower Cup award and has served as President of the American Sociological Association and Vice-President and President of the American Population Association.

James C. Callison

James C. Callison is Assistant to the Commissioner of Welfare in the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C. Prior to this employment he has served with the federal government in both research and administrative positions with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and in the Department of State.

Mr. Callison is a graduate of Oberlin College and has attended the University of Virginia and American University. During 1957-58 he studied at the University of Copenhagen under a Fulbright grant.

The Manpower Revolution And Human Resource Adjustment

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS
QUEEN CHARLOTTE HOTEL

December 9-11, 1964

Mayor of Charlotte – claims an enforced (rigid!) minimum housing code. to getting rid of sub-std housing.

Schaller – South's gain or non-South in per capita Y a result of out migration. Esp., since out migration dominated by low-income persons.

Est GNP, 1975 – $925 B in 1963 $B
PI, 1975 – $693 B 9-- = 4/3x 231/643 = 92x

above assume +3.9% annually

Negro/white income relations – Batchelder – current QJE

Manpum:
Research director, Senate Sub comm on manpower.*
(1) L.F. growing at unprecedented rate, because of post-WWII "boom".
(2) Youth unemploy't problem compounded by undiminished older worker employ't problem.
(3) Q MYTH -- techno change creates as many jobs as it destroys.
Opposite MYTH -- a la 3-revo. (mine, not his on 3-revo)
(4) There is no evidence that 3-revo. dilemma will come about PROVIDED suff. +Δ GNP. (Yeah!)
(5) NPA says if we do what Eis. Comm. on Nat'l goals recommended, no problem employing all
(6) Econ has grown, but not enough to compensate for both +ΔProd and +ΔL.F.
(7) Agri – +ΔProd, 6% ann, +ΔO, only 1% annually.
Result – rapid disemployment in agriculture; faster than "de-ruralization" can take place ∴ rural problems
(8) Econ must grow 4.5 to 5% per year to keep unemploy't from rising.
(9) Subcommittee recommends tailoring some jobs to people rather than other way around thru education.
This is new – * your "unemployables"

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December 9-11, 1964

Wed p.m. E. E. Lieb:

(1) ? Some replacement of adult Negro males by white women in South? WHICH JOBS?

(2)

Tolley – agri. jazz. Disorganized.

Vance – Frank Knightish in performance, not outlook.

~~Moylan~~: Miller "

(1) Negative side of S. politics overemphasized
(2) As an example of a resisting state where resistance is broken.
(3) More courageous politicians in S. than we give ourselves credit for.
(4) And future pol. leaders in South will be more responsive, more progressive, than in the past.
OFFER PARK TO LEE.
(5) In resp to Q, commented that "denial of funds" a-la C.R. Bill will not amount to much controversy. Few noticeable exceptions, with lots of publicity, but acceptance of C.R. will be overwhelming.
(6) Questioner pointed out that Negroes are almost absent from planning & administrative posts in programs designed to help the Negro – e.g. the "anti-pov" package.
Answer from audience –
70-80% of "poor" are WHITE!
Rebuttal –
Absolutely, whites greater. But relatively, percentage wise, Negroes much greater.

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December 9-11, 1964

Thurs A.M.

Callison – nil. ABS.

W.D. McClurkin: (a wise-ass!)
The extremely small southern high school is a millstone around the neck of Southern education.
Minimum size from minimum adequacy in a high school is 500.
BIG PITCH FOR REGROUPING of S. SCHOOLS. THEN GREATER FINANCING.
Also, replace inadequate teachers and leaders.

Hamlin – punchitter for Mary Jean Bowman
For financing –
North relies too much on local district.
South relies too much on state.
450 pub + private vocat'l schools in 13 Southern states.

Thurs P.M.: M.D.T.A – OMAT
Aller:
1. Another one to use this term – "a work-oriented society."
2. "Take the unemploy'd person as he is, focus on his strength . . . ."
3. "The square pegs of the L.F. are redesigned, reshaped to fit the round holes of labor demand."
4. Retrained worker will return to gov't, in taxes, cost of retraining in five years: good C/B ratio.
5. MANPOWER ACT REQUIRES annual manpower report.
6. "Paternalism" simply doesn't work.
7. The Employ't Service and the educational system are reforming each other.
8. Too heavily a burden has been put on SES – at "breaking point."
Unable to absorb new programs, having had many forced on it in past.

As commented: MDTA is "an enormous success".
Answer, Aller:

(OVER)

WILLIAMS – (Tenn + OMAT) — [Paper to Les]

① Since MDTA training availability is related to unemploy't rate (not under-employ't rate), and since Southern states have low unemploy't rate, nominally therefore....!

② However, South has disprop. no. of ARA counties "Miss + Ga" not participating in retraining, Ga, S. Car, Ala, barely in program — for all practical purposes

③ Southern culture does not provide the sort of bait that attracts "good" industry."
Exploitation-minded, low-wage, fly-by-night kind of industry is what South has attracted.

④ MDTA programs queered in South by req't of non-discrimination. In some cases (SC STEP program) have had to create private institutions (organizations) to get around public education agency.

The Manpower Revolution And Human Resource Adjustment

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS
QUEEN CHARLOTTE HOTEL

Sponsored by the Agricultural Policy Institute in Cooperation with North Carolina A & T College

December 9-11, 1964

Human Resource Developments and Problems--What's Happening in the South?

E. E. Liebhafsky*

The topic assigned to me by the planning committee could easily serve as the framework for the conference summary to be presented on Friday morning. I shall not attempt to anticipate that summary. Nor will I attempt to ask more than a few of the many subsidiary questions one might ask in discussing what is happening in the development of the South's human resources or in the appearance, and the finding of solutions to, human resource problems in the region.

The major question I raise concerns changes in the rates at which adult Negro males participate in southern labor markets. Specifically, I ask these questions: Why has a decline occurred in the labor market participation rate of adult Negro males? How is this decline related to the rise in the labor market participation rate of adult white women? How is it affected by changes in the occupational structure of employment opportunity, by the changing educational requirements for employment, and by changes in the mix of southern industry? Obviously, I cannot offer answers to all these questions. My function, it seems to me, is that of raising some of the relevant questions in the hope that answers will be provided by speakers who are scheduled for appearances during this conference.

One kind of evidence of recent human resource developments in the South is found in the fact that, during the 1950's, the number of

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*Professor of Economics, University of Houston.

white persons in the region's labor force increased by more than 2,500,000 while the number of Negroes decreased by about 26,000 (Table 1). During that decade the South's white labor force increased by 21.9 percent, and its Negro labor force decreased by 0.7 percent.

It is tempting to look to the migration of population into and out of the region in search of an explanation of the changes in the South's labor force. But net migration does not offer an adequate explanation, for, in 1960, the South's working-age population included almost 4,000,000 more white persons and about 117,000 more Negroes than it did in 1950. Thus, the South's white labor force increased and its Negro labor force decreased, while both its white and Negro working-age populations increased. The decrease in the South's Negro labor force, clearly, was caused by a decrease in the rates at which Negroes participated in southern labor markets.

We can be more specific. The rates of labor market participation among both white and Negro working-age males decreased in the South during the 1950's. But, while the rate for white males decreased by 3.2 percent, the rate for Negro males decreased by 10.2 percent (Table 2). And, while the rate for Negro working-age females increased by 13.3 percent, the rate for white females increased by 22.4 percent. The large rise in the labor market participation rate of white women caused the total white rate to increase by 4.1 percent; and the decline in the rate of Negro males caused the total Negro rate to decrease by 2.5 percent. Examination of changes in the labor market participation rates for the several age-sex-color classes in the southern labor force points up the fact that a decrease in labor market activity among 14 to 24 year old

and 55 year and older Negro males was accompanied by an increase in labor market activity among adult white women.

Among young southern workers, i.e., workers between 14 and 24 years of age, only white females experienced an increase in participation rates. The 9.7 percent rise in their rate reflects increased job seeking among 20 to 24 year old white females sufficiently intense to offset the decline in the labor market activity arising out of increased school attendance by 14 to 19 year old white females. The small decline (1.9 percent) in the participation rate of young Negro females suggests an increased effort on their part to raise their level of educational attainment--although unfavorable employment opportunity may have contributed to that decline.

Labor market participation rates of young white males in the South decreased by 6.4 percent during the 1950's. While this decline reflects increased emphasis on education, the 20.2 percent decrease in the rate for young Negro males in the South cannot be explained solely in that manner. Southern Negro boys between the ages of 14 and 24, undoubtedly, placed increased emphasis on education during the 1950's. Yet the decline in their labor market participation rate was too dramatic to be explained solely by increased school attendance. Much of the decrease in the labor market activity of young, southern Negro males reflects the unfavorable employment opportunities they faced as they migrated from rural to urban areas in the South.

Primary male workers--males between the ages of 25 and 54--have little choice but to be active in the labor market, and their participation rates, consequently, remain relatively stable at a high level. In the South, during the 1950's, the rate for white males in this age

group increased by 1.6 percent, and the rate for Negro males decreased by 1.4 percent. I suggest that the decrease in the rate for adult Negro male workers was attributable to unfavorable employment opportunities.

On the distaff side, we find that the participation rates of both Negro and white 25 to 54 year old females increased during the 1950's. In this age group the rate for Negro females increased by 20.5 percent but the rate for white females increased by almost 35 percent.

These changes in participation rates suggest that, in 1960, southern employers found an increased number of adult white females seeking jobs which, in 1950, might have been filled through the hiring of adult Negro males. To some extent, of course, it was simply growing employment opportunity which induced increasing proportions of adult white women to enter the labor market, and the creation of new jobs did not involve competition by white women for jobs which Negro males had held. Yet, the participation rate of Negro primary male workers did decline, and each of us can cite at least a few current examples of white women holding jobs in which Negro males were employed prior to the 1950's.

Increased eligibility for retirement benefits and the less favorable employment opportunities which older men face, as they move from rural to urban areas, are reflected in decreases in the participation rates of both white and Negro males in the 55 year and older age group; and the rate for older Negro males decreased more than did the rate for older white males.

The largest increase in labor market participation rates occurred among older white women. Negro females in the 55 year and older age group increased their participation rate by 23.7 percent, but white

females in this age group increased their rate by almost 51 percent. Again, I suggest that this rise in the participation rate of older white women resulted in increased competition by white females for jobs which might have been held by Negro males. It appears reasonable to suggest that the rise in the participation rate of adult Negro women may have occurred, at least in part, in response to the need they faced to seek work in order to provide incomes for their families. That need, of course, is most intense if the male head of the household is unemployed or if, as a victim of despair, he has abandoned hope of finding a job.

Changes in the industry mix and in the occupational structure of employment in the South--along with rising educational requirements for employment in expanding industries and occupations--contributed to the decline in the labor market participation rate of the southern Negro male. When he migrated from a rural to an urban area, he not only encountered racial discrimination in his search for a job but, also, was a victim of undereducation. Women, particularly white women, enjoy an educational advantage over men, and this advantage has enabled them to qualify for many of the jobs which have become available in recent years, as the South has become more urban. Urbanization of the southern economy has been accompanied by employment increases in the manufacturing and construction industries. But the most impressive employment increases have occurred in the service-producing industries; and it is particularly in these industries that high educational requirements have been imposed upon workers seeking jobs.

For the nation as a whole, the average educational preparation of professional and technical workers exceeds four years of college; that of skilled workers averages slightly over three years of high school;

and the average educational attainments of operatives and service workers are not far behind. There is little reason to believe that the South lags very far behind in the educational demands it is making of workers who hope to be employed in growing occupations in expanding industries. Clearly, the rural Negro male--lacking adequate education to be hired in the jobs he hoped to find after moving to an urban area is likely to despair and to refrain from engaging in labor market activity, especially if he finds that many of those jobs are being filled by adult white women.

Of course, Negroes left agriculture at a somewhat more rapid rate than did whites (Table 3), for they migrated away from rural areas in the South to urban areas in both the South and the non-South. But in mining--another declining industry--Negro employment decreased much, much more rapidly than did white employment, for white workers, having greater job security, were better able to hold their jobs; and in transportation and communication--an expanding industry--Negro employment decreased while white employment increased. Only in government, did Negro employment increase more rapidly than did white employment; and much of that increase is explained by the increased demand for teachers in response to increased school attendance.

In all other industry divisions, the increase in Negro employment lagged behind the increase in white employment. Whites took most of the new jobs in manufacturing, trade, finance, insurance and real estate, and in the services. Only in construction, where education is of lesser relative importance than in some of the other industries, did the rate of increase in Negro employment approach the rate of increase in white employment.

The impact of the changing mix of southern industry upon employment opportunities for Negro males is dramatized by changes which occurred during the 1950's in the Negro share of employment in each of the major industries (Table 4). Only in government did the Negro share increase, and there it increased only from 15.0 to 15.4 percent. In all other industries, the Negro share of employment decreased. The Negro share decreased by only 0.3 percent in construction and by only 0.6 percent in agriculture--from which both whites and Negroes were departing rapidly--and in trade, in which the employed Negroes had some degree of market protection. The most impressive decrease in the Negro share occurred in the finance, insurance and real estate industry--where new jobs were predominantly white collar jobs.

Movement of southerners out of agriculture caused employment in agricultural occupations to show a decrease of 31 percent for whites and a decrease of almost 27 percent for Negroes during the 1950's (Table 5). One important difference between the changes in white and Negro employment in agricultural occupations caused the Negro share in the South to increase (Table 6). The number of white farmers decreased by about 38 percent; but the number of Negro farmers <u>decreased</u> by 58 percent. At the same time, however, the number of white farm laborers decreased by more than 16 percent, while the number of Negro farm laborers <u>increased</u> by 5.6 percent. Thus, while the Negro share of employment in the "farmer and farm manager" occupation decreased, the Negro share of the "farm laborer" occupation increased. These changes might suggest that the Negro farmer, who owned some land, equipment, or animals, converted them to cash and left the farm. But, since the number of Negro farm laborers actually increased, it is more likely that some Negro farmers lost

their land, equipment and/or animals and were unable to make the move to urban employment.

In any case, it is hardly likely that the attraction of "the good life" could have been the cause of the rise in the Negro share of employment in agricultural occupations. The increase occurred among Negro farm laborers--not among Negro farmers. It is reasonable to suggest that educational deficiencies played a role in causing 19,000 additional southern Negroes to become farm laborers. Surely, they would not have chosen that occupation.

Looking at nonagricultural occupations, we find that employment of Negroes as nonfarm managers and proprietors decreased, while the employment of whites in that occupation increased. Nationally, a decrease in the number of small proprietors was accompanied by an increase in the number of managers and salaried officials in private industry and government. It is quite clear, I believe, that while decreases occurred in the numbers of both white and Negro small proprietors in the South, the southern Negro encountered many restrictions to his entry into the occupation of salaried manager or official.

Employment of both whites and Negroes as nonfarm laborers decreased in the South during the 1950's. Employment decreases in laboring jobs are attributable, primarily, to changing technology, as machinery is substituted for unskilled workers in excavating, unloading, and in the handling and moving of heavy objects. There is little doubt that, as southern employers made these substitutions of machines for men, disemployment of unskilled workers was more severe among Negroes than among whites.

Almost identical rates of increase in the employment of whites and Negroes as craftsmen are explained, primarily, by the growth of employment in the southern construction industry. But the number of Negroes in this occupation in 1960 was still quite small, relative to the number of whites, and it is probable that whites took most of the new craftsman jobs arising out of the installation, maintenance, and repair of an increasing volume of complex equipment in factories, offices, homes, and stores. In addition, whites appeared to snap up many of the new operative jobs--such as truckdriver, assembly worker, and machine operator--for the rate of increase in employment in this occupation was almost twice as great for whites as it was for Negroes.

The more rapid Negro, than white, increase in employment in clerical occupations--and the slight rise in the Negro share of employment in these occupations--must be recognized as involving a relatively small number of workers. Moreover, the rise in Negro employment in clerical occupations was accounted for, primarily, by Negro females who were able to cross the barrier to be employed in offices. Whatever optimism is generated by the increased employment of Negro females in clerical occupations is quickly tempered by citation of the fact that, in sales occupations, white employment increased by almost 26 percent while Negro employment increased by only 9 percent. There is little doubt that many impediments to the employment of Negroes in sales jobs continued to exist in the 1960's. Yet there is reason to be somewhat more optimistic, for the last four years have witnessed progress in this area in the South.

In the fastest growing occupational group--professional, technical and kindred workers--white employment and Negro employment increased by 61 percent and 39 percent, respectively. Both male and female whites

have possessed the educational advantage to avail themselves of the opportunities appearing in this occupational group. Among Negroes, much of the employment growth in the professional occupations has been accounted for by the increase in the number of teachers. I return to my basic hypothesis in looking at these occupations, but I offer it with a slight variation at this point. It seems to me that there is logic in the contention that the educated Negro male, who finds that he cannot be employed in a professional capacity consistent with his educational attainment and who finds that the reason for his inability to be employed is solely a matter of racial discrimination, may despair and refrain from continuing to seek employment. A decision on his part to withdraw from the labor force, if he makes that decision, will contribute to a decline in the labor market participation rate of Negro males.

Finally, let us turn to the service occupations. Here, I believe, is the most meaningful support of my thesis. While Negro employment in the service occupations increased by 29 percent during the 1950's, white employment in those occupations increased by 53 percent. Moreover, excluding farmers and farm managers, the service occupations exhibited the greatest decline in the Negro share of employment in the South during the 1950's.

Both private household workers and general service workers are included in this occupational group, and general service workers are the more numerous. Increased urbanization, population growth, and rising income levels have all contributed to a rise in the employment of general service workers. Negro males, far too traditionally, have relied upon service jobs as their source of income. And mature white

women have looked increasingly toward those jobs as sources of supplementing their family incomes.

Now, what is significant is the fact that employment has increased in those occupations which require the most training while those service occupations for which relatively little training is required have been declining. The change in the educational structure of this occupational group has created a situation, which white women have been able readily to exploit--because they do possess an educational advantage. Of course, formal education may not be essential to the successful performance of many of these service jobs. But the fact remains that employers are, as a matter of course, raising the educational requirements they impose upon persons hired in many service jobs. To the extent that this is a valid interpretation of contemporary southern labor markets, it places Negro males and white females in competition for some of the same jobs. The Negro male may reach the conclusion that the competition is too severe. If he reaches that conclusion, he is likely to despair and to refrain from seeking employment--and the labor market participation rates of Negro males will decline.

Table 1

Working-Age Population and Labor Force
in the South, 1950 and 1960

	Population 14 Years and Older		Labor Force		Percent Change 1950-1960	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	Population 14 Years and Older	Labor Force
	(thousands)		(thousands)			
Total	29,501	33,610	15,435	18,022	13.9	16.8
White	23,134	27,126	11,916	14,529	17.3	21.9
Negro	6,367	6,484	3,519	3,493	1.8	-0.7

Source: Census of Population, 1950 and 1960.

Table 2

Percent Change, 1950-1960, in Working Age Population, Labor Force and Labor Market Participation Rates, by Labor Force Age Groups in the South

	Population, 14 Years and Older			Labor Force			Labor Force Participation Rate		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
14 Years and Older									
Both Sexes	13.9	17.3	1.8	16.8	21.9	-0.7	2.5	4.1	-2.5
Males	13.1	16.3	1.0	8.1	12.6	-9.4	-4.5	-3.2	-10.2
Females	14.7	18.2	2.6	40.8	50.7	16.4	22.4	27.3	13.3
14 to 24 Years									
Both Sexes	7.2	9.8	-0.9	3.0	8.6	-14.3	-3.9	-1.1	-13.4
Males	9.5	11.4	3.0	-0.8	4.5	-17.9	-9.4	-6.4	-20.2
Females	5.0	8.1	-4.6	12.1	18.5	-6.4	6.9	9.7	-1.9
25 to 54 Years									
Both Sexes	9.2	12.9	-4.7	18.6	23.7	0.9	8.6	9.6	5.9
Males	8.6	12.4	-6.4	9.9	14.2	-7.8	1.2	1.6	-1.4
Females	9.7	13.3	-3.2	41.9	52.9	16.4	29.5	34.9	20.5
55 Years and Older									
Both Sexes	35.9	38.4	25.7	29.2	33.5	14.0	-5.1	-3.6	-9.6
Males	30.4	33.4	18.7	12.1	16.0	-2.8	-14.1	-13.0	-18.3
Females	41.0	43.1	32.4	101.2	116.6	63.6	42.4	50.8	23.7

Source: Census of Population, 1950 and 1960.

Table 3

Employment, 1950 and 1960, and Percent Change in Employment, 1950-1960, in the Major Industry Groups in the South, by Color

	Employment (thousands)				Percent Change 1950-1960	
	White		Negro			
	1950	1960	1950	1960	White	Negro
ALL INDUSTRIES	10,932.3	12,933.2	3,147.4	3,198.9	18.3	1.6
Goods-Producing	5,421.9	5,566.3	1,705.7	1,415.0	2.7	-17.0
Agriculture	2,284.8	1,660.5	1,107.1	780.5	-27.3	-29.5
Nonagricultural	3,137.1	3,905.8	598.6	634.5	24.5	6.0
Manufacturing	2,219.0	2,816.0	434.4	442.1	26.9	1.8
Mining	257.9	257.1	18.0	12.5	- 0.3	-30.6
Construction	660.2	832.6	146.2	180.0	26.1	23.1
Service-Producing	5,510.4	7,366.9	1,441.7	1,783.9	33.7	23.7
Transportation, communication and public utilities	760.1	844.4	155.6	143.3	11.1	- 7.9
Trade	2,220.7	2,722.7	358.1	415.9	22.6	16.1
Finance, insurance and real estate	302.6	564.7	29.9	38.7	86.6	29.4
Services	1,017.4	1,543.5	684.1	879.1	51.7	28.5
Government	1,209.7	1,691.9	213.9	306.9	39.9	43.5
Total Nonagricultural	8,647.5	11,272.7	2,040.3	2,418.4	30.4	18.5

Source: National Planning Association
White and Negro employment was estimated by applying white and nonwhite percentages, computed from the 1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population, to the National Planning Association estimate of total employment for each occupational group.

Table 4

NEGRO SHARES OF EMPLOYMENT IN MAJOR
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN THE SOUTH
1950 AND 1960

	Negro Share		Change in Share
	1950	1960	
ALL OCCUPATIONS	22.4	19.8	-2.6
White-Collar Occupations	5.0	4.7	-0.3
Professional and technical workers	10.6	9.3	-1.3
Nonfarm proprietors and managers	3.9	2.8	-1.1
Clerical workers	3.0	3.5	+0.5
Sales workers	3.1	2.7	-0.4
Manual Occupations	21.5	19.2	-2.3
Craftsmen and nonfarm laborers	8.3	8.2	-0.1
Operatives	18.9	17.8	-1.1
Nonfarm laborers	50.8	48.4	-2.4
Service Occupations Including Private Household Workers	57.3	53.0	-4.3
Agricultural Occupations	31.6	33.0	+1.4
Farmers and farm managers	25.3	18.6	-6.7
Farm laborers and foremen	42.7	48.5	+5.8

Source: National Planning Association

White and Negro employment was estimated by applying white and nonwhite percentages, computed from the 1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population, to the National Planning Association estimate of total employment for each occupational group.

Table 5

Employment, 1950 and 1960, and Percent Change in Employment, 1950-1960, in the Major Occupational Groups in the South, by Color

	Employment (thousands)				Percent Change 1950-1960	
	White		Negro			
	1950	1960	1950	1960	White	Negro
ALL OCCUPATIONS	10,932.3	12,933.3	3,147.4	3,198.9	18.3	1.6
White Collar	4,109.8	5,753.4	216.5	284.1	40.0	31.2
Profession and technical	889.7	1,432.0	105.5	146.8	61.0	39.1
Nonfarm proprietors and managers	1,095.1	1,338.2	44.4	38.6	22.2	-13.1
Clerical workers	1,233.3	1,863.2	38.1	67.6	51.5	77.4
Sales workers	891.7	1,120.0	28.5	31.1	25.6	9.1
Manual	3,951.6	4,701.2	1,081.8	1,114.6	18.9	3.0
Craftsmen and foremen	1,421.3	1,805.8	128.6	161.3	27.1	25.4
Operatives	2,075.6	2,443.1	483.7	529.1	17.7	9.4
Nonfarm laborers	454.7	452.3	469.5	424.2	- .5	- 9.6
Service, Including Private Household Workers	594.3	914.5	797.5	1,031.3	53.9	29.3
Agricultural	2,276.6	1,564.2	1,051.6	768.9	-31.3	-26.9
Farmers and farm managers	1,586.7	987.5	537.4	225.7	-37.8	-58.0
Farm laborers and foremen	689.9	576.7	514.2	543.2	-16.4	5.6

Source: National Planning Association
White and Negro employment was estimated by applying white and nonwhite percentages, computed from the 1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population, to the National Planning Association estimate of total employment for each occupational group.

Table 6

NEGRO SHARES OF EMPLOYMENT IN MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS IN THE SOUTH, 1950 AND 1960

	Negro Share 1950	Negro Share 1960	Change in Share
ALL INDUSTRIES	22.4	19.8	-2.6
Goods-Producing Industries	23.9	20.3	-3.6
Agriculture	32.6	32.0	-0.6
Nonagricultural	16.0	14.0	-2.0
Manufacturing	16.4	13.6	-2.8
Mining	6.5	4.6	-1.9
Construction	18.1	17.8	-0.3
Service-Producing Industries	20.7	19.5	-1.2
Transportation, communication and public utilities	17.0	14.5	-2.5
Trade	13.9	13.3	-0.6
Finance, insurance and real estate	9.0	6.4	-2.6
Services	40.2	36.3	-3.9
Government	15.0	15.4	+0.4
Total Nonagricultural Industries	19.1	17.7	-1.4

Source: National Planning Association

White and Negro employment was estimated by applying white and nonwhite percentages, computed from the 1950 and 1960 Censuses of Population, to the National Planning Association estimate of total employment for each occupational group.

CHANGES IN THE SOUTHERN ECONOMY

Howard G. Schaller*

I

Introduction

I have interpreted my assignment to be that of painting a broad picture of the development of the South's economy during the past few decades and to speculate a bit about the future. In discussing the past, I shall review income and employment developments, and in speculating about the future I shall comment on these two factors in addition to making some general observations.

I have defined the South to be the states beginning with West Virginia and Virginia and moving south and west to Arkansas and Louisiana.[1] Excluded are the border states of Maryland, Delaware, Texas, and Missouri. This is a large region with considerable economic and social differences within its boundaries. Space will not permit a detailed examination of changes within the region, and the reader should, therefore, exercise caution in applying the conclusions of this paper to a particular state or local situation.

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[1] The states included are Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. This is the Southeast classification used by the Office of Business Economics of the Department of Commerce.

II

Income in the South Since 1929

As is well known, the South has experienced a dramatic improvement in its income in the period since 1929. The per capita personal income of the South rose from $368 in 1929 to $1,820 in 1963.[2] Even if the changes in these estimates were adjusted for changes in the price level, they would still show a substantial increase in the economic well-being of the people of the South. Furthermore, the income of the South increased not only absolutely, but also relative to the rest of the country. The South's per capita income as a percentage of the per capita income of the non-South rose from 46 in 1929 to 69 in 1963--a gain of 23 points in 34 years (Tables I and II).

While this gain represents a remarkable achievement, it would perhaps represent an overly-optimistic base for viewing the South's possibility of attaining income parity in the future if the analysis is not

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[2]Personal income is the income received by persons from wages and salaries, unincorporated profits, dividends, interest, rents, royalties, and transfer payments. It is not, therefore, a measure of the value of output originating in the various states. However, it is the only reliable income estimate available annually on a regional basis, and it can serve as a rough indication of productivity changes. All income data used in this paper for the years 1954-63 are from "Personal Income by States and Regions in 1963," Survey of Current Business, Vol. 44, No. 8 (August 1964) pp. 15-23. Income data for the years 1929-53 are from "Personal Income by States Since 1929," a supplement to the Survey of Current Business, (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1956). The per capita income for the non-South is the total personal income received by residents outside the South divided by the population residing outside the South. Alaska and Hawaii are included beginning in 1960.

Table I. Per Capita Personal Income, South and non-South, Selected Years, 1929-63

Year	South (dollars)	Non-South (dollars)	South as a percent of non-South
1929	368	800	46
1940	343	670	51
1946	849	1,366	62
1950	1,009	1,630	62
1955	1,315	2,020	66
1960	1,601	2,396	67
1961	1,654	2,437	68
1962	1,738	2,543	68
1963	1,820	2,623	69

SOURCE: See Footnote 2.

Table II. Per Capita Personal Income in the South as a Percent of Per Capita Personal Income in the Non-South, by State, Selected Years, 1929-1963

State	Year								
	1929	1940	1946	1950	1955	1960	1961	1962	1963
Virginia	54	70	72	76	78	77	77	78	78
West Virginia	58	61	67	67	67	70	71	71	72
Kentucky	49	48	59	59	64	64	67	67	68
Tennessee	47	51	63	61	63	64	67	67	68
North Carolina	42	49	63	62	64	65	67	68	69
South Carolina	34	46	56	54	57	58	59	60	61
Georgia	44	51	62	62	66	67	67	69	71
Florida	65	77	83	79	82	82	81	81	80
Alabama	40	42	54	53	59	61	61	61	63
Mississippi	36	33	44	45	49	49	51	51	53
Louisiana	52	54	61	67	67	67	67	66	68
Arkansas	38	38	53	50	54	56	60	59	61
South	46	51	62	62	66	67	68	68	69

SOURCE: See Footnote 2.

broken down by shorter periods within the 34 year interval. An examination of the changes during the over-all period shows that the South's per capita income as a percentage of the non-South's rose from 46 to 51 between 1929 and 1940 and to 62 by 1946. Thus, of the 23 points gained during the 34 year period since 1929, 16 had been accumulated by 1946 and what is even more striking, 11 (almost half) of the points were gained during World War II and the immediate pre-War defense effort years.

The South's gain on the non-South during the 1930's was, in fact, a partial recouping of ground lost during the 1920's.[3] Agriculture was a depressed industry during the prosperous 1920's and since it was relatively more important in the South than in the non-South, the South showed a relative decline in income during the period. The partial recovery of agriculture during the 1930's, assisted by the various government support programs, helped the South gain on the non-South during that decade.

The dramatic improvement during the World War II period came as a result of a pronounced increase in the utilization of the region's unemployed and underemployed labor resources. The war brought rapid increases in the aggregate demand for goods and services and stimulated production more in the South than elsewhere. Income from agricultural activity increased very rapidly as did nonagricultural income. A major factor in the latter was the large government outlays for defense purposes

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[3]For a comparison of income relatives in the period 1919-21 with later years see Frank A. Hanna, State Income Differentials, 1919-54, (Durham, North Carolina) pp. 38-41.

in the South. The defense spending not only added directly to incomes but stimulated the demand for local goods and services.

In the immediate post-World War II period, the South failed to gain on the rest of the nation. The South's per capita income as a percentage of the non-South remained at 62 between 1946 and 1950. Many observers had felt that the South would lose some of its relative gain after the war. However, the war expansion had greatly improved markets in the South, and given the full-employment national economy, the region was able to develop new industries and consolidate its position. The agricultural boom of the late 1940's undoubtedly helped considerably in the transition.

Beginning in 1950, the South again began to gain on the rest of the nation but at a much slower rate than during World War II. The income relative moved from 62 percent in 1950, to 67 percent in 1960 and 69 percent in 1963. While this represents progress, if it is remembered that the relative gain is being attained in the growing United States economy, it is still slow, given the South's desire for income parity. In fact, it will take the South a half of a century to catch the non-South at the rate at which it has been gaining since World War II.[4] Furthermore, as will be pointed out later, it may be difficult to maintain even this rate of gain.

The United States Department of Commerce recently published a study analyzing changes in the regional distribution of income and it sheds

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[4]The gain in the South's per capita income as a percentage of the non-South has averaged .4 points per year since 1946. Thus it would take slightly over 50 years to raise the ratio from 69 to 100.

some light on the income performance of the southern economy between 1948 and 1962.[5] The study analyzes differential changes in each state's total participation income (i. e. personal income less income received from investments and transfer payments). The technique employed is the "industry-mix-share" analysis developed by Dr. Edgar Dunn, formerly of the University of Florida and now of the Brookings Institution. This technique divides the income growth of a given state into three components. The first is the income growth that results from the over-all growth of the national economy, i. e., the growth that would result if the state had the same industrial structure as the nation and each industry in the state grew at its national growth rate. The second component, and the first that accounts for differences in the rate of growth, is the effect of industrial-mix. If a state or region tends to concentrate on slow growth industries, its industrial-mix is termed unfavorable and it tends to retard the growth of income. The opposite is true of course if the industry-mix is favorable. The third component, and the second accounting for relative differences, is the effect of regional shifts within industries. If a state or region receives an increasing share of the income generated nationally by its industries,

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[5]Robert E. Graham, Jr., "Factors Underlying Changes in the Geographic Distribution of Income," Survey of Current Business, Vol. 44, No. 4 (April 1964) pp. 15-32.

income growth is given a relative boost. If its industries are getting a decreasing share, the opposite is true.[6]

The results of the study show that the South's industry-mix was unfavorable for this period and that this factor cost the South about $4 billion in income (Table III). The regional share component gave the income of the South a healthy boost of over $7 billion. Thus, the net effect was for total participation income in the South to grow by about $3 billion more than would be expected from national growth alone.

The unfavorable mix problem is common to almost all of the southern states, Florida and Virginia being the only states with a favorable industry mix. This unfavorable industry structure is, of course, largely the result of the importance of agriculture in the region. However, even if agriculture is eliminated from the calculation, the South still had an unfavorable industrial structure that "cost" the region about $2 billion in income.[7]

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[6]The industry-mix component for a given state is calculated by applying to each industry in the state in the base year the difference between the national growth rate in that industry and the national all-industry growth rate. The regional-share component is measured by applying to each industry in the state in the base year the difference between the percentage change in that industry in the state and the percentage change in the industry nationally. See Robert E. Graham, op. cit., p. 20.

[7]See Robert E. Graham, Jr., op. cit., p. 24.

Table III. Components of Change in Participation Income, the United States and the South, 1948-62

(Millions of Dollars)

	Total change	Changes due to		
		National growth	Industry-mix	Regional share
United States	173,667	173,667	------	------
South	29,778	26,538	-3,929	7,169
Virginia	3,954	3,106	184	664
West Virginia	589	1,876	- 638	- 649
Kentucky	1,867	2,283	- 589	173
Tennessee	2,457	2,546	- 226	137
North Carolina	3,681	3,140	- 872	1,413
South Carolina	1,615	1,523	- 386	478
Georgia	3,360	2,633	- 312	1,039
Florida	5,907	2,421	337	3,149
Alabama	2,126	2,178	- 384	332
Mississippi	1,015	1,348	- 479	146
Louisiana	2,335	2,169	- 50	216
Arkansas	872	1,315	- 514	71

SOURCE: See Footnote 5.

III

Changes in the South's Employment, 1940-1960

Total employment in the South increased from 9.9 million in 1940 to 11.9 million in 1950 and 13.4 million in 1960.[8] The percentage increase was 20 percent for the 1940's, 12 percent for the 1950's, and 35 percent for the over-all period. For the non-South, the percentage increases were 28 for the 1940's, 16 for the 1950's, and 46 for the over-all period. Thus, employment growth in the South lagged behind the non-South for the over-all period and for both decades, although the differential was not as great for the 1950's as compared with the 1940's.

The change in employment in the South can be analyzed by using the industry-mix technique described earlier in connection with the income analysis. The technique analyzes the growth in employment in a given region that results from national growth, industry-mix, and regional shifts within industries. Again, industrial mix and regional shift account for relative differences in rates of growth.

Dr. Lowell Ashby of the United States Department of Commerce recently published the results of a study applying this technique to the growth of employment between 1940 and 1950 and 1950 and 1960.[9] The study shows that the industry-mix of the South was unfavorable for both

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[8] Lowell D. Ashby, "The Geographical Distribution of Employment: An Examination of the Elements of Change, Survey of Current Business, Vol. 44, No. 10 (October 1964) pp. 13-20.

[9] Ibid.

decades, "costing" the region 1.3 million jobs between 1940 and 1950 and 1.1 million jobs between 1950 and 1960 (Table IV). All of the states in the South had an unfavorable industrial structure for the first decade and all but Virginia and Florida for the second.

The South gained jobs as a result of increasing its share of employment within industries. The relative gain from regional shares was 701,000 from 1940 to 1950 and 719,000 from 1950 to 1960. Since the relative gain from this source was less in both decades than the loss from industry-mix, employment growth in the South was less than what would have been expected from national growth.

The employment picture for the South is even bleaker if the regional share component is analyzed by state. Florida alone accounted for 81 percent of the South's relative gain coming from the regional share component in the 1950's. If Florida is excluded from the analysis, the regional share component falls to 139,000. In fact, employment growth in the South excluding Florida fell 925,000 jobs short of what would have been expected from national growth.

While the South's ability to generate employment during the 1940's and 1950's appears to be a bit weak when compared to the non-South, there is one bright spot. The industry-mix for the South was less unfavorable for the 1950 to 1960 period than for the earlier decade. The major factor contributing to the South's unfavorable industrial structure is, of course, the importance of agriculture in the region. Since the decrease

Table IV. Components of Employment Change in the South, by State, 1940-50 and 1950-60

(Thousands of Employees)

	1940-1950 Changes related to			1950-1960 Changes related to		
	National growth	Industry-mix	Regional share	National growth	Industry-mix	Regional share
South	2,634.0	-1,299.7	700.8	1,844.3	-1,062.4	718.8
Virginia	248.8	- 8.4	85.7	194.9	9.7	10.2
W. Virginia	138.4	- 37.9	9.2	97.3	- 65.3	-121.8
Kentucky	226.0	- 102.4	6.0	151.3	- 104.9	- 49.3
Tennessee	251.1	- 117.4	77.8	178.5	- 79.5	- 5.4
N. Carolina	322.3	- 186.9	161.3	233.0	- 196.9	137.9
S. Carolina	176.3	- 123.6	57.7	119.4	- 114.9	85.7
Georgia	295.3	- 150.0	39.9	200.1	- 120.6	78.8
Florida	182.2	- 18.2	203.6	162.7	1.8	580.1
Alabama	238.3	- 160.0	67.9	161.0	- 117.8	5.3
Mississippi	194.0	- 185.0	- 5.5	113.2	135.3	- 5.5
Louisiana	205.6	- 87.7	- 2.6	137.2	- 45.1	48.4
Arkansas	155.7	- 122.1	- 0.3	95.6	- 93.6	- 45.6

SOURCE: See Footnote 8.

in agricultural employment in the South has been greater than that of the nation,[10] the region's industrial structure has improved. The improvement in industrial structure took place in all states of the South except North Carolina, West Virginia and Florida. The problem in North Carolina is partially offset by the state's fairly strong ability to generate employment by regional share. This is not true of West Virginia and Kentucky and these states have serious problems stemming from the decline in mining and agriculture.

This change in the composition of the South's employment is, of course, a part of a national trend. Nationally, there has been a shift from agriculture to nonagriculture and many other industries are becoming more dispersed geographically. As a result, regional industrial specialization is decreasing but the change has been more pronounced in the South.[11]

Thus far this paper has reviewed employment and income developments in the South. It has shown that the per capita income of the South has gained on the non-South, although at a slower rate since World War II. Also, the paper has shown that the South has not been able to generate the employment that would be expected from the national growth rate. Given this latter development and the fact that the South has high birth rates,

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[10]See James M. Henderson, "General Aspects of Recent Regional Development," Essays in Southern Economic Development, Melvin L. Greenhut and W. Tate Whitman (eds.), (Chapel Hill, N. C. 1964) pp. 173-194.

[11]See Lowell D. Ashby, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

the question naturally arises as to how the per capita income of the South could gain on the non-South at all. The answer obviously lies in the high rate of net outmigration from the South. Given the lack of satisfactory employment opportunities, people simply left the region. Moreover, the outmigration tended to be selective, i. e., low income persons dominated the outmigration.[12] Without this substantial outmigration, it is doubtful that the South's per capita income would have gained on the non-South.

IV

The Future

I shall attempt first to make a reasoned estimate (educated guess) of the South's per capita personal income for 1975 and then discuss a few special problems that may arise in the future.

I shall attempt to estimate the South's per capita income by (1) estimating the Gross National Product for 1975, (2) estimating personal income for the nation in 1975, and (3) deriving an estimate of per capita personal income for the South based on the national average.

Growth in the nation's Gross National Product will depend upon the growth in the number of man-hours of labor available and growth in

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[12] That low income persons tended to dominate the outmigration can be deduced from the fact that most of the migrants were under-educated. See Mary Jean Bowman, "Human Inequalities and Southern Underdevelopment," a paper delivered at the Conference on Education and Human Resources sponsored by the Inter-University Committee for Economic Research on the South (Washington, October 9-10, 1964).

the average output per man-hour. The former depends upon the total population and its age structure, the labor force participation rate, and the average number of hours in the normal work week. The latter depends on the quantity of capital per worker, technological change, educational attainment, and the industrial distribution of employment. Professor Robert Turner of Indiana University has recently completed a study of long-run economic trends and he concludes that G. N. P. will grow at a rate of 3.9 percent annually.[13] Applying this growth rate to the 1963 G. N. P. of $584 billion, we get a G. N. P. estimate for 1975 of $924 billion in 1963 dollars. Recently, the ratio of personal income to G. N. P. has remained fairly steady at 79 percent. If this ratio persists until 1975, personal income for the nation would be about $693 billion or about 3,066 per capita (both estimates in 1963 dollars).[14]

If this growth rate is attained, it will be fairly satisfactory and will provide a strong base for economic expansion in the South. It seems reasonable to assume that the per capita income of the South will continue to gain on the national average at its modest post-World War II rate. Should that happen, the per capita income of the South

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[13]Robert C. Turner, "Long-Run Economic Growth: Identifiable Trends of Significance to Business," a paper presented at the University of Michigan Conference on the Business Outlook, Ann Arbor, Michigan, (November 1964).

[14]The per capita estimate is computed by dividing the estimated total personal income by a population of 226 million. This population estimate is from Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 279 (February 4, 1964). The Series B projection is used.

will be about $2,422 (in 1963 dollars) or 79 percent of the national average.[15] This projection naturally assumes that outmigration will continue to handle the problem of entrants into the labor force exceeding employment opportunities.

It seems reasonable to assume that the South can continue to gain on the national average during the next twelve years. First, education will probably not be as big a contributor to national productivity growth in the future since the productivity gains from increments in education seems to fall as we go up the income ladder.[16] However, since the population of the South is undereducated relative to the non-South, gains are possible through education. Secondly, the national gains in productivity coming from the shift of workers from low to high productivity industries will possibly slow down.[17] The agricultural labor force has fallen by 50 percent in the last two decades, and since it will not go to zero, some dampening in the exodus from agriculture is in prospect. However, since the South has farther to go, it should make relative gains in this respect.

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[15]Between 1948 and 1963, the per capita income of the South gained .4 percentage points a year on the national average. Since the per capita income as a percentage of the national average (not the non-South) was 74 in 1963, it should be 79 in 1975 if the 1948-63 rate of gain is maintained. If the same rate of gain on the non-South is maintained, the per capita income of the South as a percentage of the non-South will be about 76.

[16]Theodore W. Schultz, "Education and Economic Goals," Educational Needs for Economic Development of the South, Agricultural Policy Institute Series 7 (North Carolina State College) p. 10.

[17]Robert C. Turner, op. cit., p. 12.

While the relative economic expansion in the South should continue at its post-World War II rate until 1975, there is some indication that the region will have trouble gaining on the nation beyond that point. First, as noted above, the exodus from agriculture will eventually come to a halt in the nation and in the South. Eventually, the South will lose this source of relative gain. Secondly, manufacturing employment will grow slowly (it has been practically stable since 1953) in the future and many of the persons leaving agriculture will find employment in the lower productivity service industries. Unless the South can somehow get a much larger slice of the pie, the gains that come from manufacturing will be much lower than in the past. Finally, there is a question as to whether high outmigration rates can be maintained indefinitely. In many areas of the country urban congestion is becoming a serious problem and will be even more so in the future. Whether these areas can continue to accept large numbers of migrants becomes a good question and if the answer is no and if high birth rates continue in the South, the region could have some problems.

The factors just enumerated tend to be limiting, but there are two bright spots. First, the South now has an urban base. During the 1940's, 83.5 percent of the region's population growth occurred in its metropolitan areas. The percentage was 89.5 for the 1950's.[18] The South now

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[18] John L. Fulmer, "Trends in Population and Employment in the South from 1930 to 1960 and Their Economic Significance," Melvin W. Greenhut and W. Tate Whitman (eds.), Essays in Southern Economic Development, op. cit., p. 221.

has several growth points to work with. Secondly, there is a sizeable return to be gained by increasing the investment in education in the South. If the South can improve the educational attainment of its population both with respect to years of schooling completed and the quality of education, it can undoubtedly make some relative gains in productivity for some years to come. Moreover, should a substantial Federal-aid-to-education program be established, it would undoubtedly give the southern economy a relative boost.

How these opposing forces will net out is difficult to say, but it does not seem safe to conclude that it will be easy to bring the South's economy to the national level in the next three or four decades. It will take a determined effort in education, in programs to provide cultural amenities in the cities of the South, and to provide political stability and prevent social unrest. If these efforts are successful, the South will grow economically but pockets of poverty will be left behind in Appalachia and the rural areas of the Deep South. The elimination of these pockets represents the hard core of the problem.

Up to this point I have avoided the problem of race relations since I have interpreted my assignment to be that of painting a broad picture of the development of the southern economy. I assume that the problem of race relations will arise in the discussion dealing directly with human resource adjustment. However, I would like to close by mentioning a

study recently published by Alan B. Batchelder of Ohio State University.[19] This study shows that while the ratio of the income of Negro females to the income of white females increased during the 1950's, the ratio for Negro males to white males actually declined. The ratios declined not only nationally but within each major census region. Furthermore, there is some indication that the decline was continuing in the early 1960's. If this situation continues, it will accelerate social unrest both nationally and in the South. It would appear that there are considerable human resources to adjust.

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[19] Alan B. Batchelder, "Decline in the Relative Income of Negro Men," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 4 (November 1964) pp. 525-48.

"Desk"

TABLE I. MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT
(Annual Averages, 1953 & 1964)

	1953			1964			CHANGE (1953–1964)	
	MFG. EMPLOY'T	NON-AGRI EMPLOY'T	PCT MFG	MFG EMPLOY'T	NON-AGRI EMPLOY'T	PCT MFG	NUMBER	PCT
U.S.	17,259,000	49,660,000	34.8	17,643,000	58,847,000	30.0	+384,000	+2.2
Virginia	256,000	895,000	44.4	308,000	1,158,000	26.6	+52,000	+20.3
Kentucky	160,000	620,000	25.8	193,000	726,000	26.6	+33,000	+20.6
Tennessee	291,000	830,000	35.1	361,000	1,045,000	34.5	+70,000	+24.1
N. Carolina	449,000	1,011,000	44.4	558,000	1,341,000	41.6	+109,000	+24.2
S. Carolina	226,000	537,000	42.0	277,000	583,000	42.6	+51,000	+22.6
Georgia	316,000	906,000	34.9	377,000	1,057,000	31.9	+61,000	+19.3
Florida	121,000	838,000	14.4	238,000	1,530,000	15.6	+117,000	+96.7
Alabama	234,000	677,000	34.6	258,000	839,000	30.7	+24,000	+10.3
Mississippi	98,000	333,000	29.4	140,000	460,000	30.5	+42,000	+42.9
Arkansas	83,000	317,000	26.2	126,000	429,000	29.3	+43,000	+51.8
Louisiana	162,000	696,000	23.3	154,000	857,000	17.9	−8,000	−13.1
Texas	438,000	2,242,000	19.5	538,000	2,790,000	19.3	+100,000	+22.8

1953 --- TOTAL "SOUTH" = 2,834,000; 16.4% OF U.S.

1964 --- TOTAL "SOUTH" = 3,528,000; 20.0% OF U.S.

TABLE II. MAJOR "INDUSTRIAL" SOURCES OF CIVILIAN INCOME
(1964, MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

	MANUFACTURING	S, F, & L GOVERNMENT	WHOLES-RET TRADE	SERVICES	FARMS
Virginia	1,626	1,826*	1,385	1,003	271
Kentucky	1,224	577	779	520	352
Tennessee	1,810	824	1,098	700	296
N. Carolina	2,453	867	1,336	823	714
S. Carolina	1,229	440	548	394	216
Georgia	1,813	957	1,413	727	323
Florida	1,294	1,363*	2,171*	1,540*	578
Alabama	1,368	880	856	559	281
Mississippi	599	378	494	281	412
Arkansas	544	305	427	264	461
Louisiana	968	712	1,000*	731	255
Texas	3,418	2,405	3,860*	2,335	1,029

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TABLE I-A. VALUE ADDED BY MANUFACTURING
millions of Dollars

	1954	1963	INCREASE	PERCENT
U.S.	117,212	190,935	73,723	62.9
Virginia	1,629	3,013	1,384	85.0
Kentucky	1,236	2,446	1,210	97.9
Tennessee	1,679	3,317	1,638	97.6
N. Carolina	2,210	4,298	2,088	95.0
S. Carolina	1,041	2,094	1,053	101.2
Georgia	1,592	3,165	1,573	98.8
Florida	798	2,347	1,549	194.1
Alabama	1,319	2,270	951	72.1
Mississippi	468	1,008	540	115.4
Arkansas	457	952	495	108.3
Louisiana	1,182	1,909	727	61.5
Texas	3,502	6,811	3,309	94.5

1954 – TOTAL "SOUTH" = $17,113,000,000; 14.6% OF U.S.
1963 – TOTAL "SOUTH" = $33,630,000,000; 17.6% OF U.S.

TABLE II-A. POPULATION CHANGES, 1953-1964

	1953	1964	CHANGE	PERCENT
Virginia	3,517,000	4,378,000	+861,000	+24.5
Kentucky	2,955,000	3,159,000	+204,000	+6.9
Tennessee	3,305,000	3,798,000	+493,000	+14.9
N. Carolina	4,174,000	4,852,000	+678,000	+16.2
S. Carolina	2,242,000	2,555,000	+313,000	+14.0
Georgia	3,567,000	4,294,000	+727,000	+20.4
Florida	3,303,000	5,705,000	+2,402,000	+72.7
Alabama	3,072,000	3,407,000	+335,000	+10.9
Mississippi	2,138,000	2,314,000	+176,000	+8.2
Arkansas	1,803,000	1,933,000	+130,000	+7.2
Louisiana	2,871,000	3,468,000	+597,000	+20.7
Texas	8,410,000	10,397,000	+1,987,000	+23.6
"SOUTH	41,357,000	50,260,000	+8,903,000	+21.5

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TABLE III – DECLINING AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT

	1960	1950	1940
Virginia	99,806	167,383	223,036
Kentucky	132,462	245,363	309,366
Tennessee	131,381	247,132	312,729
N. Carolina	204,888	359,540	406,218
S. Carolina	94,036	196,971	261,056
Georgia	120,280	265,703	377,263
Florida	109,509	123,012	117,024
Alabama	102,075	250,751	354,335
Mississippi	142,860	301,316	420,375
Arkansas	98,567	215,188	300,791
Louisiana	73,295	151,405	249,136
Texas	288,887	442,246	639,226

TABLE V – INDUSTRIAL WAGES – Average Hourly Earnings of Production Workers in Mfg. Industries

	1950	1953	1957	1960	1964
U.S.	$1.47	$1.77	$2.07	$2.26	$2.53
Massachusetts	1.38	1.65	1.88	2.09	2.37
Pennsylvania	1.43	1.79	2.10	2.31	2.55
Michigan	1.72	2.09	2.44	2.75	3.11
California	1.65	1.97	2.32	2.62	2.96
Virginia	1.18	1.40	1.61	1.77	2.04
Kentucky	n.a.	1.62	1.95	2.13	2.43
Tennessee	1.19	1.40	1.66	1.84	2.03
N. Carolina	1.10	1.23	1.43	1.54	1.75
S. Carolina	1.11	1.24	1.44	1.57	1.80
Florida	1.09	1.31	1.61	1.86	2.11
Georgia	1.08	1.26	1.53	1.66	1.92
Alabama	1.18	1.39	1.77	1.92	2.17
Mississippi	.97	1.14	1.40	1.52	1.76
Arkansas	1.02	1.21	1.46	1.56	1.78
Louisiana	1.25	1.53	1.93	2.12	2.49
Texas	1.35	1.68	2.05	2.17	2.42

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TABLE IV. TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME
(Millions of Dollars)

	MILLIONS of DOLLARS		PERCENT U.S.		INCREASE, 1953-1964	
	1953	1964	1953	1964	AMOUNT.	PERCENT
U.S.	283,140	491,004	100.00	100.00	207,864	73.4
Virginia	5,220	9,804	1.84	2.00	4,584	87.8
Kentucky	3,644	5,781	1.29	1.18	2,137	58.6
Tennessee	4,050	7,061	1.43	1.44	3,011	74.3
N. Carolina	4,885	9,282	1.73	1.90	4,397	90.0
S. Carolina	2,543	4,229	0.90	0.86	1,686	66.3
Georgia	4,460	8,345	1.58	1.70	3,885	87.1
Florida	5,041	12,841	1.79	2.62	7,800	154.7
Alabama	3,344	5,959	1.18	1.21	2,615	78.2
Mississippi	1,889	3,328	0.67	0.68	1,439	76.2
Arkansas	1,809	3,200	0.64	0.65	1,391	43.5
Louisiana	3,721	6,510	1.31	1.33	2,789	75.0
Texas	13,013	22,749	4.60	4.63	9,736	74.8
"SOUTH"	53,619	99,089	18.94	20.18	45,470	84.8

TABLE VI. PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME

	DOLLARS		PERCENT U.S.		INCREASE, '53-'64	
	1953	1964	1953	1964	DOLLARS	PCT
U.S.	1788	2566	100.0	100.0	778	44.1
Virginia	1484	2239	83.0	87.2	755	50.9
Kentucky	1250	1830	69.9	71.3	580	46.4
Tennessee	1218	1859	68.1	72.5	641	52.6
N. Carolina	1172	1913	65.5	74.6	741	63.2
S. Carolina	1141	1655	63.8	64.5	514	45.0
Georgia	1239	1943	69.3	75.7	704	56.8
Florida	1535	2251	85.9	87.7	716	46.6
Alabama	1084	1749	60.6	68.2	665	61.3
Mississippi	886	1438	49.6	56.0	552	62.3
Arkansas	995	1655	55.6	64.5	660	66.3
Louisiana	1295	1877	72.4	73.1	582	44.9
Texas	1549	2188	86.6	85.3	639	41.3

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NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE:

Sunday, December 6, 1959

The Southern Regional Council today called for an urgent effort to "get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators."

The 80-member council of white and Negro Southerners, dedicated to the improvement of race relations, issued a policy statement on the school question from its Atlanta headquarters.

It proposed that Southern communities redefine the problem as "How best to educate all our youth?" rather than how to bar Negroes from white schools.

The Council also expressed opposition to the use of pupil placement as "a political device to evade or thwart desegregation."

It said: "When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest."

The council declared that much of the South's political leadership, while eager for economic progress, has "seceded from reality" on the school issue. "Not for long," it warned "can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country."

In contrast, the council cited more than 200 Southern school districts where desegregation was started voluntarily. It added: "They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees."

THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the formidable increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its zeal for economic progress has kept pace with the times. But much of its political leadership, in vain adherence to the unconstitutional practice of segregation, has seceded from reality.

Not for long can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can the damage be kept from invading the self-interest of every Southerner -- the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption. Unless thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

Fortunately, there is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the nation; only the ignorant or the self-serving would willingly risk destroying that progress. To avoid that danger, however, realism alone compels us to discard our outworn myths and prejudices and face up to the imperatives of change.

AN URGENT OBJECTIVE is to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem. Instead of "How can we keep Negroes out?" or "How few can we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" By revising the question, one moves from an emotional to a professional problem, to be solved primarily by educators; and that is as it should be.

For example, we strongly oppose the use of so-called pupil placement as a political device to evade or thwart desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permit both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregation are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that children should have to run the gauntlet of hostile officials in order to enjoy their rights under law.

THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the common law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to rewarding human relations.

Irresponsible political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and in some states this leadership is so far unwilling or unable to undo the obstruction it has caused. But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. In six Southern states, more than 200 school districts have initiated desegregation without conflict and without the compulsion of a specific court order. Hesitant and limited though many of these changes have been, they are at least beginnings toward voluntary compliance with the law. They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to solve the problems of race relations. They can do so by adopting the only approach that has ever had realistic promise -- that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves grudgingly to court direction, they can control their destinies by moving on their own initiative to end segregation in good faith.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We cannot -- any more than the rest of the world's people -- control the global pressures which bear in upon us and dictate the inevitability of change. But we can and must be accountable for the way in wiich we respond to these historic forces of our time.

We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example

for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement to end segregation in all public life.

Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE

Monday, A.M. Papers
November 21, 1960

Against a background of racial violence in New Orleans, the Southern Regional Council released today an analysis of police handling of earlier riots in three Southern cities -- Chattanooga, Montgomery, and Little Rock.

Titled Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, the report was written for the Council by George McMillan, a well known South Carolina writer.

The report describes the basic need of good police work as "the support of elected officials and community leadership, expressing a clear cut community respect for law and order."

"For too many years, in the South," it continues, "the police were assumed to be an arm of the white race to keep the Negroes in their place. Where this attitude lingers, there is scant chance for the orderly resolution of racial controversy."

The report lists three main points:

1. Negroes in the South are prepared to take overt steps to change their status, even at the risk of personal safety.

2. Negroes may demonstrate in any Southern town. None can now count on immunity.

3. Traditional Southern police attitudes and training are not likely to be adequate for dealing impartially with the young generation of Negroes committed to the methods of non-violence. They

have forced a reversal of roles on the Southern police officer; now, to maintain law and order, he must protect the non-violent Negroes from the whites. And, he must do it quickly.

The report declares that "there is no greater danger to law and order in the South today than a Southern public official, police or not, caught offguard when trouble comes, and trying to meet the new problems with old, unassessed ideas."

The report describes three actual episodes, each representing a different type of violence which can occur in the South. They are:

Chattanooga's riot at the time of the student sit-in demonstrations -- "an example of a riot almost by accident which, though it reached dangerous proportions, was for the police primarily a task of clearing the streets and allowing tempers to cool and good sense to prevail."

Montgomery's riot -- "where the police, in the name of preventing 'trouble' and acting in their traditional role of guardians of a segregated society, crushed a Negro demonstration, in effect doing the bidding of the white mob."

Little Rock's second school desegregation episode -- "a story of police resistance to a planned effort by a mob to supersede the law."

The report comments that recent disorders in Jacksonville, Fla., had elements of all three of the situations studied.

"To prepare for riots -- as Jacksonville did not -- even to discuss the possibility, is distasteful. Yet not to do so is unrealistic.

"In the continuing racial crisis of the South, the police have

two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely expressed, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists or segregationists."

Mr. McMillan, is the author of The Old Breed, a history of the First Marine Division during World War II, and is a frequent contributor to national magazines on Southern topics.

NOTE: The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

NEWS RELEASE

For Release:
APR 10 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JAckson 2-8764

The Southern Regional Council announced today that Leslie W. Dunbar, presently its director of research, will succeed Harold C. Fleming as executive director of the organization.

The announcement was made by the Council's president, James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S. C., through the Atlanta headquarters of the organization.

Mr. Fleming is resigning his post with the Council to become the executive vice-president of the Potomac Institute of Washington, D. C., a newly established private agency for the study of constitutional issues. He has been a staff member of the Council since August 1947, serving successively as director of information, assistant director, and for the past four years executive director.

Mr. Dunbar has been director of research of the Council since February 1959. Prior to that time, he had taught at Emory University and Mount Holyoke College, and had been on the staff of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission at its Aiken, S. C., plant. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1954-55. He received his Ph.D. in political science from Cornell University in 1948.

The staff change will be effective within a few weeks.

Mr. Dabbs said, "I regret very much losing Harold Fleming, but Leslie Dunbar is equally capable of leading the organization in the widening fields of service that are opening before us."

The Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners which has as its aim "the achievement of equal opportunity for all the South's people."

- END -

May 10, 1950

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

The Council is preparing for the June issue of NEW SOUTH a report on the policy and practices of State professional associations concerning Negro membership. Since we need local help in obtaining information which is not available here in Atlanta, we wonder if you would be good enough to help us with the information we need from your State.

Specifically, what we need to know is:

> Which associations of the following professional groups in Alabama are open to Negro members -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, and architects?
>
> What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership full and complete, or is it subject to certain modifications and limitations? If so, what are the modifications?

Perhaps you will know people in one or more of these professions who can inform you about their own associations. Probably there are agencies -- Urban League, local professional groups, etc. -- which can also give you information. In any case, you will know best.

We make this request of you in a spirit of urgency. We will need the information by the end of May. We will be most grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Kentucky State College

Frankfort, Kentucky

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 15, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Request contained in your letter of May 11 will require some study and verification of unofficial information. Since this is our busiest season of the year, we can not possibly secure and send you this information by the end of this month. Should you desire it later, kindly advise and we will be pleased to gather it for you.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. Atwood

R. B. Atwood
President

RBA:wts

May 19, 1950

Miss Adele J. Minahan
1930 College Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

We are most grateful for your prompt reply to our request for information about the membership policies of the professional associations in South Carolina. The information is exactly what we need and will be a great help to us in preparing the report for NEW SOUTH.

Thank you again for all your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

TO: Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

From: Adele J. Minahan
1930 College Street
Columbia, South Carolina

In Re: Letter of May 11, 1950

No I - All professions listed except " Social Workers " Have seperate professional organizations.

Negroes are admitted to the South Carolina Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers

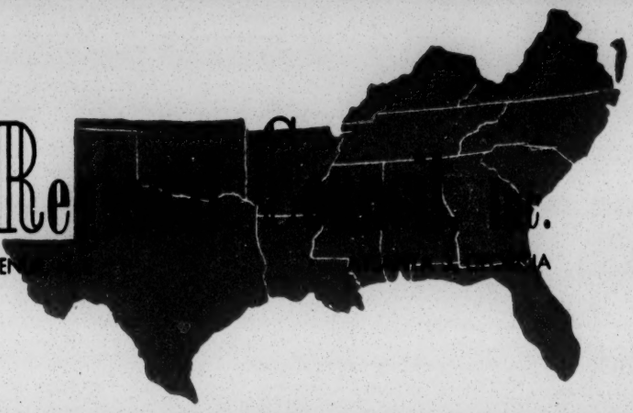
No 3 - There are no modifications for Negro members - Membership is on the basis of training and experience .

This procedure has been followed since the organization of the Chapter.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 11, 1950

Miss Adele Minahan
1630 College Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

The Council is preparing for the June issue of NEW SOUTH a report on the policy and practices of State professional associations concerning Negro membership. Since we need local help in obtaining information which is not available here in Atlanta, we wonder if you would be good enough to help us with the information we need from South Carolina.

Specifically, what we need to know is:

No I — Which associations of the following professional groups in South Carolina are open to Negro members -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, and architects?

No 2 — What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?

No 3 — In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership full and complete, or is it subject to certain modifications and limitations? And if so, what are the modifications?

Perhaps you will know people in one or more of these professions who can inform you about their own professions. You, of course, will know about the social workers. Probably there are agencies -- Urban League, local professional groups, etc. -- which can also help. In any case, you will know best.

We make this request of you in a spirit of urgency, since we will need the material by the end of May. We will be most grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

May 19, 1950

Mr. Abbott L. Ferriss
Box 1164
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ferriss:

Thank you so much for sending so promptly the information you obtained for us ~~on~~ the four state professional organizations. It is exactly what we need and will help greatly in preparing the report for NEW SOUTH.

I am very sorry that our getting our wires crossed here resulted in a duplication of effort , and please accept our apologies.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Box 1164

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

MAY 18 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 16, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

This is in response to your letter of May 11. I had secured the information you requested for four state organizations when I learned that someone else was simultaneously collecting the same information. I have attempted to locate the person so that we might coordinate our efforts, save time, and avoid duplication, but have been unsuccessful. So, I am giving you the information collected with the hope that you send it to your other informant.

TENNESSEE STATE DENTAL ASSOCIATION. No. However, Negro dentists participate in a seminar held annually. Approximately 76 Negro dentists have their own organization, called PAN-TENNESSEE DENTAL ASSOCIATION.

TENNESSEE STATE NURSES ASSOCIATION. Yes. Since about 1940. No distinction as to membership.

TENNESSEE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. There are no Negro members, but there is no restriction upon membership. There has been a movement to organize a separate Negro association. Virginia and Kentucky associations admit Negroes. See: Libraries in the Southeast, by the TVA, published about 1948.

TENNESSEE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. Yes.

Other associations not telephoned:

Tenn. Ed. Asso. — 4-3406.
Tenn. State Medical Asso. (Journal) — 5-6575.
Nashville Bar Asso. Library -- 5-2090.
Nashville Engineers Asso. (J. Herbert) -- 64101.

Hoping this will be of use to you,

Yours truly,

Abbott L. Ferriss

Abbott L. Ferriss
Assistant Professor

ALF:bw

May 19, 1950

Mrs. Thomasina Norford
Minority Group Consultant
United States Employment Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Norford:

Dr. George Mitchell, the Council's Executive Director, has suggested that you might be able to help us with some information we need. The Council is preparing for the June issue of NEW SOUTH, our monthly publication, a report on the policies of state professional associations with regard to Negro membership. We have been told that there is a fairly new organization of personnel workers in the various state employment services called the International Association of Public Employment Services. It apparently is organized state-by-state, with a national organization over all.

We would be most grateful if you could find out for us if these state associations of employment service workers admit Negroes to membership and, if so, whether or not Negro membership is full and complete or is limited in any way.

We make this request in a spirit of urgency, since we will need the information by the end of May. We will greatly appreciate whatever help you can give us.

The states with which we are concerned are: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

May 19, 1950

Dr. R. B. Atwood, President
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Atwood:

Thank you for letting us know so promptly that you will be unable to obtain the information we need for our report on the membership policies of State professional associations. Since our deadline is the end of May, we are writing Mr. Tydings to see if he will be able to get the information to us by that time.

Thank you anyway for your kind offer to help us later. We certainly understand how scarce time is at the end of the school year, and we appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

May 19, 1950

Miss Daphne Doster
Regional Nursing Consultant
U. S. Public Health Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Doster:

The Council is preparing for the June issue of its monthly publication, NEW SOUTH, a report on the policy and practices of state professional associations concerning Negro membership. Mrs. Frances Callahan, Regional Nursing Consultant for this region, U. S. Public Health Service, has told us that you would be able to tell us about the State Nurses Associations in North Carolina and Virginia.

Specifically, what we need to know is:

> Are the State Nurses Associations in North Carolina and Virginia open to Negro members?
>
> If so, when did they first begin to admit Negroes to membership?
>
> If they admit Negro nurses, is their membership full and complete, or is it subject to certain limitations and modifications?

We make this request in a spirit of urgency, since we will need the material by the end of May. We will be most grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

May 19, 1950

Miss Frances Buck
Regional Nursing Consultant
U. S. Public Health Service
Dallas, Texas

Dear Miss Buck:

The Council is preparing for the June issue of NEW SOUTH, our monthly publication, a report on the policies of state professional associations in regard to Negro membership. Mrs. Frances Callahan of the U. S. Public Health Service here in Atlanta has told us that you would be able to inform us about the practices of the State Nurses Associations in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas.

Specifically, what we need to know is:

> Do the State Nurses Associations in these four states admit Negro members?
>
> If so, when were Negro nurses first admitted?
>
> In the associations admitting Negro nurses, is their membership full and complete, or is it subject to certain limitations? If so, what are the limitations?

We make this request in a spirit of urgency, since we will need the information by the end of May. We will be most grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

May 19, 1950

Miss Lorena Jane Murray
Regional Nursing Consultant
U. S. Public Health Service
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Miss Murray:

The Southern Regional Council is preparing for the June issue of NEW SOUTH, its monthly publication, a report on the policies of state professional associations concerning Negro membership. Mrs. Frances Callahan of the U. S. Public Health Service here has told us that you would be able to inform us about the practices of the Kentucky State Nurses Association.

Specifically, what we need to know is:

> Is the Kentucky State Nurses Association open to Negro members?
>
> If so, when were Negro nurses first admitted?
>
> Is Negro membership full and complete, or is it subject to certain limitations? If so, what are they?

We make this request in a spirit of urgency, since we will need the information by the end of May. We will be most grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

May 19, 1950

Mr. J. M. Tydings, Executive Director
The Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

The Council is preparing for the June issue of NEW SOUTH a report on the policy and practices of State professional associations concerning Negro membership. Since we need local help in obtaining information not available here in Atlanta, we wonder if you would be good enough to help us with the information we need from Kentucky.

Specifically, what we need to know is:

> Which associations of the following professional groups in Kentucky are open to Negro members -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, and architects?
>
> What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership full and complete, or is it subject to certain modifications and limitations? If so, what are the modifications?

Perhaps you will know people in these professions who can inform you about their own associations. Probably there are agencies -- Urban League, local professional groups, etc. -- which can also give you information. In any case, you will know best.

We make this request in a spirit of urgency. We will need the information by the end of May. We will be most grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

5/22/50

Mr. Charles T. Steele
Urban League
418 S. 5th St.
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Steele:

I have just received a request from the Atlanta office for the following information:

Which associations of the following professional groups in Kentucky are open to Negro members — lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, and architects?

What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?

In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership full and complete, or is it subject to certain modifications and limitations? If so, what are the modifications?

The SRC is preparing a report on the policies and practices of State professional associations concerning Negro membership. They would like to have this information by the end of May in time for the June issue of New South.

I believe you are in the best possible position to obtain this information for us. Please reply directly to Miss Jane P. Simpson, Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. and send me a copy for our State files, if you are disposed to undertake this for us.

Cordially yours,

Marked
Tydings - 25 May 50

J. M. Tydings

JMTchg

VIRGINIA PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

(Info. rec'd May 24, 1950, from Mrs. A. C. Epps, Apt 12, 2501 Grove Ave., Richmond, Va.)
Written & thanked on May 29, 1950, by JPS.

LIBRARIANS: Membership open to Negroes and complete. Has been open since beginning -- about 1913. Name: Va. Library Association.

TEACHERS: Segregated professional societies
White: Va. Education Assoc.
Negro: Va. Teachers Assoc., Inc.

DOCTORS: Segregated.
White - Medical Society of Virginia
Negro - Old Dominion Medical Assoc.

NURSES: Gradute nurses segregated.
White - Graduate Nurses Assn. of Va.
Negro - Old Dominion Graduate Nurses Assn.
Practical Nurses segregated.
White: Practical Nurses Assn of Va.
Negro: Va. State Assn. of Practical Nurses.

SOCIAL WORKERS: There are no Va. organizations of professional workers, but there are chapters of the American Association of Social Workers. No segregation in AASW -- these are the professional workers with degrees.

For those interested but not necessarily professional workers, there is the Va. Conf. of Social Work -- no segregation.

ARCHITECTS: Va. Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. The Secretary knew of no Negro architects but "don't count on this".

LAWYERS: Virginia State Bar, commonly called the "integrated bar" -- all lawyers belong, with no segregation. Its functions are official. Formed in 1938.

Virginia State Bar Assn -- functions are social largely and there are no Negro members.

Old Dominion Bar Association -- Negro society parallels the VSBA.

DENTISTS: Segregated.
White -- Va. State Dental Society. To be a member, must belong to American Dental Society (segregated). Have to belong to VSDS to belong to Richmond Dental Society.
Negro -- Old Dominion Dental Society.

Main source: Va. State Library. Information on dentists and lawyers obtained from friends and personal knowledge.

ENGINEERS: will send info as soon as she can track it down.

Dear Jane,

The following clipping was just sent to me from Okla. by Paul Foreman. It may bring the data more up to date. Apparently Negroes are not members but participants in state medical meetins mentioned here. Hope I'll be seeing you and Harold on your return trip.

Sp

Thanked 6/9/50

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1950
Southern Regional C

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

May 27, 1950

Dear Jane,

Am enclosing as much information as I could secure in connection with your request. I couldnot check on the rumor re the state legislature for my local source of information was not in town. I hope that what I have obtained will do. Note that the sources are local andnot official. However all of thepeople are reliable and most have had an active role, often as an officer, in the various societies.

This note is brief because I hope to be in Atlanta sometime next week, i.e any time after June 1. School has just ended here and I have some business to attend to in your fair city. I shall be in C.H. for most of the summer, I expect. At any rate, I hope to be by the SRC offices next week to say hello personally and to amplify on the enclosed data if such is desired.

Give my regards to the staff.

Cordially,

Sol

Thanked in person on June 1, 1950 - JPS

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1950
RLSU
Southern

Profession	Major Professional Organization	Source of Information
Lawyers	Oklahoma Bar Association	Max Sater, county attorney
Nurses	Oklahoma State Nurses Association	Lois Hastings, former president of local district
Architects	Oklahoma Chapter of the American Institute of Architects	P.A. Wilbur, College Architect
Engineers	Oklahoma Society of Professional Engineers	C.A. Dunn, Director of Engineering Research and former officer in state society
Librarians	Oklahoma Library Association	Alton B. Juhlin, Head Reference Librarian
Teachers	Oklahoma Educational Association	N. Conger, Dean Emeritus, School of Education
Social Workers	American Association of Social Workers	Mrs. R. Lehr, local social worker

Comments

Admission to practice in state means membership in Okla. Bar Association. Has no connection with American Bar Association, which is a voluntary organization with apparent color bars. Thus Negroes are members of the first, and probably not of the latter.

Negroes were admitted to full membership three or four years ago. Only recently have nurses been trained in Oklahoma (i.e. those who are Negro) so the state was largely dependent on other areas to furnish trained nurses.

Constitution does not ban Negroes. However Mr. Wilbur does not know of a single Negro who is a practicing architect in the state. (He has been active in the field for 23 years).

No restrictions because of color. There are no registered engineers in the state who are Negro although Mr. Dunn believes that a man teaching at Langston is applying for certification as a registered engineer. If accepted, he can become a member of the society if he wants to, since the only requirement is that he be a registered engineer.

Negroes have been admitted to the association from its beginning without restrictions.

Negroes are not allowed into this organization. They have a separate organization called the Negro Oklahoma Educational Association. Both groups apparently have sections for the various educational divisions from lower grades through college.

There are chapters of the organization in Tulsa and Okla. City. Negroes are admitted as full members.

Profession	Organization	Source of information	Comments
Physicians	Oklahoma State Medical Association	Dr. L. Freed, local physician	State society is composed of county units. Negroes are not admitted to membership in the various county units.
Dentists			Could not secure reliable information

May 29, 1950

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
Executive Vice-President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
618 Prairie Avenue
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Thank you so much for your prompt and full reply to our request for information on the membership policies of professional associations in Texas. The information is exactly what we need and will help us greatly in preparing our report for NEW SOUTH.

We appreciate your help and cooperation very much.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

cc: Mrs. James S. Crate

Mrs. James S. Crate
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

WATCHTOWER LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

HOME OFFICE: 618 PRAIRIE AVENUE - P. O. BOX 2097

HOUSTON, TEXAS

May 23, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Your letter addressed to Mrs. James S. Crate, under date of May 11th, has been referred to me.

In answer to the questions asked in your letter, I am advising that Negroes are not extended the privilege of membership in the State Association of Lawyers, Teachers, Dentists, Nurses or Doctors. They do, however, have their own professional associations, which are autonomous organizations limited to Negro membership. The State Association of Librarians, however, does extend the privilege of membership to Negroes, as does the Texas Social Welfare Association. According to my informant, Negroes were admitted to membership in the Association of Librarians twelve years ago, with full participation since 1940, which not only includes membership, but committee assignments as well.

Professional Negro Social Workers are fully integrated in the Texas Social Welfare Association and this organization also adopted a policy some years ago of refusing to meet in any city where Negroes might be denied the facilities of any hotel where the place of meeting was held. I have also been advised that Negroes are entitled to membership in the Texas Academy of Science. At the last meeting of this organization, two Negro Scientists appeared on the program. I have also been advised by Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, President of Texas State University, that the State Association of Sociologists, Chemists and Psychologists extended membership privileges to Negroes.

It is my hope that the information given in this letter will be of some service to you in the preparation of the report you have in mind.

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
Executive Vice-President

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE COMPANY AND NOT TO ANY INDIVIDUAL

CAS/img

IN REPLY REFER TO

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

May 31, 1950

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Thank you for your letter of May 19 in which you request certain information concerning the International Association of Public Employment Services. For specific authoritative and authentic information I would suggest that you write to the International President, Mr. James Bryant, Director, Department of Employment, State of California, located at 1025 P Street, Sacramento, California.

As a member of this organization, I can answer, in general, some of the questions with which you are concerned. First of all, this is an international organization with chapters in Canada and the United States of America. The organizational units are State units. Some of the States do not participate. Any employee of the Bureau of Employment Security (Unemployment Insurance and Employment Service) is eligible for membership.

There is no statement in the constitution or by-laws of the organization that would compel the organization to include Negro members nor any that would preclude their membership. There are many Negro members. My guess is that there are about 200. (My guess concerning the total membership is that there are about 16,000.)

This is not a new organization. As a matter of fact, its 37th Annual Convention is now in session in San Diego, which several Negro members are attending. There are relatively few Negroes working in the State Employment Security in the South. There is a North Carolina chapter, Negroes work for the North Carolina State Employment Security and are full-fledged members of the organization. There are Negro employees in the Virginia State Employment Service but the Virginia chapter is inactive. There are many Negroes working in the District of Columbia who are full-fledged members; some have been Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and members of the Executive Committee.

In the Annual Convention there are usually Negroes on the program. Mr. Victor Daly of the District of Columbia Chapter is speaking at the present Convention on Personnel Standards. Mr. Walter Gordon of the California State Parole Board is speaking also. There may be others.

You might be interested to know that in 1947 the Time and Place Committee reported Miami, Florida as their choice for a place of meeting the following year. Some of the delegates asked the Florida representative what their

policy would be on Negro delegates who might attend. He replied words to the effect that when Southerners come North they accept the customs of the communities to which they went and that the Florida delegates would expect the Northerners to do the same. The invitation was rejected and Windsor, Canada was chosen. (The Florida chapter became inactive and is still inactive.)

The Annual Convention was held in New Orleans last year. There were some inconveniences but it is my understanding that some gains were made. A banquet was held which all members attended. The arrangements were not entirely satisfactory and at present there is a Gentlemen's Agreement that the convention will not go South again.

I am sure that you can verify this information and secure any additional data that you might wish by writing directly to Mr. Bryant.

Sincerely yours,

Thomasina W. Norford

(Mrs.) Thomasina W. Norford
Minority Groups Consultant

May 1950 Vol. II. - No. 13

THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

Catholic College Students — Regional Interracial Commission — New Orleans, La.

Southeastern Region, National Federation of Catholic College Students

Southern Regional Council

AMATEUR VS. PROFESSIONAL

In the sphere of Christianity as well as in the spheres of business and sports there are amateurs as well as professionals. One definition of an amateur is "one who cultivates any study or art or other activity for personal pleasure instead of professionally or for gain." The professional is "one who follows as a business an occupation ordinarily engaged in as pastime."

The amateur Christian uses Christianity as a functional tool with which to promote his material welfare and relations with other amateurs. He restricts his practice of Christianity to an occasional contribution to charity and to the periods of emotional fervor he experiences while the choir sings High Mass — a pastime in which he likes to indulge on Sundays.

However, when it comes to the difficult but basic command of God to love your neighbor as you love yourself our amateur draws the line because he doesn't particularly care to turn Pro. He thus performs some classic rationalization in order to avoid the basic duty of loving others for the love of Christ, especially if it may endanger his status with fellow lukewarm Christians.

The most dangerous and powerful weapon which threatens the world today is not the contemplated Hydrogen Bomb or Germ Warfare, but Christianity — Christianity in the hands of amateurs and demagogues who distort it, rationalize it, and employ the perverted result to seduce their own intellect and the intellects of their fellow men. It is like a loaded pistol in the hands of a child. It can be used as a weapon for good against evil, or it can be twisted around to annihilate a whole nation.

The professional Christian regards his obligation of loving his neighbor as a foremost duty of justice, and realizes that the work of justice is peace.

PASSION FOR ANONYMITY

Anonymous letters and phone calls seem to be the special tools of prejudiced people. Every Pastor, every lay leader, every Catholic organization, trying to bring the world back to Christ has received these anonymous "admonitions" (sometimes threats).

All of the nameless people, hiding in the darkness of their pagan prejudices, claim the same qualities: they are "good Catholics," they love the status quo; THEY know what is best for Mother Church; they hate certain people.

In the field of race relations in New Orleans, the anonymous objectors have clearly demonstrated two weaknesses in the camp of extremist opponents: (a) the smallness of their numbers; (b) the stupidity of their arguments.

(a) The weakness of their numbers is shown in the recent unsegregated meeting to honor Bishop Wiwanuka. Seven letters (one of which was signed) and nine anonymous phone calls represent a total of sixteen objectors. Compare this with 1047 persons who attended the meeting and applauded the teachings of the Church.

Another demonstration of weakness in N.O. was the overwhelming number of voters (more than 160,000) who repudiated the miserable following of a white supremacy candidate (getting a little over four thousand votes).

(b) The racist people are as weak in argument as they are few in numbers. Illogical arguments spring from befuddled minds too unsure of themselves to declare their identity. Because they are false and because they oppose the Mystical Body all of the racial arguments are weak. Prejudice is associated with guilt. Guilty people are ashamed of themselves. People who are ashamed hide their faces and conceal their names even while they hold on to their prejudices. Thank God their number is few. May Christ shed the light of His Love into the tangled recesses of their anonymous minds.

Mr. George Mitchell
So. Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

QUOTABLE QUOTES

In recognition of the supremacy of community right over individual rights, Mayor Morrison and the City Commission Council passed ordinances facilitating the construction of a $30,000,000 white and Negro housing project in Gentilly. On April 17, 1950, the Council held a hearing in the City Hall for opponents of the bill,- but led the fight to victory. Congratulations!

--*--

The New Orleans States, in an editorial on May 2, said of the hearings: "One wonders what these local people, who despite the need for Negro housing, think ought to be sufficient for the Negroes of New Orleans? Anyone with two eyes can see about him terrible slum conditions which breed disease and crime. And the opponents, who think Negroes ought to have better housing, but that we ought to go slowly about building units, have had a mighty long time to do something about it themselves. And they haven't."

--*--

Three Catholic Colleges of Louisville, Kentucky, have announced that they will accept Negroes in all departments, in a statement issued jointly by the presidents. They said, "When the right to the intellectual and spiritual development, which is the proper concern of higher education, is curtailed by the physical accident of race, there is implicit in such a curtailment a materialistic philosophy of life which is intolerable in a Christian and democratic society."

--*--

Birmingham Negro nurses finally consented to accept integration with white nurses by six of them joining the local branch of the American Nurses' Association in the beginning of May. Nurses who joined, however, have expressed great surprise over the friendly acceptances accorded them.

--*--

FATHER WILLIAM A. NOLAN, S.J., writing in the Catholic Mind for May 1950, says concerning Negroes and Communism: "Communist propaganda in this country is a very foreign affair. Happily Jackie Robison told the entire American nation something it should already have known as certain: 'Although discriminated against and often seriously mistreated, Negroes will nevertheless fight for Uncle Sam and not for Uncle Joe.'"

--*--

Member colleges of the Interracial Justice Commission of the NFCCS in the Philadelphia area have published the first number of the Collegiate Interracial Monthly, a paper intended to promote right thinking on interracial matters among Catholic College Students. Cooperating colleges are Chestnut Hill, Villanova, Chestnut Hill, Rosemont, St. Joseph's LaSalle and Immaculata.

THE STUDENT FEDERATION OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES in Louisiana are to be congratulated in their courageous stand against the president of Northwestern State College, a white institution, for alleged racial intolerance in several matters. A formal resolution was filed with the State Board of Education requesting that the official not be reappointed as president.

--*--

That politicians are becoming cognizant of the way the wind blows may be seen from the weather vane antics displayed by local individuals in wooing the growing power of the Negro at the polls.

--*--

THE NEW ORLEANS' INSTITUTE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS at a recent forum heard Father Joseph H. Fichter, S.J. state that "Labor unions must accept Negroes as equal workers if we are to have a democratic economic system."

--*--

COR UNUM ET ANIMA UNA!

THOMASINA W NORFORD
430
WASH
RECEIVED
JUN 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES IAPES

NEWS

Published monthly, except July and December, by The International Association of Public Employment Services in the interest of its membership.

Volume 10 | May, 1950 | Number 5

Member Contest Winners Named

S.D., Nebr., Miss., Ky., Mo., Ohio, Pa., Take 1950 Competitive Honors

The seven winning chapters in the 150 membership contest to which the newly instituted "Paul C. Winner Scroll" will be awarded at the Long Beach, Calif., annual convention next month were unofficially announced by International Membership Chairman Paul Murphy, Harrisburg, Pa., at News press time.

Murphy

Winners, and the competitive classes represented are: **South Dakota** in the Class I grouping of chaters, states or provinces with quotas of less than 100; **Nebraska** in the second group with quotas of 100 to 200; **Mississippi** in the third class with potentials between 200 and 350; **Kentucky** of the 350 to 500 quota class; **Missouri** in Class V, 500 to 1000; **Ohio** among chapters quotaed from 1000 to 2000; and **Pennsylvania** in the largest class of quotas, over 2000.

Murphy explained that while the outcome is based on his committee's membership figures, and not verified by the secretary-treasurer's office, he is reasonably certain of conclusions although percentage of quotas reached may vary a little.

All winning chapters except the last two named topped their

"New Horizons in Employment Security" Themed Convention to See 1000 IAPESers Gathered for 37th Annual Call to Order

Four-day Conference, from Keynote Address by Governor Earl Warren to Adjournment, to Be Packed With Best Current Thinking on the Job at Hand and Ahead

Wednesday, May 31, will be "IAPES' Day" when in Long Beach, California, more than 1,000 delegates from the states, territories and Canadian provinces will be gavelled to order by International President James G. Bryant who will preside over the 37th annual convention.

Keynoting the convention themed on "New Horizons in Employment Security" will be California's Governor, Earl Warren.

Tallon, Teets to Talk

Opening ceremonies start at 9:30 a. m. in the Municipal Auditorium Concert Hall with the Long Beach Municipal Band entertaining. Call to order, invocation, welcome address, response, presentation and acceptance of the official gavel will set the stage for the keynote address.

The afternoon session will open with preliminary committee reports followed by the president's annual report on Association stewardship.

R. J. Tallon, Ottawa, Ont., Unemployment Insurance Commissioner, will review "The First Decade of Unemployment Insurance in Canada" followed by a report from Bernard E. Teets, Denver, Colo., president of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies.

Forum Opens Afternoon Session

At 2:30 p.m. the first major forum is scheduled on the subject "Employment Security—Its Phase in the Present and Future Economy" with Milton O. Loysen, New York State administrator as chairman.

Governor Earl Warren Who Will Give the Keynote Address.

* * *

ond major forum, "Community Employment Planning" under chairmanship of David H. Stowe, administrative assistant to President Truman. Stowe, an IAPESer since 1937 when he was with the North Carolina ES, moved to the White House in 1947 after nearly six years with the Federal Bureau of the Budget.

Speakers on the forum also include William L. Batt, special assistant to Secretary of Labor Tobin, who serves as chairman of a committee to develop plans and programs dealing with economics

Running concurrently will be discussion sessions on:

(1) **Techniques in Handling Problem Cases in Local Offices,** under chairmanship of James R. Tichenor, Columbus, Ohio, assistant state administrator. Panel speakers include Lionel Fleury, Quebec City, P. Q., assistant manager; N. D. Gordon, Biloxi, Miss., manager; Clara Bell K. Shands, South Carolina training supervisor; and Ann Owens, Maryland Employment Security supervisor.

(2) **A Coordinated Employment Security Training Program,** led by E. P. Laberge, Canadian UIC director of technical services. Discussants include Carl Wedeking, Missouri training supervisor; Elder R. Herring, Ohio chief of local office procedures and training; Myer Freyman, chief of staff training, BES, Washington, D. C.; and Leo H. Carney, manager, Erie, Pennsylvania district.

(3) **Community Employment,** chaired by Edward L. Keenan, national BES deputy director with five panel participants: Louis Levine, chief of reports and analysis, national BES; H. H. Harnish, chief of California's new Division of Development and Employment Stabilization; Allen J. Gazvoda, Michigan field supervisor; Paul H. Motz, Ohio chief of employment stabilization; and W. Thompson, Canadian UIC supervisor of analysis and development.

Both major forums, as well as panel sessions, are timed to

Arizonan Wins 1950 Essay Contest

Manitoban Places Second; 4 Get Honorable Mention

Rowena L. Schooler, Phoenix, Ariz., local office interviewer, was announced winner of the 1950 Essay Contest sponsored by the International Association. To her goes the top prize of $100 for the best treatment of the subject "Employment Security Objecttves," in the eighth annual contest in which members from 14 chapters competed. Runner-up prize of a $50 savings bond goes to Mrs. E. M. Robertson of Winnipeg, Canada, member of the Prairie Chapter. *(With communications to the flood devasted city of Winnipeg cut off, the News Office has been unable to further identify Mrs. Robertson.)*

With the Arizona Employment Service for five years and a half, Mrs. Schooler is placement interviewer in the clerical and profes-

Murphy explained that while the outcome is based on his committee's membership figures, and not verified by the secretary-treasurer's office, he is reasonably certain of conclusions although percentage of quotas reached may vary a little.

All winning chapters except the last two named topped their quotas by sizable margins, Murphy said, and in addition to the competitive awards the five automatically become members of the 1950 Hundred Club now in its eighth year.

Murphy gave high praise to all winners but placed special emphasis on attainments of Mississippi and South Dakota which he said "hit the jackpot by enrolling 100% of employment security personnel," the Mississippi Chapter giving a repeat performance of its 1949 feat."

Nebraska, Mississippi, and Pennsylvania were contest winners last year, Murphy added, while the other four chapters are newcomers.

Denver, Colo., president of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies.

Forum Opens Afternoon Session

At 2:30 p.m. the first major forum is scheduled on the subject "Employment Security—Its Phase in the Present and Future Economy" with Milton O. Loysen, New York State administrator as chairman.

Forum speakers include C. J. Haggerty, secreatry, California State Federation of Labor; Pat Conroy, secretary, Trades and Labor Council, Ottawa, Ont.; Almon Roth, president, San Francisco Employees Council; and Robert C. Goodwin, Washington, D. C. Bureau of Employment Security director.

The 12 IAPES districts are scheduled to caucus at 4:40 p.m. in meeting rooms of the auditorium.

Forum, Election Feature 2nd Day

A California Chapter sponsored beach party takes care of the evening program beginning at 6:30.

Second day's scheduling opens with a business meeting at 9 a.m. followed at 10 o'clock by the sec-

with the North Carolina ES, moved to the White House in 1947 after nearly six years with the Federal Bureau of the Budget.

Speakers on the forum also include William L. Batt, special assistant to Secretary of Labor Tobin, who serves as chairman of a committee to develop plans and programs dealing with economics and labor problems; Larry Fenlon, chairman of the American Legion's Economic Committee; and Earl Glade, Mayor of Salt Lake City, Utah.

11 Panels Are Friday "Dish"

Thursday (June 1) afternoon's program is strictly Association business with election of officers scheduled at 2 o'clock.

The annual banquet at 7:00 p.m. at which merit awards, contest winners and special citations will be presented and awarded will be without speeches. Following it, the convention will be entertained by the motion picture industry.

Eleven panels are on tap Friday morning with six scheduled from 8:30 to 10:15 and five from 10:20 till noon.

Stabilization; Allen J. Gazvoda, Michigan field supervisor; Paul H. Motz, Ohio chief of employment stabilization; and W. Thompson, Canadian UIC supervisor of analysis and development.

Both major forums, as well as panel sessions, are timed to allow questioning and discussion from the floor. Program Chairman Corrine Jobe, explained that by naming fewer discussion leaders to forums and panels her committee has provided for audience participation, a continent-wide request of the membership.

(4) **New Approaches to Evaluation and Supervision of Local Office Operations,** under chairmanship of Stephen Mayo, New York State director of field operations. Panelling with him will be John Thomas, Washington State field supervisor; Robert N. Purcell, Albany, N. Y. superintendent; James Wilson, Colorado

(Turn to page 7)

Canada, member of the Prairie Chapter. *(With communications to the flood devasted city of Winnipeg cut off, the News Office has been unable to further identify Mrs. Robertson.)*

With the Arizona Employment Service for five years and a half, Mrs. Schooler is placement interviewer in the clerical and professional unit of the Phoenix local office. She just completed her third term as secretary of the Arizona Chapter.

Text of the winning essay appears on Page 5.

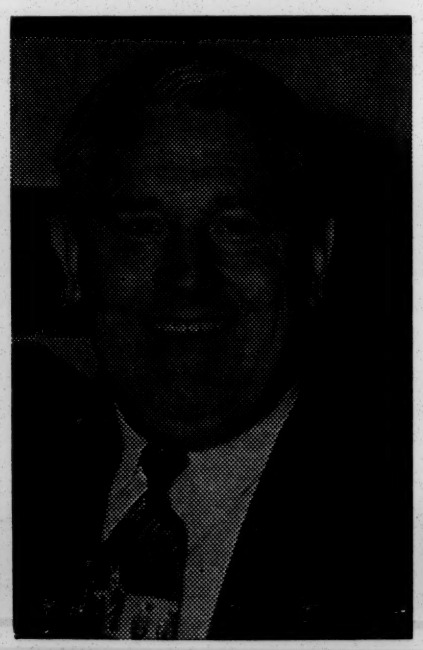
A native Arizonan, she claims both the University of Arizona and the University of Southern California as alma maters. Before coming to the employment service she taught school and worked in wartime censorship.

In the judgment of the five essay judges, four essays demanded honorable mention. Their authors were: Bill Brown, Columbus, Ga., interviewer; Perry Cocke, Atlanta, Ga., local office unit supervisor; E. L. Richard, Baton Rouge, La., interviewer, and Madolyn C. Aron, Chicago, Ill., interviewer.

Official Hosts to the 37th Annual IAPES Convention at Long Beach, California, May 31-June 3

Arthur E. Wood, Chapter President, and So. Calif. Supervisor

Corrine Jobe, Denver, Colorado, Convention Program Chairman



IAPES President James G. Bryant, Host Agency Director

Don Roney, General Chairman of Convention Arrangements

Long Beacher George Toll, Local Chairman, and ES Manager

Community Service Emphasized In Texas Chapter Annual Convention

Galveston Meeting Sees New Award Program Instituted; Bids For More Professionalism; Elects Chapter Officers

Annual convention of the Texas Chapter met in Galveston April 21 and 22 with a delegate attendance of 235 plus some 75 visitors.

At a general session Saturday morning the convention heard Paul Sparks, executive secretary, State Federation of Labor, AFL, speak on "Labor Relations," followed by William M. Merritt, Todd Shipyards Corporation, Houston Division, who discussed "Management and the Employment Security Program." Jeff Hickman, secretary, State Industrial Union Council, CIO, discussed "Unemployment Insurance and Its Affect on Labor."

Louie Levine, chief, Offices of Reports and Analysis, BES, Washington, D. C., was guest speaker at the delegates luncheon Friday. He spoke on "The Affect Your Organization Has on the National and International Economy."

Six Panels Meet

Six professional panels were held Friday afternoon and Saturday morning, on: The Local Office as a Public Utility; Administrative Problems of the Local Office; The Local Office as a Labor Exchange; The Local Office as a Bulwark Against Unemployment and Depression; The Future of the Local Office; and U.S.E.S. Takes a Look.

Panel topics tied in with the convention theme: "The Local Office—Nucleus of a Good Employment Security Program." The first five panels were conducted by rank-and-file employees. The sixth, by BES personnel—Ed McDonald, Dallas, regional representative, William Crawford, Dallas, associate representative, and E. L. Nelson, Washington, D. C., field representative.

Professional Research Legislated

The following officers were elected to serve during the current year:

Griffin

John B. Griffin, San Angelo, president; Ray Bozeman, Corpus Christi, Jake Cota, Waco, and Bob Lindsay, Corpus Christi, vice presidents; Peter L. Brady, Austin, financial secretary; Lottie Gradick, Austin, recording secretary; and four committeemen-at-large: Tom Fitzgerald, Ft. Worth; Jack Meeks, Corpus Christi; Sargent Braden, Houston; and Wayne Grant, Amarillo.

President Griffin, assistant district director is an "old-timer" coming to the Texas agency in 1937 as a junior-interviewer. He succeeds E. C. Logsdon of Austin.

* * *

the initial "award of recognition" to the district club selected by the chapter executive committee as having carried on the most active and beneficial IAPES program during the year. This cup must be won twice to become final property of any club.

Eleanor Bartosh, Austin, chairman of the Merit Award Committee, presented engraved certificates to Jack V. Donoghue, technical assistant, of Houston, and Roy Barton, Abilene interviewer, the two selected as the outstanding members of the year. Donoghue was the chapter's candidate for the International award.

Fort Worth was chosen as host city for 1951 chapter convention, the dates to be set by the executive committee.

Illinois Downstate IAPES Convene At State Park

Grand Marais Park Sites 1-Day Meet Featuring Air Base Tour

The largest IAPES meeting that downstate Illinois has seen for many years took place at Grand Marais State Park, East St. Louis, when nearly 100 Area 4 members of the chapter gathered May 6. The full day's program, planned by Agnes Kennedy, manager of the Belleville office, began with a visit to Scott Air Base, where the members were taken for a conducted tour over the 72 miles of paved highways, followed by a luncheon at the Officers' Club.

From the air base, the group went to Grand Marais State Park, where a panel discussion on IAPES objectives was led by Elmer Churchill. An interesting suggestion made during the discussion was that IAPES take the lead in establishing standards for the selection of employment security personnel. Rutledge Mellor, of the St. Louis, Mo., ES office, was a guest participant on this panel.

The main speech at the dinner meeting in the evening was by Col. Alexander R. McMillan, inspector general of the Scott Air Force Training Command. Col. McMillan outlined Air Force principles of training which emphasize character guidance and human relations as well as furnishing the highest quality of technical training.

Harold Huber supervisor of benefits, Unemployment Compensation Division, spoke of the improved relations between ES and UC, and urged further efforts to build the local office as an integral part of the community. Colonel H. H. Weimer, Veterans' Employment Representative for Illinois, spoke on service to veterans.

Texas' Local Clubs Hold Job Security Forum

Senator Russell B. Long Keynotes the Louisiana Chapter's First Convention

Meeting At Alexandria Views Employment Security Objectives, Studies Program Application and Economic Results

The Louisiana Chapter, with the theme "Employment Security at Mid-Century" held its first annual convention in Alexandria April 21 and 22. One hundred and fifty delegates from all parts of the state attended.

Macaluso

The theme itself was particularly appropriate, for never in America's history has the true meaning of employment security been more appreciated, or has so much attention been given to making this security a reality, President J. P. Macaluso, New Orleans, who chaired the convention, pointed out.

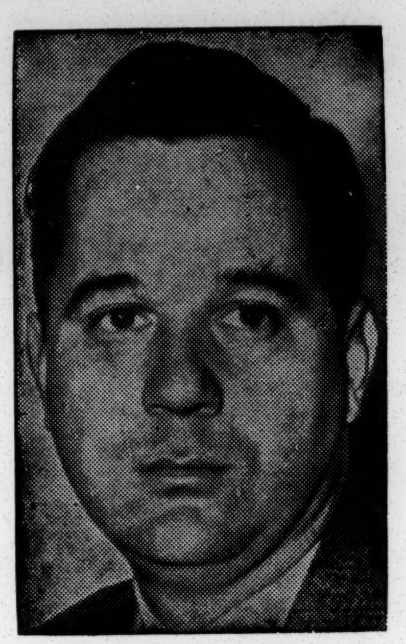
Senator Russell B. Long delivering the keynote address commented on the growing tendency to talk of "big government." He agreed that some government functions could be improved and others could be abolished, but he added, it is time we recognize that certain things the government is doing should be continued and improved."

UI Economic Value Cited

Unemployment insurance is one of those government services which, he said, has helped the entire country and served in great measure to strengthen democracy. "We have learned that the only way for any one of us to be secure is for our neighbor to be secure," he said.

Unemployment insurance has helped business as much as it has the individual who receives the payments, he said, and provides a buffer that prevents the spiral of depression from getting started. He added that benefit payments last year had meant the difference between a minor recession and a depression.

Senator Long concluded that



Senator Long

an Employment Security Program," chaired by William B. Myrick, director of staff services, emphasized that "since the operations of the employment security program are at the local community or labor market area level, it is necessary to maintain current labor market information relating to the specific community or labor market area.

Lt. Governor Is Speaker

A general session late Friday afternoon heard Lt. Governor William B. Dodd emphasize the "fine cooperation shown by the Louisiana agency" and of the service being rendered to better employment conditions in the state. "Anything that you do to better employment conditions in this state helps all of us. It helps the business of the state. It helps the welfare of the individuals in the business of the state, it helps to promote better relations between those people who own their businesses and those people who are employed in those businesses," he said.

Shelby M. Jackson, state superintendent of education, cited training and counseling as two

by rank-and-file employees. The sixth, by BES personnel—Ed McDonald, Dallas, regional representative, William Crawford, Dallas, associate representative, and E. L. Nelson, Washington, D. C., field representative.

Professional Research Legislated

The convention adopted a resolution presented by the Longview District Club calling for an "educational leave plan for employees of the Texas agency" while attending "approved classes" at a recognized institution; such leave to be without penalty to the employee.

On the recommendation of the Constitution Committee, chaired by John White, Austin, the delegates approved amendments to the chapter constitution and bylaws to provide for a five-man committee appointed by the chapter president to be known as "The Committee on Professional Research," duties of the committee being to "carry on continuous studies of activities in which the chapter and district clubs may engage to stimulate and promote professional standards, attitudes, and performances, and to work closely with the administrative level of the agency to assure complete harmony and understanding."

L. L. Ruttle, San Angelo, membership chairman, reported a membership of 939. Texas' quota for 1950 as set by the International was 851.

Chapter Awards Presented

At the banquet Saturday night, which closed the convention, the San Angelo District Club was awarded a 21-inch engraved sterling silver loving cup. This was the dates to be set by the executive committee.

Illinois, spoke on service to veterans.

Texas' Local Clubs Hold Job Security Forum

Texas Chapter President E. C. Logsdon, Austin, (left) introduced panel members on his left, Dan Lady, president, Trinity State Bank; Leroy Roden, personnel manager, Leonards Department Store; V. O. Coggins, chief fiscal officer, Sid Richardson Oil Companies, who was moderator; J. Warren Day, CPA; and H. D. Mundhenke, director, Economics Department, Texas Christian University.

Approximately 350 members and friends of the Dallas-Fort Worth clubs of the Texas Chapter met in the Ed Landreth Auditorium, Texas Christian University, last month for the second in a series of forums planned as a joint activity by the two clubs to discuss timely subjects relating to employment problems and employment security.

E. C. Logsdon, president of the State Chapter, spoke briefly on the aims and purpose of the IAPES.

All panel speakers are employed by Fort Worth firms or institutions and each discussed the assigned topic in a prepared talk defining the subject as it appeared to him in his business or profession.

Moderator Coggins, in summarizing, brought out that all workers are seeking both security and opportunity but the proportion of each is different for every individual and depends upon a number of qualifying factors, external and innate. All speakers agreed that in a democracy, security and opportunity were interdependent for both employer and employee if our system of free enterprise is to work.

Representatives of 65 business firms in Fort Worth and Dallas signed guest cards. R. L. Lane, president of the Dallas Club, and Joe M. Loughry, president of the Fort Worth Club, were in charge of the affair.

International membership on May 12 was over 14,000, Chairman Murphy announced. Secretary-treasurer B. C. Seiple had not tallied the official count at press time. Total membership at the end of 1949 totaled 13,000. When the New Orleans convention met last May, the figure was approximately 12,500. The 1950 membership is highest since 1946.

has the individual who receives the payments, he said, and provides a buffer that prevents the spiral of depression from getting started. He added that benefit payments last year had meant the difference between a minor recession and a depression.

Senator Long concluded that "We can't afford to turn our backs on the American people ever again. We have to make this country secure for everyone, or none of us will be safe."

Guests Include Legislators

Commissioner of Labor Edwin I. Soule commended the agency for its objectives and its accomplishments. But, he said that a challenge faces us today in the serious unemployment situation that exists in the state and its effect on the entire business and industrial picture of Louisiana.

Other guests included City Attorney Frank H. Peterman who welcomed the convention to Alexandria on behalf of Mayor Carl B. Close; State Representatives T. C. Brister and W. G. Bowden, Jr.; John C. Bowie, Dallas, Tex., BES associate regional representative; J. F. Jordan, secretary and general manager, Alexandria Chamber of Commerce; Clarence O. Roberts, assistant director, Louisiana Merit Council; Dr. Joel Fletcher, president of Southwestern Louisiana Institute; and Cora R. Schley, member of the Employment Security, Advisory Council.

UI, Labor Market Are Panelled

Two concurrent panels opened the afternoon session.

J. L. Lamothe, state UI director, chaired a discussion on "Unemployment Insurance Problems in an Employment Security Program." The discussion centered around problems dealing with benefit payments, non-monetary determinations, itinerant service and contributions.

The other panel, on "Utilization of Labor Market Information in the welfare of the individuals in the business of the state, it helps to promote better relations between those people who own their businesses and those people who are employed in those businesses," he said.

Shelby M. Jackson, state superintendent of education, cited training and counseling as two of the most important ways in which the problem of unemployment can be solved. Of vocational counseling he said, "Closer coordination of counseling will be of great aid in eliminating many of the unemployment problems in the future."

Chapter Awards Made

Two concurrent panels opened the Saturday program with Donald W. Johnson, OA-IS technician, leading discussion on "Modified Application Procedure in an Employment Security Program." William B. Caldwell, Jr., program planning technician, led discussion on "Areas of Expansion of the Employment Security Program in Louisiana."

A business session completing the morning session heard President Macaluso's report, and progress reports of standing committees. The Membership Committee reported that the chapter had again topped its quota of 360 by 56 members.

Speakers at this final session included Louis Levine, chief, Office of Reports and Analysis, BES, Washington, D. C., and Dr. Fred C. Cole, chairman, Louisiana Employment Security Advisory Council.

In the chapter's Award of Merit Contest for 1950 A. C. Wilkinson, district supervisor was the winner. He received a certificate of merit and also a $50 Victory Bond. Other members recognized for individual accomplishments were Mattie C. Jones, counseling supervisor, and A. B. Culliton, Veterans Employment Representative.

North Carolina Chapter Sets Record Attendance at Annual Convention

New Officers Elected; Merit, Idea, and Membership Contest Awards Presented at Charlotte Meet

In an election climaxing several months of intense interest, John Branham, Raleigh, administrative assistant, UC Division, was elected president of the North Carolina Chapter at the annual meeting in Charlotte, April 29-30. He succeeds Joseph W. Beach, Raleigh.

Branham

President Branham, in his twelfth year with the Employment Security Commision, began as a junior claims examiner in 1938, moving up through the ranks as senior examiner, supervising examiner, assistant chief claims deputy and into his present position. A two and one-half year break in tenure came during the war when he went into the U. S. Army. He is a Legionnaire and 40 & 8er.

IAPES-wise, Branham served on the chapter resolution committees of 1948 and 1949, on convention arrangements committee and was program chairman in 1948.

Attendance Sets Record

In the district vice-presidential elections, Davis Nichols, Spruce Pine manager, was named western vice-president; and Howard Winstead, Elizabeth City manager, vice-president of the Eastern District. Arleen Holloway, Raleigh, junior statistician in the central office was elected secretary and Charles Durham, High Point interviewer, was named treasurer.

With a record turnout of 250 delegates, all meetings were well attended. Colonel Henry E. Kendall, ESC chairman, keynoted the convention with a lead-off speech emphasizing the importance of putting something of one's self into the Association in order to get the very real benefits obtainable in being a member of such an organization. Nathan Yelton, executive secretary of the N. C. Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System, drew heavy applause in stressing his unswerving opposition to any proposed

Raleigh, chapter awards chairman, presented the top merit award to Helen P. Gay, interviewer, Rocky Mount Divisional office "for the organization and direction of an effective training program for negro domestic workers." Nicholas Frizelle, supervising interviewer, Winston-Salem, won the "Best Idea Award" for originating an outstanding way of counseling by radio in a hook-up to all high schools in the Winston - Salem area.

Miss Gay

Humorist Addresses Banquet

On Friday evening the membership were guests of the Charlotte office at a buffet super and Saturday evening saw 200 members in attendance at the banquet where new officers were installed by retiring President J. W. Beach. Fifty-odd door prizes ranging from nylons to rag mops contributed by Charlotte manufacturers were distributed.

Henry Alexander, credit manager for the Belk Department Stores, and husband of the Charlotte ES office supervising interviewer, kept the crowd in an uproar as he delivered one of his rightly famous humorous speeches.

As the convention closed, the chapter was still short of its 1950 quota but had reached a membership of 510, which is a new high. Thirty of the local offices had 100% membership and one of the seven areas came in the chapter's 100% club.

Ohio Chapter Holds Annual Spring Meet

The spring convention of the Ohio Chapter in Mansfield, April 21 and 22, teed-off with a visit to the Mansfield plant of Westinghouse Electric Company where 125 IAPESers were "dined" before touring the plant.

Following a chapter business session Saturday morning was a panel—"The Employment Serv-

WELCOME TO LONG BEACH: Well, here we are in our ole "huntin' grounds" and everything has changed somewhat but the same ole California weather.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT! To attain a really happy and successful relationship with all publics and media, an agency's public relations staff needs the support of the agency and all section heads who are they themselves public relationshipped. It cannot be done by a public relations office with typewriters and reproduction machines and a public relations director. It requires the willing participation of every employee in his relations with the public he comes in contact with. . . . He who doesn't advertise and publicize is likened unto a man who WINKS in a dark room. He knows what he's doing but nobody else does . . . They're few, if any, jobs in which ability alone is sufficient. Needed also are loyalty, enthusiasm and team play . . . Many things are opened by mistake—but none so frequently as one's mouth. . . . Of all sins great or small, ingratitude seems most contemptible. To thank is to think, but not to thank is a greater fault than not to think. Thanklessness is a disease of the heart as well as defect of the head . . . Co-operation would solve most of our problems. Even freckles would be a nice coat of tan if they would ever get together . . .

* * *

....**THIS 'N THAT:** Thanks a trillion, **LOTTIE GRADICK,** Texas for the invite to the annual Texas IAPES convention in Galvestion, April 21-22. Sorry we couldn't make it, and from the looks of the program, we missed something good. Prexy **ED LOGSDON** and Prog. Chrm. **JOE WELLS** really put "on the dog" and should be highly commended for their excellent work. (Aside to Texas delegation: Make sure Miss IAPES 1950 attends Long Beach convention! That was an excellent cover on the program . . . IAPESer VER's **BILL ILGENFRITZ, FRANK McDONNELL, GRAFTON BROWN, FRANK NEWCOMER,** and **OSCAR BUNKER** in Parker House (Boston) lobby huddle planning cross-country trek to Long Beach . . .

* * *

MARILYN SUE ROSES for out-

Two Dakotas in Pooled Convention Study Employment Security Programs

Aberdeen Conclave Hailed as Forerunner of Annual Joint Conference; S. D. Names New Officers

"The two-chapter, All-Dakota convention in Aberdeen, S. D., April 20-22 was a huge success from every angle from the informal get-together opening night to the banquet," members of both chapters report.

The joint meeting opening with a cordial welcome by George S. Bassingwaite, manager of the Aberdeen Chamber of Commerce was followed by a morning - long panel on "Unemployment Insurance" chaired by E. J. Bofferding, assistant chief of UI Services, BES, Washington, D. C., who gave a review of the interestate program. He was followed by Werner A. Maass, manager of the Sioux Falls, S. D. local office, who spoke on handling large claims loads. Clinton Johnson, associate regional representative, of Kansas City, spoke on fraud. Ulver Schliemann, Dickinson, N. D. manager, followed with a talk on the initial claims interview, and Leo A. Pietz, director and chief accountant of the S. D. agency, closed the panel with a discussion on problems of decentralization.

Doubling in brass were IAPESers (l to r) Allan Williamson, S. D. administrator; Carl Fryling, N. D., ES director; Arnie Solem, Kansas City, regional BES representative; and Don Larin, BES national chief of farm placement.

* * *

Johnson discussing fraud in the insurance program, pointed out that controlling the claim in the local office by a professional type interviewer is the best way to avoid improper claims. The two most common types of fraud, he pointed out, are claimants working and still drawing benefits, and claimants who claim benefits while not being available for work.

The workability of dependency allowances on insurance claims was discussed by Bofferding and Schliemann. Some states, includ-

nation. Arguments against are that it decreases the quality of determination, is more costly, and increases the number of appeals.

The afternoon panels met. One on "The Placement of Youth" was chaired by C. E. Sather, Madison, S. D., manager. The speakers were Lauretta Mundt, vice-principal of the Aberdeen Central High School; Superintendent L. H. Baumann of the Redfield, S. D. schools; and M. J. Bowen, Jamestown, N. D., manager.

The second panel studied "Clerical Problems" with Ina Werner, principal clerk of the UC division, Bismarck, N. D. as chairman, who spoke on training for clerical personnel. Mary E. Kvamme, principal clerk, also of

emphasizing the importance of putting something of one's self into the Association in order to get the very real benefits obtainable in being a member of such an organization. Nathan Yelton, executive secretary of the N. C. Teachers' and State Employees' Retirement System, drew heavy applause in stressing his unswerving opposition to any proposed legislative threat of inroads on the funds of the Retirement System.

Personnel Officer is Speaker

Dr. George D. Heaton, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Charlotte, and a speaker of national renown, spoke on "Human Relations—the Science of Working With People." Dr. Heaton said that "walls must come down between us and our fellow workers before we can do our work most effectively." He stressed the necessity of recognizing the worth and importance of each individual and said that all human relations function in accordance with the moral laws of the universe; i.e., we cannot deal with a person dishonestly and expect honesty in return.

The IAPES News editor spoke briefly to the afternoon session. He contrasted the Association of several years ago by pointing out that the "little man" is coming into his own more and more. "A few years ago," he said, "no one with a lesser rank than director would have thought of running for any important office in the International Association; one of the candidates for president this year is an area supervisor." He commented on the many candidates for N. C. Chapter office from the interviewer ranks and said he thought it a healthy situation in any "personnel organization" when the lower echelons militantly seek recognition.

Merit Award Presented

Elizibeth Johnson, formerly with the ES Division and now with the State Personnel Department, spoke on the Relationship of the Wage Survey to the Classification Process.

After the commitee reports were made and other business taken care of, Alden P. Honeycutt,

Annual Spring Meet

The spring convention of the Ohio Chapter in Mansfield, April 21 and 22, teed-off with a visit to the Mansfield plant of Westinghouse Electric Company where 125 IAPESers were "dined" before touring the plant.

Following a chapter business session Saturday morning was a panel—"The Employment Service and the Local Community" under chairmanship of C. W. Handley, manager of the Mansfield office. Panel members were: Thomas B. Wright, Mayor of Mansfield; Walter K. Orahood, Wooster, manager; Robert L. Robertson, Canton office, counselor; Glenn H. Bierly, president, Manufacturer's Club of Mansfield; Roy C. Waxler, secretary, Richland County CIO Council; and William Papier, director, research, statistics and promotion for Ohio.

Frank J. Collopy, Ohio BUC administrator, the annual banquet speaker, outlined his philosophy of the employment security program, emphasizing stability of employment and stressing service of local office staff to employers and applicants.

Concluding the banquet, the Chapter Merit Award was presented to James R. Tichenor, acting assistant administrator, for the outstanding contribution he made when director of local office operations. A. George Palmer, chairman of the Awards Committee made the presentation.

Financial Report

The following statement represents the financial condition of the Association for the month ending April 30, 1950, according to B. C. Seiple, secretary-treasurer.

Cash on hand, end of March	**$11,672.83**
Cash received during April	**9,287.21**
Total cash available	**20,960.04**
Expenditures current month	**1,560.24**
Cash balance to date	**$19,399.80**

convention! That was an excellent cover on the program . . . IAPESer VER's **BILL ILGENFRITZ, FRANK McDONNELL, GRAFTON BROWN, FRANK NEWCOMER,** and **OSCAR BUNKER** in Parker House (Boston) lobby huddle planning cross-country trek to Long Beach . . .

* * *

MARILYN SUE ROSES for outstanding work during the Association year to the **IAPES EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,** individually and collectively. Their contributions have been of such magnitude that the Association has had an excellent year. Congratulations to all!

* * *

CAROL ANN ROSES TO IAPES STANDING COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN and **COMMITTEE** workers for their outstanding accomplishments. They have put many hours of hard work in their assignments and certainly deserve the Carol Ann Roses for this Month.

* * *

COMBINATION MARILYN SUE and **CAROL ANN ROSES** to the **ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP** of the IAPES without whom we would not have an Association or officials to gives **ROSES** to. **GOD BLESS THE MEMBERSHIP!**

* * *

SPECIAL ROSES TO MORRIS DIAMOND, claims examiner for the New York agency for a brilliant life saving job, April 23. **DIAMOND** caught a two year old girl, who had fallen from a fifth story window, with his bare hands, probably saving her from immediate death. As it was the child suffered only minor scratches and bruises. Congratulations, Mr. **DIAMOND!**

Wouldn't You Love This Job Order?

A druggist in Seaham, England became tired of hiring girl clerks who quit to take other jobs as soon as they learned the work. He decided, as he told newsmen to "get more dependable assistants." So he advertised for "two young men over 60."

Now he has 32 applications to consider—all received within the first day and a half.

avoid improper claims. The two most common types of fraud, he pointed out, are claimants working and still drawing benefits, and claimants who claim benefits while not being available for work.

The workability of dependency allowances on insurance claims was discussed by Bofferding and Schliemann. Some states, including North Dakota, use this system. South Dakota does not. Schliemann also cited the importance of the initial claims interview in the local offices.

On decentralization of claim determination Pietz said arguments for decentralization are that it would speed up determi-

H. Baumann of the Redfield, S. D. schools; and M. J. Bowen, Jamestown, N. D., manager.

The second panel studied "Clerical Problems" with Ina Werner, principal clerk of the UC division, Bismarck, N. D. as chairman, who spoke on training for clerical personnel. Mary E. Kvamme, principal clerk, also of Bismarck, spoke on what clerical personnel and managers think of each other," and Irene Day, principal clerk, Aberdeen, talked on the opportunity for advancement for clerical workers.

Saturday's morning session reviewed "The IAPES and Employ-

(Turn to page 8)

New S. D. officers elected in chapter business session were (l. to r.): Robert Kelly, Deadwood, western vice-president; Millie DiSanto, Rapid City, president; Myrtle Skogsberg, Aberdeen, treasurer, and Roger Oyan, Sioux Falls, eastern vice-president.

President DiSanto is supervisor of the applicant service section in the Rapid City local office. She originally joined the agency as clerk-typist in the Watertown office in 1938. From that beginning she progressed through interviewer, manager, WMC area director, and state supervisor of staff training positions. After serving a short stint in private industry, she rejoined employment security as training analyst in the Washington office in 1946, then returned to Rapid City, and in May, 1947, "came home" to the South Dakota agency. She first joined IAPES in 1939 and was eastern vice-president in 1942 when the chapter was established. She immediately reaffiliated with the chapter when she returned to the agency.

A Plea for Defined Objectives

Collopy

EDITOR'S NOTE: *A resolution introduced last fall in the New York convention of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies by Frank J. Collopy, administrator, Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, called for appointment of a Conference committee to reevaluate and restate the basic principles, purposes and objectives of the employment security program. The resolution called for consultation between the Conference committee and the Bureau of Employment Security in the development of the statement, and for a report to the 1950 Conference meeting scheduled for October.*

After further clarification by Collopy, of his original statement on the proposition, the Conference executive committee instructed President Bernard Teets to name a committee to explore possibilities of formulating a set of objectives and submit a progress report to the 1950 Conference convention.

Because of the broad implications of the project and because it ties so closely with the IAPES' 1950 essay contest subject, "Employment Security Objectives," and because Collopy himself served as an essay contest judge, the NEWS is publishing Mr. Collopy's clarifying remarks issued earlier this year at the request of the Conferecne executive committee, and also his remarks during a panel session on public relations which prefaced the introduction of his resolution to the 1950 Conference convention, together with excerpts from remarks which relate employment security budgetary problems to the issue itself.

* * *

We have been over 10 years administering a large governmental agency. We have spent in this administration many millions of dollars.

Certainly this department of government serves some useful purpose.

I think the Interstate Coenference, in cooperation with the Bureau of Employment Security, should set forth in simple clear-cut and concise language the responsibilities of the various persons and agencies concerned in the administration and define the objectives we seek to accomplish.

There is not, to my knowledge, in existence, a mutually agreed upon statement of objectives and responsibilities to which the states, the Federal Government and the general public subscribe.

I have found that within the Bureau of Employment Security there are various views and philosophies; that one state varies with another and that even in the state agency itself, substantial differences are apparent.

I believe it necessary that we set up standards by which the public can judge our administration, that we assume the responsibility and stand up and be measured according to such standards.

I trust that you will take favorable action and make an effort to simplify and define the objectives and responsibilities to the end and those who have the administration of this program, intelligently proceed to accomplish our purposes and objectives.

* * *

The foregoing was Mr. Collopy's clarifying statement to the Conference executive committee. Following are his remarks to a panel session on public relations at New York City last fall.

* * *

After I had been administrator in Ohio for six months (at the close of 1947), I

ministration, we have rather complete authority. We could easily lead ourselves into a wrong relationship in our service functions, such as procedural improvement, if we used budget authority to force a State to adopt some procedure or administrative method which we believed would cut costs. We don't do that. We say that the State agency is responsible for procedures, and we will look only to the results of administration."

I thought the quotation was fairly clear-cut, and asked for further information on our respective spheres of activity and responsibility, in the joint program. Within a couple of weeks I got a reply, the gist in the following quotation:

"Replying specifically to your request for a statement which indicates national policy in Federal and State spheres of activity in the administration of the Federal-State program of unemployment insurance, I am glad to refer you to the 'Guide of State Employment Security Administration" in which national policy is described in detail under the broad headings of General Administration, Unemployment Compensaton Program, Research and Statistics, and Fiscal and Budgetary Management. Each of these headings is divided into two volumes, the first on requirements and the second on recommendations."

* * *

Imagine! Eight volumes to describe this relationship! I went through all of those bulky volumes, looking for some definite answers. If they were there, either I couldn't find them, or I couldn't understand them. Maybe some of you have had the same difficulty.

This illustrates my own experience, as a newcomer to the program. In citing it, I have no thought of being critical of the Bureau of Employment Security. **My own**

"A Streetcar Named Desire"

ing, without leaving the public just as confused as we are.

Perhaps it's human nature to be against anything we don't understand. It would be remarkable indeed, if the general public were enthusiastic about our program.

There is not now in existence, to my knowledge, a mutually agreed-upon statement of objectives—one to which the states, the federal government, and the general public can subscribe. Within the federal government the point of view has changed from time to time. In fact, there were contradictory views at the same time, by different agencies of the federal government with respect to the same general program—each of the agencies contributing to the administrative costs of the states.

Nor have we in the states been simon-pure. Among our states, and too often within our states, notions on what we're trying to do have varied widely. There's been too much shifting, too much vacillation in policy, too much contradiction of purpose, too much emergency activity, and too little constructive thinking on the part of all of us.

I suggest that the Interstate Conference

with the apparent notion that our funds are unlimited. Many of the ideas are excellent. But there's no suggestion concerning what programs previously adopted, also excellent, ought to be eliminated or curtailed.

With a given amount of money we can concentrate on a few things and do a good job. Or we can spread ourselves thin on a great many activities, do a lesser job in each, and accept the consequences in our public relations.

Having decided upon a sound program commensurate with our funds, it should be publicized. We should limit ourselves to what we think we can do, fully and publicly accept responsibility for results, and then deliver. On the other hand, if we carve out too broad a sphere of activity, beyond our purse, and fail to deliver, we can expect to achieve nothing but poor public reaction. Frankly, I think that's what we've been doing.

Congress will provide adequately for our administrative needs if we present our case in a simple, understandable, manner. The old saying "If you can't convince them, confuse them," just doesn't work, when it's applied to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress. We must

the administration of this program intelligently proceed to accomplish our purposes and objectives.

* * *

The foregoing was Mr. Collopy's clarifying statement to the Conference executive committee. Following are his remarks to a panel session on public relations at New York City last fall.

* * *

After I had been administrator in Ohio for six months (at the close of 1947), I wrote a letter to the Bureau of Employment Security pointing out that "One of the difficulties I have had since my appointment as administrator has been the determination of relative spheres and objectives of federal and state agencies in the administration of the Ohio Unemployment Compensation Law." I quoted from a speech by one of their regional representatives and asked if it represented national policy. The regional representative had stated:

"In the main, the functions of the Bureau are to grant funds for administration, to assist States on legislation and administration, and to determine the status of State Laws and State administration in relation to the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code. It would be easy to confuse our relationship to the States on these various items. For example, in the granting of funds for administration, we can easily confuse our relationship! I went through all of those bulky volumes, looking for some definite answers. If they were there, either I couldn't find them, or I couldn't understand them. Maybe some of you have had the same difficulty.

This illustrates my own experience, as a newcomer to the program. In citing it, I have no thought of being critical of the Bureau of Employment Security. **My own purpose is to point up the need for a common understanding, for some simple, clear-cut, and concise language that defines our responsibilities and objectives.**

First, of course, we must have a practical program for which there is a substantial need. Second, we must obtain and keep the respect and consent of the people. Without this—which demands good public relations—we can easily go the way of other government experiments which passed out of existence because they lost the respect and consent of the people.

A practical program must be the result of cooperative thinking of the federal government, the state agencies, and everyone else who can contribute. It must be reduced to a set of principles, following a general philosophy or pattern of thinking.

We've got to decide what we're trying to do. Where do we want to go? If we don't know where we're going, it doesn't matter which road we take. But if we all take different roads, and head in different directions, and shift our objectives from one point to another, can we expect anything but public confusion, lack of respect for our program, and eventual disintegration?

We'll all rise or fall together. The sins of one state reach the public mind as the sins of all. The virtues of another state help us all. But sins make more interesting headlines than virtues. In the public mind, we're all good, or we're all bad. Right now, our stock isn't very high. Every state must improve.

Maybe it's an insurance program we're operating. Maybe it's the so-called "dole." Maybe our primary objective is to develop and stablize employment. Maybe our program is a combination of all these. Or maybe it's something else altogether. Whatever it is, whatever it's designed to accomplish, the public has a right to know.

After more than 10 years we should be able to define our objectives, and gear our activities and emphasis toward their achievement. We simply cannot ride off in different directions, as we've been doing.

Nor have we in the states been simonpure. Among our states, and too often within our states, notions on what we're trying to do have varied widely. There's been too much shifting, too much vacillation in policy, too much contradiction of purpose, too much emergency activity, and too little constructive thinking on the part of all of us.

I suggest that the Interstate Conference take the initiative in cooperating with the Bureau of Employment Security in reducing to writing a statement of the purposes and objectives of the program, our mutual and differing responsibilities. It must be written in a way that our own personnel, as well as the general public can understand it, agree with it, and promote it. It must be easily understood, and religiously followed in our administration.

This is no easy undertaking. It will be difficult, I know, to reach general agreement. The difficulty involved, however, is no excuse for not trying to get it done. Had we started on this some years ago, it could very well have been accomplished by this time. Once the objectives are set forth and responsibilities clearly defined and allocated, we must assume them and be measured by the results.

* * *

Meanwhile, certain other problems must be given attention. Not the least of these is our budgetary process. It is impossible to administer this program properly, in my judgment, with the current budgetary procedure. Process in improvement is being made all too slowly.

There is a real need for adequate, long-term financing. Both the amount and timing of appropriations prevent good operation of state agencies. The process is too complicated to understand. It's got to be simpler, so that an ordinary administrator or Congressman, untrained in the higher realms of mathematics and accounting, can understand it. It's hard for anyone on the outside to see how, after more than a decade of experience in budgeting, a more practical procedure has not been devised.

Once the framework of purposes and objectives has been constructed, it should be no great task to develop a single program aiming toward their achievement. But the pattern has to be cut to fit the cloth. We can't operate a ten-dollar program on a five-dollar budget. Yet "program letters" keep flowing into our states activity, beyond our purse, and fail to deliver, we can expect to achieve nothing but poor public reaction. Frankly, I think that's what we've been doing.

Congress will provide adequately for our administrative needs if we present our case in a simple, understandable, manner. The old saying "If you can't convince them, confuse them," just doesn't work, when it's applied to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress. We must have a real purpose, reasonable and mutually-acceptable objectives. When this is accomplished we can then secure full and enthusiastic public support, with adequate funds for proper and efficient administration.

Who Said This?

"In my opinion, no employment service can be expected to function fully unless linked to its unemployment insurance; otherwise, it will not be used by workers in times of acute unemployment when it is known that to register for a non-existent job is merely a waste of time. Neither can an unemployment insurance plan work properly unless it is backed by an efficient placement service geared to gather all essential data upon which the planning for labor stabilization must depend. The scheme must be supported by advisory councils which can not only keep alive the interest of parties concerned in the work being carried on but bring to the service that fund of practical knowledge of the requirements of today and tomorrow which only those actually facing the problems can possibly have."

See page 8 for answer.

Another Right Move

Seeking to eliminate "mumbo jumbo" and "double talk" from the employment security program so that it will be presented to the public in understandable terms, a national committee of three representing the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies met in four-day conference at Trenton, N. J., May 15-18.

The group is agreed on the need for presentation of the program in simplified terms and discarding of obsolete phrases. ". . . after 13 years we are still confusing workers and employers in our employment security terminology," the committee believes.

The public, we are sure, will agree!

NEWS

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Employment Security Objectives

First Prize Winning Essay, 1950 Annual Contest

By Rowena Schooler, Arizona Chapter

A boat without a rudder may sail the seas—a man without a guiding ideal may wander through life—a government without clear purpose may stumble on its way. But the chances are sadly against the true arrival of any of these, arrival in the sense of real fulfillment and accomplishment. No matter how hard we go at it, we shall not go far if we are not going somewhere; and so the surest stimulus to progress is to know what progress we seek. We must try abive all in our responsibility of contributing to employment security to be clear-sighted and envision the objectives of such a program.

I believe our service has risen out of basic human need. Wise men throughout the ages have spoken of the importance of work to the happiness and welfare of man—as an individual and as society. In the words of the great physician teacher, Sir William Osler: "Though a little one, the master-word (work) looms large in meaning. It is the open sesame to every portal, the great equalizer in the world, the true philosopher's stone which transmutes all the base metal of humanity in gold."

Three Major Objectives Seen

The need for employment and the need for security are each in themselves deep; merged into a concept of employment security they attain a special significance. Thus, in a day when the tremendous cost of government is an important economic problem, we may at least feel that our part of government is founded upon a justificable cause. But we are most certainly responsible to the degree that we are necessary, and should be humble in the konwledge of how great and meaningful our service can be. This sense of responsibility should permeate our ranks from top to bottom.

The employment security program, as I see it, has three major objectives, the first of which is the promotion of over-all community employment health. The community may be, in a sense, as broad as the world, as narrow as a little town. For this present purpose, I like to think of it as that human inter-dependence which sets the stage and fixes the climate in which individuals grow and thrive—or are stifled. of youth is essential to job placements that have more than momentary worth. By close liaison with the schools and coordination of their and our aims, we can do much to help people find early in their lives their work desires and realistic approaches toward fulfillment of those desires. Good counseling and its companion, testing, are fundamental in this search of youth.

Special Placement Aims

The increasing complexity of modern society, the wide vocational choice possible, the danger of mistaken job ideas, perhaps tinted with glamor—all these tend to befuddle young people in their vocation quest and all these heighten the challenge to those privileged to help the new voyagers in mapping their course. Counseling and testing are useful in indicating life plans of work for others than youth, but with this group particularly these programs hold special significance. The young represent the promise of tomarrow and a better wiser world.

Another facet of our placement objective is effectiveness in referring the physically-handicapped person, especially the disabled veteran. The widely-prevalent examples of handicapped persons usefully and happily employed must always remind us of the possibilities we have to help others find their places.- Suitably employed, these people give proof to the fact that it is the person, not his disability, that counts. We have much more to do to cure the handicaps in attitude that are the real obstacle to the placement of the physically-handicapped.

But along with those who need special attention there come to us the thousands of ordinary adults of marked or limited skill. They are all special really, for their security is at stake in their need of jobs. Each one is a challenge to our skill in receiving, routing, questioning, answering, interviewing, counseling, referring. As employment placement people, we hold the keys to many doors—the door of insight into the panorama of a working world, the door of guidance into proper work fields, the door of actual job opportunity which the applicant can approach confident that he and the job have been some-

Death Takes Indiana Administrator

Everett L. Gardner, Indiana Division of Employment Security administrator, died of a heart attack April 23. He was serving his second term as division director.

In January, 1938, Colonel Gardner became the first member and chairman of the Employment Security Division's review board. Three years later he became director of the agency. At the outbreak of World War II, Governor Schricker appointed him to membership on the Governor's Committee of Veterans, the Indiana War History Commission and the Civilian Defense Council. After he left the Employment Security Division in May, 1945, he served with the War Department's military intelligence division.

At the war's end, he served with the VA in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, returning to the states in November, 1946, for a post in the U. S. Department of Commerce. Soon thereafter he became the department's business specialist for Indiana and in January 1949 was renamed director of Employment Security.

During employment security service, he maintained membership in the Indiana Chapter of IAPES.

Graduate of Indiana University and a veteran of World War I, Col. Gardner was always prominent in civic and business enter-

Employment Outlook for the 1950 Crop of College Graduates

By Ewan Clague, D. C. Chapter, IAPESer, and Commissioner of Labor Statistics U. S. Department of Labor

Assisting the largest graduating class in the nation's history to take their place in the national economy, presents a challenge.

About a half million people will receive bachelor's and higher degrees this year, considerably more than last year's record total of 423,000.

These large graduating classes, of course, result from the post-war boom in college enrollments, stimulated by the G. I. training program. Enrollments reached a peak of 2,456,000 in the fall of 1949, one million higher than the pre-war record.

The number of students enrolled and the number who get bachelor's degrees will probably drop for several years after 1950, as the veterans move out of college into the labor market. However, the number of master's degrees and doctor's degrees granted should continue to increase for a few more years. And the drop in college enrollments will be only temporary. By the late 1950's, enrollments will begin to rise again, as the first "war babies" reach college age. The long-run trend for a larger and larger proportion of young people to continue their education beyond high school will also tend to push enrollments up.

The great majority of young people leaving college in the near future, like most graduates of previous years, will seek jobs in professional, semi-professional, and administrative fields. In 1950—probably also in 1951 and 1952—many will be unable to find jobs immediately in the occupations for which they have been trained. There are several reasons for this unhappy prospect. The war-time and post-war shortages in a number of occupations have now been filled. The unprecedented numbers of new graduates will intensify competition for jobs. Furthermore, there will probably be somewhat fewer job openings for new college graduates in 1950 than in the in the elementary schools and a growing oversupply at the high school level.

Journalism: The reporting field, always highly competitime, is likely to become more overcrowded in the early 1950's. Jobs will be easier to get with country papers, trade papers, and house organs than with "dailies."

Personnel work: Competition is very keen in this field. Employers are insisting on much higher educational and personal qualifications for positions at all levels than in the previous five or six years.

There will probably also be an oversupply of **business administration** graduates. A surplus of new graduates has already developed in the field of **accounting.**

Engineering: In the early 1950's, the number of graduates will exceed the number of openings in this rapidly growing profession.

Liberal arts graduates with specialized training or work experience will find it easier to get jobs than those with only a general undergraduate education.

Fields offering good prospects for new entrants include:

Nursing: A shortage exists despite the fact that there are more nurses than ever before. The demand for nursing service will probably continue to rise.

Medicine and Dentistry: Those able to enter and complete training will have good opportunities. However, competition is very keen for admission to professional schools. Some new schools are opening; more are planned for later in the decade.

Pharmacy: This is a field in which the supply of new graduates has almost caught up with the demand. It is expected that this profession will be over-

objectives, the first of which is the promotion of over-all community employment health. The community may be, in a sense, as broad as the world, as narrow as a little town. For this present purpose, I like to think of it as that human inter-dependence which sets the stage and fixes the climate in which individuals grow and thrive—or are stifled. I do not see our part in community affairs as a static goal, but as a dynamic purpose ever progressive and expansive in its possibilities. Ours is the aim of fostering both employment stability and a spirit of creativeness.

Many factors in our program contribute to this aim—the encouragement of new industry, the dovetailing of seasonal work, the promotion of sounder hiring methods, occupational analysis of jobs and working conditions, the utilization of handicapped workers, labor market information, and industrial services in general.

"Encourage Creative Endeavors"

Further, we can promote through our public relations and information channels an increasing awareness of sound employment practices and of the mutual relationship of labor, capital, and government in the establishment of an even-better employment community. We must be watchful that we are stimulating and genuinely helpful, on our guard against ostentation and mere word service. Above all, we must encourage creative endeavor and incentive in industry, for this spells the potential for future employment security.

Our second major objective is our assistance to the individual in his search for a proper niche in the working world. Increasingly, our service should be keyed to job placement that means not only a regular pay-check to the individual, but also truly satisfying work. The famous Englishman Carlisle thought right work so significant that he said, "Blessed is he who has found his work—let him ask no other blessedness." More and more we are developing and applying techniques to improve our placement practices. Vocational guidance routing, questioning, answering, interviewing, counseling, referring. As employment placement people, we hold the keys to many doors—the door of insight into the panorama of a working world, the door of guidance into proper work fields, the door of actual job opportunity which the applicant can approach confident that he and the job have been somewhat measured for fitness.

UI Is 3rd Objective

Job insurance constitutes our third major objective. This security of insurance is important to the alleviation of the fear and hardship that ride in the wake of a lost job. This has significance for society and business, as well as for the individual worker. In regions of seasonal unemployment, these compensation benefits tend to maintain community purchasing power and credit, which in turn sustain other employment. This income often allows the worker opportunity to seek really suitable employment, rather than to plunge into something which would be merely stopgap and scarcely the solution to his job problem.

But because unemployment compensation is insurance, it must never be thought of otherwise by agency employee, by the public, or by claimants. It is not a work bonus, nor is it relief money—**it is insurance.** Every abuse of its nature weakens the entire compensation system and brings discredit to its worth. Since the institution of insurance for jobless is a real step in social progress, it is essential that it be administered and publicized in its true light.

'Internal Integrity Is Basic'

We do not need to apologize for our part in government, but we must be workers worthy of our objectives. That our goal be higher than our achievement is perhaps a credit to our foresight and ambition. I am mindful of Browning's words, "A man's reach must exceed his grasp or what's a heaven for." Our service has meaning; our objectives are sound. In principle they meet a basic need. We must endeavor by integrity and industry to answer this need increasingly in fact, as well as in principle.

The pitfalls are many. It is easy to use a high-sounding phase and mistake words for facts. It is easy to become concerned with self and in-service petiness. It is easy to forget that we do not do for people, rather than we help them do for themselves, knowing that greater security lies in self-reliance and respect. It is often easy to be officious when our duty is to be solicitous. But we have much to inspire us to be good workers. Just as the security of society as a whole rests ultimately upon the security of the individual; so the achievement of our employment security objectives rests ultimately on the capability of each employee.

Ours is a high purpose born of real human necessity. It should be nurtured by breadth of vision and earnest workmanship. In these times when our world is threatened by idealologies of the individual bound in service to government, we must perpetuate the American democratic ideal that the government is still the servant of the people.

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uary 1949 was renamed director of Employment Security.

During employment security service, he maintained membership in the Indiana Chapter of IAPES.

Graduate of Indiana University and a veteran of World War I, Col. Gardner was always prominent in civic and business enterprises. He was much interested in conservation work and was state president of the Izaak Walton League and also state and national director. From 1925 to 1930 he served as conservation commissioner for Indiana.

For 10 years a special representative of a motor company, Colonel Gardner traveled extensively in the United States and Europe. He spent considerable time from 1932 to 1938 in Russia and became known as an expert on Russian affairs.

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been trained. There are several reasons for this unhappy prospect. The war-time and post-war shortages in a number of occupations have now been filled. The unprecedented numbers of new graduates will intensify competition for jobs. Furthermore, there will probably be somewhat fewer job openings for new college graduates in 1950 than in the first post-war years or even last year.

The Nation's economy is currently operating in high gear, and it is likely that employment will continue at about the present high level for the rest of 1950. However, unemployment may increase somewhat, since the American labor force (including both employed and unemployed) is growing at the rate of 600,00 to 700,000 workers a year. This situation presents a challenge to business and industry: to utilize fully our increasing supply of potential workers, produce more goods and services, and bring about a rise in our national standard of living. In the long run, I am confident this goal will be achieved; but in the next year, the atmosphere in which college graduates will be seeking jobs is likely to be less favorable than at any time since the war.

Such general observations about conditions in the job market obscure widely varying situations. Prospects are excellent in some occupations, though in others graduates will face stiff competition for jobs.

Law: This profession is already overcrowded and likely to become more so during the next few years. Twice as many lawyers passed the bar examinations in 1949 as in the years just before the war; unprecedented numbers are currently enrolled in law courses.

Chemistry: Competition for positions will be keen during the next few years among chemists without graduate training. The outlook is better for those with graduate degrees.

Teaching: There is at once an acute shortage of personnel opportunities. [illegible] petition is very keen for admission to professional schools. Some new schools are opening; more are planned for later in the decade.

Pharmacy: This is a field in which the supply of new graduates has almost caught up with the demand. It is expected that this profession will be overcrowded in the long-run if enrollments in pharmacy colleges continue at present high levels.

Other occupational groups important in health service, such as **veterinarians, medical x-ray technicians, medical laboratory technicians, dental hygienists, physical therapists, occupational therapists,** and **dietitians** are expected to have good opportunities for a number of years. Women with interest in the medical field will find many openings in most of these occupations.

Social work: Current employment opportunities are excellent in all types of positions. The long-run outlook is good for workers with graduate training, but those with only undergraduate training will face increasing competition.

Psychologists with graduate training, particularly in clinical work, will find good opportunities in the next year or two. However, those with only the masters degree may expect increasing competition.

Many 1950 graduates who have taken training for occupations that are or soon will be overcrowded will need expert help in adjusting to the situation.

For some, the best course may be to take a job in a related field. Thus, many engineeing gaduates may be able to put their training to use in administrative or technical sales jobs.

For others, the wisest course will be to continue in school for postgraduate work in the same or related fields, in order to improve their chances for employment. This is in line with the long-term trend toward constantly rising standards of educational preparation in many occupations.

JOBOLOGY

By H. L. WALKER

California Chapter

"A company is only as good as its personnel."

"The single most valuable asset to any business is fresh, new thinking."

Those are from two separate full-page ads of important companies in magazines such as Fortune, Business Week, U. S. News. (And if you don't read those publications regularly you're missing something!)

In these days of more jobs than ever, yet also more competition for jobs, it is remarkable that few workers seem to regard thinking as an important part of their work. The old idea that a job was something calling for eight hours a day of going through certain motions, still pervades. Few people ask themselves the social value of their work, or what they accomplish, or where they are headed, or how they are going to choose a career for the 45 years of their work life! With many it's just a case of "I need a job, I'll do anything, it doesn't make any difference." They want to get on a payroll rather than wanting to accomplish, build, create and do something of importance.

Simple as that is, and true as it may be that subconsciously at least we all seek an answer to the basic problems of living, how very few work out a formula for solving their job problem for the long pull! How many are superficial and unthinking, merely desiring a job so they can make a payment on the car and eat the next day's breakfast.

The day when a man could snag a good job offhand without giving it some grass-roots thought, is gone. Employers ask themselves in these times: Is this applicant interested in our work? Will he stay with it and work at it? Is he dependable? Do his character and temperament and personality fit our needs?

As one looks back over the years in employment work, it seems pretty obvious that everyone gets pretty much what he really goes after. He pays for it, too; but the price is fair. In fact more than fair, just as the farmer who sows seeds gets back from his crop a hundred seeds to each one he planted.

Work is the backbone of life— not drudgery, but activity along creative lines. There's no greater satisfaction than work well done. An idea plus a plan plus activity in appreciation of what the best system of government yet devised has done for you.

You'll find that your investment of a couple of hours you might otherwise fritter away in extra-curricular activity, will be the best thing you ever did. For the ideas you get will speed your way during the other 40 hours.

"Fresh, new thinking." Like the man who was paid $50,000 a year just to sit and think, without any management, administration or "work" to do, and who after six months turned up an idea that made half a million dollars a year for his company—you may hit on an idea that will start you on the path to fame and fortune.

An author had an idea for a character named "Hopalong Cassidy." In time an actor had an idea, and it all hooked up with TV, and now between the two of them they split 5% royalty on $5 million gross sales a year of children's toys, shirts, etc., licensed to use the "Hopalong Cassidy" name. That's $125,000 a year apiece.

What's your idea?

Cost of Living Data Analyed By ILO On 23 Countries

The cost of living increased over 12 months period in 23 of 34 countries for which the International Labor Office has received recent statistics, it was announced this month. Living costs decreased in 11 of 34 countries.

The countries in which living costs decreased between January 1949 and January 1950 were: France, Switzerland, Italy, U.S.A., Philippines, Iran, Indonesia, and Israel.

Cost of living decreased between December 1948 and December 1949 in Uruguay, India, and Hawaii.

Living costs in January 1950 were higher than the previous year in eight European countries: Austria, United Kingdom, Iceland, Finland, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Supreme Court Decision Clarifies Veterans Right

Inquiries from veterans organizations, labor groups and employers concerning the application and effects of the recent Supreme Court decision in the Oakley vs. Lan case, have created many new problems for veterans, according to Robert K. Salyers, director, Bureau of Veterans Reemployment Rights, U. S. Department of Labor.

The Supreme Court held in this case that the reemployment rights of veterans extend beyond the first year of reinstatement and that there is no one year statute of limitations on these rights.

Salyers pointed out that valuable rights protected by the statute may survive the statutory year and continue indefinitely. He also said that this makes reinstatement of a veteran more valuable as a remedy instead of an award of damages only, especially where there is a well established system of seniority.

Salyers pointed out that a veteran's seniority or length of service is of no advantage to him in any other position. He may use his seniority on rights based on his military service only on his pre-military service job. In any other position, his seniority dates from the date of his hire and he forfeits credit for seniority gained through military service.

Salyers reminded that there may be some cases that have been closed without settlement or adjudication where the veteran may have been awarded less than he might have claimed under the present interpretation of the Supreme Court.

The time element is, however, still important, he said. The Oakley decision wiped out the defense that the reemployment statute itself created a statute of limitations. A veteran's claim does not become void because of lapse of time a year after the veteran has returned to work, Salyers explained. But the federal courts do have the power to apply the doctrine of laches, or unreasonable negligence and delay on the part of the veteran in claiming his rights under the law.

As layoffs occur, problems relating to protection beyond the

Personnel Objectives Important To The Employment Security Program

Says James A. Crocus, Indiana Chapter

We who carry out employment security functions must have definite objectives to guide us. If we want seriously to make headway toward these goals, they must be few and simple to understand.

These objectives properly should be: 1) To fight the menace of economic insecurity with a good full day's work; 2) to eliminate wasted time and effort in our individual jobs; and 3) to make ourselves happier in the role of employee.

Results Count

We are working at our particular jobs today because economic insecurity has been declared a serious menace to health, morale and welfare of the people. We should fight this threat each day with a well-done, full-day's work. The results we obtain count.

A file clerk may become careless because the cards are stacked to high, or quitting time is near. If he recognizes his real niche in the employment security program, a misplaced card is more than just a card out of order. That misplaced card means a human being, a worker, may not be put on a job for which he is well suited, or that an employer may not get the best available person to fill a job.

Administrative Position Viewed

Those in administrative position, dealing less directly with problems of the people they direct, sometimes are placed in a position where the only apparent results of their efforts are the constant revisions of procedures. Changes are fine, provided they improve procedure and if they consider the human element. Sometimes a revision that looks good on paper does not work out in practice. There may be nothing wrong with the plan, but it does not work because it is introduced at the wrong time or in the wrong way.

Logically, the important thing when a new procedure is devised is not to consider the job is finished. There still is the job of selling the plan to those who carry out the orders. It may re-

JAMES A. CROCUS is the employment security claims deputy for the Gary area, having rejoined the Indiana agency after discharge from the U. S. Army in October 1945. Before going into military service, he had worked as a UC clerk in Gary. Crocus is currently pointing to June 1951 when he expects to be graduated from Northwestern University with a BS in business administration.

* * *

are introduced as the need arises. Often they continue long after their useful purpose, simply because they have become standard operating procedure. Sometimes even the reason for the task has been forgotten. We cannot throw out the window everything just because we cannot see its importance. We can, however, analyze the things we do and check those that are wasteful. Although we may not be able to eliminate them, we may call these apparently useless matters to the attention of the proper person, and they may be eliminated. This will provide more time to concentrate

really goes after. He pays for it, too; but the price is fair. In fact more than fair, just as the farmer who sows seeds gets back from his crop a hundred seeds to each one he planted.

Work is the backbone of life—not drudgery, but activity along creative lines. There's no greater satisfaction than work well done. An idea plus a plan plus activity creates the job; and there are millions of jobs that didn't exist a few years ago. Every man who goes to work puts others at work in turn, for he purchases goods that must be replenished.

Old jobs alone aren't enough. We must have new jobs, for the old jobs can be done by fewer and fewer people as we advance in point of better machines, management and methods. New jobs come from ideas. And ideas come from people who think.

What's the best time to think? Well, you who are on the 40-hour week, try spending an hour or two at your desk of a Saturday morning, on your own time, just thinking. It will be a pleasure, for no 'phones will ring, no public will clamor to see you, no routine will stare up from your desk. As a good citizen donate an hour or two a week to your government—

Stronger North American Program, Is ILO Aim

David A. Morse, director-general of the International Labor organization announced the appointment of J. C. Turner as labor conselor in the ILO Washington, D. C. office.

Turner has for the past several years been vice-president of the Washington Central Labor Union. For the past 10 years he has been vice-president and business representative of Local 77, International Union of Operating Engineers.

His appointment follows by one month that of Thacher Winslow, former special assistant to the U. S. Undersecretary of Labor as director of the Washington office. Morse said that both appointments were made as part of a program to strengthen the work of the ILO in North America.

Cost of living decreased between December 1948 and December 1949 in Uruguay, India, and Hawaii.

Living costs in January 1950 were higher than the previous year in eight European countries: Austria, United Kingdom, Iceland, Finland, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

Five other countries with which similar comparison can be made showed increases: Peru, Mexico, Burma, Union of South Africa, and Canada.

From December 1948 to December 1949 the cost of living increased in Spain, Greece, Turkey, Netherlands, Chile, Brazil, Columbia and Japan.

lapse of time a year after the veteran has returned to work, Salyers explained. But the federal courts do have the power to apply the doctrine of laches, or unreasonable negligence and delay on the part of the veteran in claiming his rights under the law.

As layoffs occur, problems relating to protection beyond the year are likely to increase in number and complexity, he said.

Salyers cautioned that veterans involved in past court decisions cannot reopen their cases merely because damages were awarded on a one year basis. The courts may also infer waiver from unnecessary delay.

may be nothing wrong with the plan, but it does not work because it is introduced at the wrong time or in the wrong way.

Logically, the important thing when a new procedure is devised is not to consider the job is finished. There still is the job of selling the plan to those who carry out the orders. It may require only that the order be presented in clear, concise, coherent form. Good administration and good management are vital in the struggle against insecurity.

Delete the Unnecessary

A good second objective is the elimination of unnecessary elements. Certain tasks and methods

because we cannot see its importance. We can, however, analyze the things we do and check those that are wasteful. Although we may not be able to eliminate them, we may call these apparently useless matters to the attention of the proper person, and they may be eliminated. This will provide more time to concentrate on elements that bring results.

Under an old routine, when a person became unemployed, the state law required that he register for work before he applied for unemployment compensation. The applicant would stand in one line to answer questions required to compete his registration. Then he would change to another line to answer the same questions in filing his initial claim for benefits. Why this duplication? The answer was "no reason." When the two tasks were combined, the results were obvious.

Job Satisfaction, An Attitude

The third objective is to make ourselves happier on the job. We spend considerable time in the role of employee and probably give little thought to ways of making the job more pleasant. We can get some things done although we are unhappy. But the happy person does the best job. Those who are unemployed are not the happiest of people, and even those who come to us merely to change jobs are not satisfied. We can deal easier and better with them and the employers, as with our fellow workers, when we are not fighting our own emotions.

If we take an active part in IAPES activities we meet people with similar problems. They have solved theirs, oftentimes, by methods that we could use. We should broaden our knowledge constantly, use fresh ideas, and thus be better able to fight economic insecurity, eliminate wasted time, make ourselves happier.

Sixty Nations to Discuss World Labor Productivity; ILO June Conference Includes Other Job Topics

A world labor-management—government discussion of ways to improve living standards through higher labor productivity will highlight the 33rd conference of the International Labor Organization when it opens in GeGneva, June 7.

This first official international debate on better wages through greater output will set a precedent. ILO director-general, David A. Morse has invited the delegates of the trade unions, employers' organizations and governments of the 60 member countries to use the time customarily set aside for the opening general debate on his annual report for this exchange of views.

Defines "Higher Productivity"

Morse plans to devote an entire chapter of his report to the subject, pointing out that "it is broadly true that only if the average man produces more wealth can he enjoy a substantially higher standard of living."

"To say that the average man must produce more wealth is not the same thing as to say that he must work harder," according to Morse.

"Harder and more regular work may be—and often is—one of the things that is required; but in very many jobs a worker's output depends more upon tools, methods of operation, managerial performance, plant morale and operating conditions than upon his own personal application.

"Discussion" Items Agendaed

"Nor does higher productivity mean increased production at any cost. Higher productivity means, in the most general terms, an increase in the ratio of the output of wealth (goods and services) to the corresponding input of labor—an increase in the production of wealth per unit of labor."

Three aspects of industrial relations also will be among the questions discussed at the conference. They are (1) collective agreements, (2) conciliation and arbitration, and (3) co-operation between public authorities and workers' and employers' organizations.

Two other matters are also on the agenda of the June meeting for the first discussion. These are the questions of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value, and that of minimum wage regulation in agriculture.

Since these items are only in the "first discussion" stage, it is not proposed that the June conference adopt any International Labor Conventions, the international instruments through which the ILO promotes the improvement of working and living conditions throughout the world.

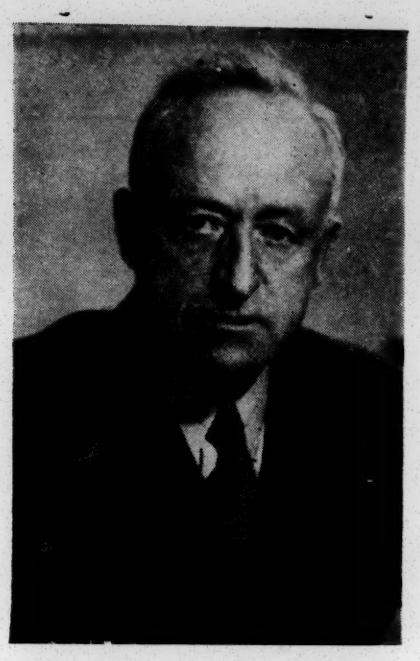
Other Topics Listed

On one of the items on the agenda, however—that of vocational training of adults and the disabled—it is proposed to consider the adoption of a formal recommendation. Governments are required to consider these recommendations with a view to giving effect to their provisions by legislative or other action.

The other questions on the agenda are (1) a general report on labor conditions in agriculture, (2) financial and budgetary questions, and (3) information and reports on the application by the ILO's member countries of conventions and recommendations.

The conference will also have before it a special report by Morse on the problem of unemployment. This report was requested in a resolution adopted by last year's conference.

"New Horizons in Employment Security" Themed Convention to See 1000 IAPESers Gathered



R. J. Tallon to Trace Employment Security in Canada

Bernard E. Teets to Speak for Interstate Conference

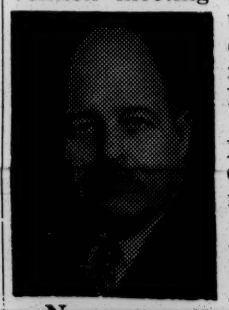
Milton O. Loysen Chairs Employment Security Forum

field supervisor; and Jaul Jessen, Tennessee ES Division director.

(5) **The Need for a Well Balanced Agency Program for Control of Improper UC Payments:** William Major, Alabama UC agency director, will direct this discussion with assistance from William Ramsey, Kirkland Lake, Ontario, manager; Harry Hoyle, Pennsylvania ES director; Jules Lamothe, Louisiana UI director; and James O. Reimel, California chief of fraud investigation.

Convention-Eve

Tuesday's business program (May 30) is confined to a chapter presidents' pre-convention meeting and will be under general chairmanship of Frank G. Newcomer, New York City, chairman of the International Committee on Chapter Organization.



Newcomer

A cocktail party for early arriving delegates is scheduled for 4:30 Tuesday afternoon and a Memorial Day fireworks dis-

Conklin, New Jersey public relations director.

The second round of panels are, as follows:

(7) **Centralized vs Decentralized UI Determination.** Victor Christgau, Minnesota administrator chairs this discussion. Discussion leaders include: R. P. Hartley, Atlantic regional superintendent, Canadian UIC; T. Bernard Burns, Rhode Island ES director; Henry F. Rollman, W. Philadelphia, Penn., ES manager; and James W. Jones, Michigan director, Division of Planning, Research and Statistics.

(8) **New Horizons in Service to Agriculture,** under panel direction of Don Larin, chief of farm placement, national BES, will include discussants — Henry LeBlanc, Texas chief of farm placement; J. R. Haan, North Dakota farm labor supervisor; Marion Williamson, Georgia administrator; and Therold S. Buckland, Idaho's farm placement representative.

(9) **Extent to Which Applicants and Claimants Should Prepare Their Records,** under chairmanship of Fred J. White, Prairie regional superintendent for Canada's UIC, will have the following participants—Wilfred V. Jones, Illinois chief of technical serv-

placement; and Mark Frishe, Kentucky Economic Security Department assistant to the commissioner.

(11) **The Employment Security Program and the Veteran,** under the chairmanship of the Veterans Employment Service Chief Perry Faulkner: Scheduled speakers are Charles Kirby, Arkansas ES director; Joseph Evanoski, Denver, Colo, employer relations representative; L. Paul Shafer, Altoona, Penn. district manager; and Simon N. Graham, Lexington, N. C., local office manager.

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New Jersey Chapter Hears UI Program Critics; Federalization Debunked

Texas Agency Head, VES Chief, Princeton U. Research Director are Annual Institute-Convention Speakers

Fraud in unemployment insurance is "materially less" than that in private business, Harry Benge Crozier, executive director of the Texas Employment Commission, told the banquet meeting of the New Jersey Chapter in annual convention at Trenton May 13.

"Fraud practiced against the UC agencies in the U.S.A., though widely heralded in print and over the radio, actually is materially less than the volume of fraud perpetrated against private business," Crozier said. "No one assails private business for lack of vigilance, but hotels have a fixed one per cent of total room revenue write-off for bad checks and walk-outs, and that does not take into account thefts. I am told that department stores have a fixed one per cent of inventory charge-off for loss that substantially results from shoplifting.

"If our critics will remember that we administer the laws, and that we do not make the laws, they may be less harsh in their attacks. From my own observations in Texas and in other states, I dare to say that the employers of America can be assured of complete application of the law if they will exercise vigilance and cooperate fully with the state unemployment compensation agencies."

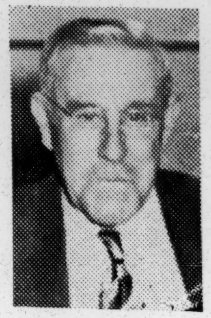
Crozier and Perry Faulkner, chief of the federal Veterans Employment Service, were the principal speakers at the banquet, concluding an all-day employment security institute.

Princeton 'Researcher' Speaks

Faulkner declared there has been a growing acceptance by both management and labor of the employment security program and that the increasing number of veterans has placed upon the nation and its agencies new responsibilities in employlment security.

William Miller, director of research, Princeton Survey, Princeton University, told the meeting earlier that the present unemployment compensation system is the best example of public benefit to come out of cooperation between the states and the Federal Government in meeting a large scale program. It recognizes both the economic inter-dependence

Chapter business-wise, Colin Rankin, New Brunswick manager, was reelected president for a third term. Vice-presidents elected were Robert R. T. Rowan, Walter Chartier, and Ira Yeager. Walter T. Burke and Margaret Becraft were named treasurer and secretary, respectively. Seven executive committee members were also named by the convention.



Rankin

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gram on the true facts of employment security operations.

On the question of federalization, Miller said that the price tag on nationalization of the system is tremendous but concealed. It means that differences in wage levels between New Jersey, Alabama and Nevada must be disregarded. It means that a Federal Government already weighed down with the cares of bigness will become still bigger. It means that responsibility for a decent and effective administration would be centralized even though the factors of operation in the taking and processing of claims and in placement are obviously best done decentralized. Here in New Jersey, he said, we have recognized this factor by adopting legislation only this month to decentralize our administration.

Disclaims OASI Parallel

It seems to me, said Miller, that while some arguments can be made for minimum national standards the present administration proposal should stand little change of adoption for three reasons: First, they are plainly offered as a first step toward a completely national system; second, the administration has far over-shot the mark in offering the nation as a whole a basic maximum weekly benfit rate of $30 a week plus dependency benefits up to a total maximum of $42 a week—as a so-called 'minimum standard" for all states which has not even yet been

Newcomer

man of the International Committee on Chapter Organization.

A cocktail party for early arriving delegates is scheduled for 4:30 Tuesday afternoon and a Memorial Day fireworks display at 9 p.m. on Long Beach's Rainbow Pier concludes the convention eve schedule.

Tuesday from noon until 6:30 p. m., delegates will register at the Wilton Hotel, all later registrations will be at the Municipal Auditorium.

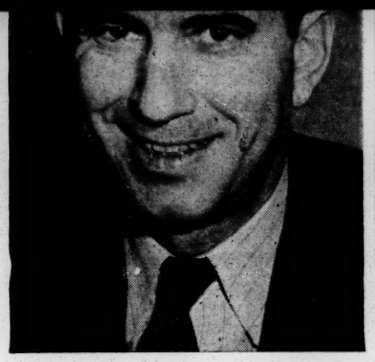
(6) **Disability Insurance as Part of the Employment Security Program** will be chaired by Herbert Wilson, California's chief of disability and hospital benefits. Speakers include Donald M. Smith, Chicago, Ill., RRB assistant director, Bureau of Employment and Claims; William E. Connell, Rhode Island director of the Division of Cash Sickness Benefits; Bert Thomas, California director of disability insurance; William H. Wandel, chief, Division of UI Program Standards, national BES; and William S.

tor, and Theroid S. Blackland, Idaho's farm placement representative.

(9) **Extent to Which Applicants and Claimants Should Prepare Their Records,** under chairmanship of Fred J. White, Prairie regional superintendent for Canada's UIC, will have the following participants—Wilfred V. Jones, Illinois chief of technical services; Mary L. Trippe, Maryland Employment Security supervisor; Victor Daly, District of Columbia ES personnel and fiscal chief; Theodore Debagh, Honolulu, T. H., local ES manager; and John Brunzo, Arkansas field supervisor.

(10) **Special Placement Programs,** chaired by Charles F. Rose, Binghamton, N. Y., manager, with speakers—K. Vernon Banta, consultant on the President's NEPH Week Committee; Allen Tosland, Canadian veterans placement supervisor; James Massenburg, North Carolina supervisor of counseling and selective

The program leaves delegates "on their own" for all luncheon periods except Friday, June 2, when the annual convention luncheon is scheduled.



National BES Director Robert C. Goodwin Major Forum Speaker

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The annual luncheon with a movie industry speaker featured concludes the day's business program with the balance of the day given over to a tour of Hollywood.

Final day (Saturday, June 3) brings to conclusion Association business with completion of committee reports, selection of the 1952 convention site, and installation of new officers.

Adjournment is scheduled for 11:45 to Auld Lang Syne strains of the Long Beach Municipal Band.

William Miller, director of research, Princeton Survey, Princeton University, told the meeting earlier that the present unemployment compensation system is the best example of public benefit to come out of cooperation between the states and the Federal Government in meeting a large scale program. It recognizes both the economic inter-dependence among the states and their political and industrial diversity, he said. Any program of government which can meet these objectives of centralization and decentralization at the same time is deserving of the closest study and improvement.

"I would submit that the best interests of employee, employer and the public at large require:

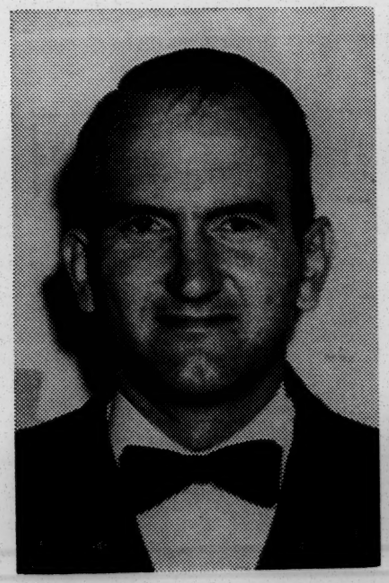
Views Nationalization

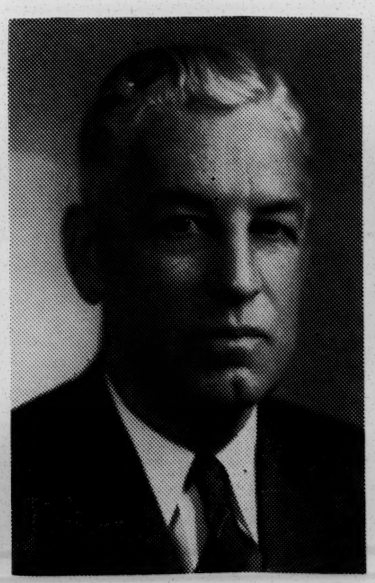
1. The maintenance of the present balance of power, in employment security laws, as between the states and the federal government; 2. closing of the gaps and deficiencies in the present laws, including better coordination of voluntary action with government programs;

"3. Substitution of interstate cooperation for competition on questions of benefits and finances; and, 4. an investment in a greatly expanded public education pro-

offered as a first step toward a completely national system; second, the administration has far over-shot the mark in offering the nation as a whole a basic maximum weekly benfit rate of $30 a week plus dependency benefits up to a total maximum of $42 a week—as a so-called 'minimum standard" for all states which has not even yet been reached as a maximum standard by any state; and third, the states where any real need exists are themselves strengthening their own systems.

Speaking of administration, Miller concluded that it has become more and more apparent that unless we are able to learn how to administer great social benefit programs in a way to avoid discrediting their purposes, we shall have to go slowly in their extension. There are those who like to point to the history of OASI as an illustration of the feasibility of federal administration. Lest anyone be deceived, it is well to recognize that old age is a one-time hazard and there is little that law or administration can do to induce people to grow old. Both unemployment insurance and cash sickness benefits obviously present different conditions.





FORUM PARTICIPANTS: William Batt, Almon Roth, Larry Fenlon, Pat Conroy, and C. J. Haggerty

Labor Secretary Briefs BES Advisory Council's Recommendations on Unemployment Insurance System

Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin announced May 9 that the Federal Advisory Council of the Bureau of Employment Security had reached unanimous agreement that substantial defects and gaps exist in the federal-state system of unemployment insurance that require speedy correction."

Tobin said that while the Council had not completed its full report on its study of the strengths and weaknesses of the federal-state unemployment insurance system.

The Council's conclusions were prepared by a subcommittee consisting of William Haber, Professor of Economics, U. of Michigan, and Council chairman; John J. Corson, Washington Post; John L. Lovett, general manager, Michigan Manufacturers' Association; Frank de Vyver, vice-president, Erwin Cotton Mills Co.; Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of social insurance activities, AFL; and Katherine Ellickson, associate director of research, CIO.

The Council urged the Secretary of Labor: To take vigorous steps to improve the unemployment insurance program. To transmit the Council report to the President and the Congress with an urgent request for appropriate federal action at this session of Congress, and to make the strongest representations to the state governors that the states take prompt action to correct the present defects in their own laws whether or not the federal government establishes minimum standards for the program.

Shortcomings cited by the Council included gaps in coverage, inadequate weekly benefit payments, too short duration of benefits, too stringent disqualifications in some instances, unsatisfactory protection of interstate workers, and defects in financing. The council also recommended that the federal government should assist states through reinsurance grants or loans, when necessarcy, so as to assure continued payment of benefits in the event high unemployment threatens the solvency of state funds. It also suggested that Congress clarify the authority of Secretary

Secretary of Labor Tobin has just indorsed the plan to give employers a government bonus for keeping workers employed beyond the 65-year social security retirement age.

The plan was proposed to Congress two months ago by Harvard Economist Sumner Slichter.

Slichter's proposal is that employers be given an incentive to keep workers 65 or older at their jobs. He suggested that the employer be given one third of the amount the worker would have received in social security retirement payments.

Commenting on the plan Tobin said:

"Management would find it worthwhile to organize operations differently in order to provide more jobs for older workers.

"It has been estimated that involuntary retirement of workers at 65 deprives our economy of an increase in the national product of almost $4 billion a year.

"We would be just that much better off if the roughly 3.8 million persons who face the harsh rule of '65 and out' were permitted to stay at work."

Tobin said a widespread notion that "at a fixed time older work-

Insurance Reserves Are Still Large

Notwithstanding the high rate of unemployment insurance benefit payments over the 14 months ending February 28, 1950, most state reserves for benefit payment purposes are still large enough to meet any contingency in the foreseeable future, according to the Bureau of Employment Security. In only one or possibly two instances have state reserves been depleted to the point where they would be in danger of insolvency in event of another sharp increase in unemployment.

The balance in the Federal Unemployment Trust Fund credited to the 51 separate accounts aggregated $6,868,000,000. This figure represents a drop of about $732,000,000 from the all-time trust fund high of $7,600,000,000 established on December 31, 1948.

Apprentice Training, 'Cold War Weapon'

Apprenticeship training is an excellent bulwark against communism, William F. Patterson, director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship, U. S. Department of Labor, told educational leaders in a meeting this month. He pointed out that the apprentice, realizing that his employer has problems and that he has a stake in his employer's success, will not be a likely candidate for communism.

Foreigners coming here for training are another weapon in the cold war, Patterson said, since the international trainees will take the new ideas and methods they learn home with them. "This program is the least expensive and most effective way of helping other countries raise their economic status and standards of living—which ultimately will work to our advantage," he said.

He described the skilled worker as "the heart and core of the whole industrial enterprise. Our young people will eventually abandon the idea they must enter the professions or clerical work," Patterson declared. "A situation

CHAPTER ROUND-UP

WASH. D.C. CONN OHIO PACIFIC IA N.D. WASH T.H. MINN N.H. MONT OKLA UTAH KY WISC ATLANTIC MICH N.C. P.Q. N.J. ILL S.D. LA ARIZ VT IND COLO N.M. ARK R.I. P.R. ALA ORE MD KAN IDAHO CALIF MO PA VA TENN GA TEX ME DELA NEV MISS NEBR WYO PRAIRIE W.VA MASS S.C. ONT. N.Y. FLA ALASKA

New Hampshire held its first meeting since 1941, April 15 at Dover. The one-day convention included addresses by Charles Burnell, vice-president of the Clarostat Manufacturing Co., and James Dorn, president of the State Employees Association. A business session and a baked-bean supper rounded out the program.

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Arizona Chapter is meeting in convention at Phoenix, May 12.

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D. C. Chapter is subsidizing to the $100 tune, automobile expenses to the Long Beach convention of any member who will drive and take two or more IAPES passengers. **South Dakota** in similar action appropriated $120.

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A quickie from **New Mexico** announces that Walter E. Taylor, Santa Fe, was elected chapter president last month. He succeeds Teoka Forbes, Albuquerque. Roy Plumlee was named v-p, and Nora Archuleta, treasurer—both are Albuquerqueans.

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Maryland meets in annual spring convention at Baltimore May 18. Arthur Motley, BES assistant director and D. C. Chapter past-president, is principal speaker.

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Maine has completed its chapter history outline and a copy is in the IAPES News office. Oscar Young, president, is the second to provide the News office with such a chronology. **North Dakota** came through prior to inauguration of the project by the International Chapter Organization Committee.

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The **All Dakota** convention at Aberdeen, S. D. last month was also a financial success netting $225 profit in spite of a low, registration fee.

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Florida will be in the process of organizing five area chapters during May and June, according to Jack Bliss, statewide president. Each area meeting will also rec-

Manitoba-Northwestern Ontario IAPESers have set June 16-18 dates for their sub-chapter convention, at Clear Lake.

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Prairie Chapter's newest sub-chapter, **Northern Sasketchewan,** boasting the largest membership in history elected officers last month. Percy St. George Butler, Saskatoon, who served as organization chairman and arranged a provincial convention last fall, was named president. J. C. Worcester, also of Saskatoon, was elected secretary-treasurer. President Butler has formulated an ambitious program for the year scheduling a meeting once a month. Each month's topic is related to the International convention theme of "New Horizons in Employment Security." Butler was his chapter's candidate for the 1949 award of merit.

Butler

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The **Mississippi** Chapter is offering cash awards for contributed articles to its monthly publication, "Missiapes." President R. W. Howell wasted no time after the annual convention in setting up chapter committees. In the April publication he announced completion of nine committees.

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Illinois chapterites went on a group tour of the United Airlines at Chicago Airport April 21. The tour included a complete inspection of the field including a visit to the flight kitchen, the Meteorology Dispatch and Communications Section and a trip through one of the airliners.

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Spring meeting of the **Indiana** Chapter was held in Evansville April 22. Featured were talks by Del Greenwood, president of the Evansville Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Ross Teckmeyer, executive secretary of the Public Employees' Retirement Fund in Indiana. Greenwood's subject

workers, and defects in financing. The council also recommended that the federal government should assist states through reinsurance grants or loans, when necessarcy, so as to assure continued payment of benefits in the event high unemployment threatens the solvency of state funds. It also suggested that Congress clarify the authority of Secretary of Labor to require methods of administration which would prevent the payment of fraudulent claims as well as assure prompt benefit payments.

an increase in the national product of almost $4 billion a year.

"We would be just that much better off if the roughly 3.8 million persons who face the harsh rule of '65 and out' were permitted to stay at work."

Tobin said a widespread notion that "at a fixed time older workers should give up their places to younger ones, without reference to productive capacity" is harmful economically and harmful to the national morale.

will work to our advantage," he said.

He described the skilled worker as "the heart and core of the whole industrial enterprise. Our young people will eventually abandon the idea they must enter the professions or clerical work," Patterson declared. "A situation cannot continue where 90% of our young people are aiming for 10% of the jobs—and skilled labor will take its rightful place in the scheme of things."

Aberdeen, S. D. last month was also a financial success netting $225 profit in spite of a low, registration fee.

* * *

Florida will be in the process of organizing five area chapters during May and June, according to Jack Bliss, statewide president. Each area meeting will also recommend state chapter constitutional and organization changes. The chapter plans a statewide convention after areas have been organized.

* * *

Spring meeting of the **Indiana** Chapter was held in **Evansville** April 22. Featured were talks by Del Greenwood, president of the Evansville Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Ross Teckmeyer, executive secretary of the Public Employees' Retirement Fund in Indiana. Greenwood's subject was community participation, while Teckemeyer presented information about the current retirement plan and conducted a question and answer session on the subject.

* * *

Fannie Beard, Newport, **Arkansas** IAPESer, reminds us we failed to include her chapter as an entrant in the 1950 essay contest. With **Arkansas** included, 14 instead of 13 chapters participated in the annual contest.

* * *

The **California** Chapter will take advantage of the Long Beach convention to hold an executive council meeting May 29. Fifteen local chapters comprise the "Golden State Chapter."

WHO SAID THIS?—Tom Moore, member of the Canadian Commission on Employment and Social Insurance, in conclusion of an address on interelation of ES and UI to the 1938 IAPES convention at Ottawa, Ont.

Two Dakotas in Pooled Convention Study Employment Security Programs

ment Security" with Carl F. Fryhling, North Dakota ES director, presiding. E. J. Bofferding gave a resume of pending federal legislation.

Arnie Solem, BES regional representative, spoke on regional affairs and was followed by Don Larin, chief of farm placement, BES Washington, D. C. and former North Dakota director, who talked on the national farm program. Alan Williamson, vice president for Region VII Interstate Conference, and Commissioner of the South Dakota agency, gave an explanation of the aims and purposes of the Conference and how it ties in with the IAPES.

N. D. President Joseph Novak

Seperate business meetings were held by the two chapters Saturday afternoon. The South Dakota Chapter elected officers and installed the following: President, Millie DiSanto, Rapid City; western vice-president, Robert Kelley, Deadwood; eastern vice-president, Roger Oyen, Sioux Falls; and treasurer, Myrtle Skogsberg, Aberdeen. The secretary is to be appointed later by the president. North Dakota elects its officers in the fall.

On the "Clerical Problems" panel, Clerks Irene Day, Aberdeen, S. D. and Ina Werner, Bismarck, N. D., sit as Nancy Kvamme, Bismarck, speaks.

The "Youth Placement" panel included (l to r) C. E. Sather, Aberdeen manager, C. H. Bauman, superintendent of Redfield S. D. schools, speaking; M. J. Bowen, Jamestown N. D. manager; and Lauretta Mundt, vive-principal, Aberdeen Central High School.

At the two-state banquet which closed the convention, J. R. Kennedy, Fargo, N. D., public relations representative for the North Dakota Railway line, discussed public relations.

He said good public relations means nothing more than "just good old-fashioned courtesy." He defined courtesy as "considerate behavior toward others."

Promotion of better public relations, Kennedy said, "is a full time job for everyone in an organization or a business—it requires the fullest cooperation from the bottom to the top." He described it as "something that must filter down from the top, it cant' be siphoned up from the bottom."

Governor George T. Michelson was a guest at the banquet and spoke informally.

The first South Dakota Merit Award was presented to R. A. McCurdy, Aberdeen, the past-president's pin was presented to Ralph Kvamme of North Dakota anod "Years of Service' awards were presented to 37 Dakotans for 15 and 10 year tenures.

Speaking on unemployment insurance during a panel session is E. J. Bofferding, Washington, D. C., assistant chief of UI Services. Other panel members were (l to r) L. A. Pietz, director-chief accountant, S. D. Employment Security Department; U. E. Schliemann, Dickinson N. D. manager; W. A. Maass, Sioux Falls, S. D. manager; and Clinton Johnson, BES regional representative.

E. F. Jorgenson, South Dakota director for ES and awards chairman, presents chapter award scroll to R. A. McCurdy, Aberdeen, during banquet ceremonies.

And So To Press

TWO TO the 100th power? That's easy—it says here: 1,267, 560, 600, 228, 229, 401, 496, 703, 205, 376.

A NEW home building record was set in the U. S. A. last year, with more than one million units. To lick the national housing shortage, however, we must continue this rate for several years, according to Ewan Clague, BLS Commissioner.

THE Somerset (Pa.) American has announced that the newspaper's classified department will publish three times—free of charge—ads for jobseekers.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS THE

Region III

Washington 25, D. C.

June 1, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

In reply to your letter of May 19th requesting information regarding negro membership in State Nurses Associations, Virginia and the District of Columbia are the only associations in the region that are not open to negroes. North Carolina, Maryland and West Virginia admit negroes to membership. I am sorry not to have more specific information regarding the policies and practices of the state organizations. The executive secretaries of the state associations, listed in the American Journal of Nursing, should be able to assist you. Miss Marie B. Noell is Secretary of the North Carolina Association. Her address is 415 Commercial Boulevard. I would very much like to have a copy of your publication.

promised to send her copy

The delay in my replying has been due to my absence from the office.

Thanked - 6/9/50

Yours very truly,

Daphine D. Doster

Daphine D. Doster
Public Health Nursing Consultant

RECEIVED
JUN 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 2, 1950

Dr. H. L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

We have now received information from virtually all the Southern States on the policies of state professional associations regarding Negro membership. The issue of NEW SOUTH for which we are preparing our report will have to go to press early next week, and we were wondering if you would be able to get the North Carolina information to us by that time. This is an awfully busy time of year, I know, but we would appreciate it very much if you could manage to help us with this.

In case you have mislaid my earlier letter, the following information is what we need:

> Which of the following professional associations in North Carolina are open to Negroes -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, and architects?
>
> What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership complete, or is it limited in various ways? If so, what are the limitations or restrictions?

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped airmail envelope for your convenience. We will be grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

P. S. I hope that we will see you again at the Executive Committee meeting on the 10th.

June 2, 1950

Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells
1116 Montgomery Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Lyells:

We have now received information from virtually all the Southern States on the policies of state professional associations regarding Negro membership. The issue of NEW SOUTH for which we are preparing our report will have to go to press early next week, and we were wondering if you would be able to get the Mississippi information to us by that time. This is an awfully busy time of year, I know, but we would appreciate it very much if you could manage to help us with this.

In case you have mislaid my earlier letter, the following information is what we need:

> Which of the following professional associations in Mississippi are open to Negroes -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, architects?
>
> What the the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership complete, or is it limited in various ways? If so, what are the limitations or restrictions?

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped airmail envelope for your convenience. We will be grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

June 2, 1950

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Dr. Lovejoy:

We have now received information from virtually all the Southern States on the policies of state professional associations regarding Negro membership. The issue of NEW SOUTH for which we are preparing our report will have to go to press early next week, and we were wondering if you would be able to get the Florida information to us by that time. This is an awfully busy time of year, I know, but we would appreciate it very much if you could manage to help us with this.

In case you have mislaid my earlier letter, the following information is what we need:

> Which of the following professional associations in Florida are open to Negroes -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, architects?
>
> What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership complete, or is it limited in various ways? If so, what are the limitations or restrictions?

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped airmail envelope for your convenience. We will be grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

June 2, 1950

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Stephan:

We have now received information from virtually all the Southern States on the policies of state professional associations regarding Negro membership. The issue of NEW SOUTH for which we are preparing our report will have to go to press early next week, and we were wondering if you would be able to get the Arkansas information to us by that time. This is an awfully busy time of year, I know, but we would appreciate it very much if you could manage to help us with this.

In case you have mislaid my earlier letter, the following information is what we need:

> Which associations of the following professional groups in Arkansas are open to Negroes -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, and architects?
>
> What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership complete, or is it limited in various ways? If so, what are the limitations?

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped airmail envelope for your convenience. Thank you for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

June 2, 1950

Miss Sadye Thompson
Little Rock Urban League
914 Gaines Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Miss Thompson:

We have now received information from virtually all Southern States on the policies of professional associations regarding Negro membership. The issue of NEW SOUTH for which we are preparing the report will have to go to press early next week, and we were wondering if you could get the Arkansas information to us by that time. This is a busy time of year, I know, but we would appreciate it very much if you could help us with this.

In case you have mislaid my earlier letter, the following information is what we need:

> Which associations of the following professional groups in Arkansas are open to Negro members -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, and architects?
>
> What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first be~~gan~~ to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership complete, or is it subject to certain modifications and limitations? If so, what are the limitations?

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped airmail envelope for your convenience. Thank you for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

May 11, 1950

Attached letter with variations sent to the following:

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion — rec'd
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed
9 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Rewritten June 2

Miss Sadye Thompson
Little Rock Urban League — Rec'd
914 Gaines Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan — Rec'd
Dept. of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Ark.

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy — rec'd
Dept. of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

Dr. L. B. Atwood, President — Rec'd
Kentucky State College — Tydings (Steele)
Frankfort, Kentucky

Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J.
Dept. of Sociology — Rec'd
Loyola University of the South
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells — Rec'd
1116 Montgomery St.
Jackson, Miss.

Dr. H. L. Trigg, President — Rec'd
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, N.C.

Mr. Solomon Sutker — rec'd
Dept. of Sociology
Okla. A. and M. College
Stillwater, Okla.

Miss Adele Minahan
1630 College Street — Rec'd
Columbia, S.C.

Miss Cassandra Maxwell — Rec'd
721 Russell St NE
Orangeburg, S. C.

Mr. Abbott L. Ferris
Box 1164 — Rec'd
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 4, Tenn.

Mr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Dept of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Mrs. James S. Crate — Rec'd
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Mrs. A. C. Epps — Rec'd
Apt. 12, 2501 Grove Avenue
Richmond, Va.

Still Need
~~Ala~~
~~Ark~~
~~Fla~~
~~Ky~~
~~Miss~~
~~NC~~

Ga. - SPC to get

June 2, 1950

Miss Cassandra E. Maxwell
721 Russell Street, NE
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Miss Maxwell:

Thank you so much for the complete information you obtained for us about the South Carolina professional associations. And thank you even more for getting it to us on time! It will be a great help in preparing the report for NEW SOUTH.

I enjoyed seeing you at the Board Meeting . I hope the idea of a survey in Orangeburg will keep perking this summer, in spite of vacations.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

721 RUSSELL, N.E.

TELEPHONE 66

CASSANDRA E. MAXWELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

May 30, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Ever since the receipt of your letter of the 11th of May, I have been pulling together as much information as possible regarding professional associations open to Negro membership in South Carolina.

I am here enclosing a statement of such facts as are available. I do hope that the time element won't inconvenience you.

We are still working on the survey idea, even tho the closing of the schools here this week will mean that the work will be suspended for a while. All committee members are affiliated with the school systems, and vacation trips are in the air.

Very truly yours,

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Encl.

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

LAWYERS Associations: S. C. Bar Association (State)
Local bar associations

Negro lawyers may become members of their local bar associations. This is almost a matter of necessity as the bar associations in most towns set the calendar of cases to be heard from the official docket.

Negroes are members of the state organization, pay dues, receive publications. Attendance at the state meetings is not encouraged. Most of the meetings are centered around banquets. It is presumed that Negro attorneys are at liberty to attend the public meetings. No test has been made to my knowledge of this.

The American Bar Association (national) does not encourage Negro membership. A handful of Negro attorneys in the country belong due only to pressure of groups in the north.

The National Bar Association (national) is open to all Negro attorneys. I know of no white members in this organization, though the ranks are not closed to colored members alone.

TEACHERS Associations: Palmetto Teachers Association
S. C. Education Association

Colored teachers have their own association, Palmetto Teachers Association. The white teachers have their organization, the S. C. Education Association. There seems to be no affiliation one with the other; no overtures made between the groups.

The National Education Association (national) has no state chapter. Negroes may become members, individually, of the national organization.

DOCTORS and
DENTISTS Associations: Palmetto Medical Dental and
Pharmaceutical Society

All Negro doctors and dentists are members of this association, or eligible to be members. White doctors are invited to attend the sessions. The courtesy has not been reciprocated.

NURSES Associations: Palmetto State Nurses Association
American Nurses Association

Colored nurses of South Carolina have their own organization in the Palmetto State Nurses Association. They have a national organization with headquarters in New York but no state chapter in the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

White nurses in S.C. are members of the American Nurses Association, which national organization has a state chapter, to which no Negroes are permitted membership. A Negro nurse may become a member of the American Nurses Association individually, by making direct contact with the national office. The state chapter however does not recognize that membership, nor open its doors to that member, here in the state.

LIBRARIANS Associations: Committee on Library Science of the Palmetto Teachers Association

S. C. Librarians

The Negro librarians of the state do not have an organization of their own, except as a part of the Palmetto Teachers Association, forming a group of their own within that structure.

The white librarians thru their organization, the S. C. Librarians, give publicity to the activity of Negro librarians, in their publication. Other than this, there is no cooperation or affiliation.

The state Department of Education has extended to Negro librarians membership on committees of Library Science, and white and colored librarians have worked together in this, and under the State Department of Education.

SOCIAL WORKERS Associations: S. C. Conference of Social Work
S.C. Chapter of American Asso. of Social Workers

Negroes are members of these organizations, and membership is more open to them than have been taken advantage of by Negroes. Negroes attend regional district meetings. The State Department of Welfare has organized a council with white and colored membership. (This latter statement has not been made public as yet to my knowledge)

ENGINEERS — I know of none in the state - nor of any association.

ARCHITECTS — There are perhaps one or two architects in the state. I know of one such person. Information from him is to effect that there are no associations open to him in this state.

NOTE: The year in which associations named above, that admit Negroes, is not known in any one case.

The associations which admit Negroes vary in their attitudes toward Negro members. Limitations are placed on the Negroes by Negroes themselves, due to uncertainty and possibility of embarrassment and lack of opportunity to take an effective part in the organization. Other limitations are placed by making meetings more social than business meetings, a sure sign of "No Welcome"

June 2, 1950

Mr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Valien:

Thank you so much for the information on the membership policies of Tennessee professional associations. It will help greatly in preparing our report for NEW SOUTH.

I know that this is a particularly busy time of the year for you, so we appreciate very much your help and cooperation.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 23, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

I have your letter of May 11 and have checked on the associations which you mentioned therein. Of the associations mentioned, only the nurses, social workers and engineers are open to Negro members and it is my information that Negro membership is full and complete for those groups. The nurses began admitting Negroes in 1946; the social workers have two Negro charter members and were organized in 1932; the engineers began admitting Negroes in 1949.

I hope that this information will be of use to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Preston Valien

Preston Valien
Chairman

pv:aw

June 2, 1950

Miss Lorena Jane Murray
Senior Nurse Officer
Regional Nursing Consultant
U. S. Public Health Service
1100 Chester Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Miss Murray:

Thank you for your letter of May 26. Unfortunately, the issue of our publication, NEW SOUTH, has to go to press next week, so your visit to Kentucky in the middle of June would make the information you sent us too late to use.

However, we would still be very much interested in whatever information you could send us at that time, since it would be valuable to have for reference.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
1100 Chester Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS THE
Regional Medical Director
Region No. 4

May 26, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Your letter of May 19, urgently requesting information regarding the policies of the Kentucky State Nurses' Association concerning equal rights for colored nurses, arrived today. Unfortunately, your letter was delayed enroute, in that it was delivered to the Marine Hospital, Cleveland, rather than this office.

I have my own opinions regarding equal rights for Negro nurses in Kentucky, but cannot substantiate my opinions with facts. Therefore, it will be necessary for me to acquaint myself with the constitution, by-laws, and history of the Kentucky Nurses' Association before replying to your questionnaire.

Unfortunately, I will not be in Kentucky until the middle of June. However, I will be glad to procure the information and render a detailed confidential report if it will still be of value to you at that time.

By direction of the Regional Medical Director.

Sincerely yours,

Lorena Jane Murray

Lorena Jane Murray
Senior Nurse Officer
Regional Nursing Consultant

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 2, 1950

Mr. Charles T. Steele
Urban League
418 S. 5th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Steele:

We have now received information from virtually all the Southern States on the policies of state professional associations regarding Negro membership. The issue of NEW SOUTH for which we are preparing our report will have to go to press early next week, and we were wondering if you would be able to get the Kentucky information to us by that time. I know that Mr. Tydings referred our request to you only last week and also that this is an awfully busy time of year, but we would appreciate it very much if you could manage to hhelp us with this.

In case you have mislaid Mr. Tydings letter, the following information is what we need:

> Which of the following professional associations in Kentucky are open to Negroes -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, architects?
>
> What was the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership complete, or is it limited in various ways? If so, what are the limitations or restrictions?

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped airmail envelope for your convenience. We will be grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

June 2, 1950

Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., Chairman
Department of Sociology
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Father Fichter:

Thank you so much for your letter amplifying the information you sent previously. The social workers and teachers are all straight now!

You have been more than generous with your time and help, and we do appreciate it very much.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Loyola University

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

NEW ORLEANS

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 24, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

In answer to your letter of May 19th I have been able to gather the following information:

a) Louisiana has a very active State Conference of Social Workers (now holding its annual convention here in New Orleans.) It accepts Negroes as full members.

b) The Classroom Teachers about whom I spoke in my last letter constitute two separate labor unions and as such they come under the loose federation of the AFL. On a statewide basis the Negroes have the Louisiana Education Association. The whites also have the Louisiana Education Association (same name but no connection between the two. Incidentally, the Negroes are the chartered group.) The whites have a New Orleans chapter of their LEA, but the Negroes do not. The Negroes have the New Orleans Teachers' Association. There are also two separate groups of Principals: The Orleans Parish Principals' Association (for Negroes) and The New Orleans Principals' Association (for whites). There is also a professional teachers group here called The Schoolmasters' Club. It has only white membership, but it is not restricted to teachers; open to whites in the "educational field."

With all good wishes and God's blessing.

Yours very truly

Jos. L. Fichter S.J.

May 19, 1950

Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., Chairman
Department of Sociology
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Father Fichter:

Thank you so much for your prompt and full reply to our request for information on the professional associations in your State. The information is exactly what we need and will be a great help to us in preparing our report.

There are just a few points that I would like to check with you. First, in addition to the New Orleans Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, does Louisiana have a State Conference of Social Work? And if so, does it accept Negroes as full members? And second, I assume that the New Orleans Federation of Classroom Teachers is part of a State teachers' association and that the membership policies (separate) of the two groups are similar. Is that correct?

We greatly appreciate your ready help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Loyola University
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 16, 1950

ha. Conf. of Soc. Work
State Teachers Assoc.

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

In answer to your letter of May 11th I have been able to gather the following information:

Lawyers. There are four Negro lawyers in Louisiana (and will be eight more in June) who are members of the Louisiana State Bar Association. Negroes have been admitted from the beginning (about 1928) and receive invitations to the annual meetings and institutes. Actually they do not attend and have not "tested" the meaning of their membership.

Teachers. The Negroes have an AFL local 527 called New Orleans League of Classroom Teachers. The whites' local is 353 called New Orleans Federation of Classroom Teachers. These are separate organizations but the executive boards of both meet together monthly.

Dentists. The Negroes have the New Orleans Dental Society as part of the Pelican Dental Association. The whites have the New Orleans Dental Association as part of the Louisiana State Dental Association. "Separate but friendly."

Librarians. The Louisiana Library Association voted in 1947 to admit Negro members without limitations but with tacit understanding that the segregation laws would not be violated. Negroes pay dues, are on the membership roster, receive the Quarterly Bulletin, but have not attended meetings because the meetings are held at hotels which discourage Negro attendance.

Social Workers. The New Orleans Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers accept Negroes to full membership in every way. Mr. Rene Rousseve, a Negro, was delegate to the National meeting in 1949

Architects. There is only one Negro architect in Louisiana and I do not know whether he is affiliated with any professional group here. Louisiana Architects' Association, part of American Institute of Architects.

Nurses. Louisiana State Nurses' Association is exclusively white. The Negroes have the New Orleans Chapter of the Colored Registered Nurses of Louisiana which is part of the Louisiana State Association for Colored Graduate Nurses. It appears that the New Orleans District of the white group is willing to accept Negro nurses to membership, but the Shreveport and Baton Rouge Districts are unwilling.

Engineers. The Louisiana Engineering Society is the state association for various kinds of engineers. There are New Orleans Chapters of the various National associations, societies and institutes of engineering (e.g., Mechanical, Civil, Heating and Ventilating, Municipal, Military, Refrigerating, Electrical). Membership is by qualifying tests, and not by race, and the spokesman said there are no Negro Engineers in the State, hence no Negro members.

Doctors. The Louisiana Medical Society for whites. The Louisiana Medical Association is the state group for Negroes, and in New Orleans has three "staffs" Medical, Surgical, Pediatric, all centered at the Flint-Goodrich Hospital. There are white consultants to the Negro staffs. There seems to have been no movement for merging the Negro and white doctors organizations on either the State nor the local level.

Trusting that the above information is adequate to your research, and with every best wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Jos. H. Fichter, S. J., Head
Department of Sociology

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH), FLORIDA

P. O. Box 51

June 3, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson, Research Assistant,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

In the rush and excitement attendant upon my departure from the University of Miami, I am afraid I must confess to having let you down somewhat.

To the best of my knowledge Negroes are admitted only to the legal and medical professional associations. In both cases this action was taken in 1950. According to reports no limitations or restrictions were placed on such admission.

In at least Dade County Negroes are admitted to the library association, but library friends say there is no state policy favoring such admission.

I was unable to find any indication that Negroes have been admitted into the professional associations of teachers, dentists, nurses, social workers, engineers, or architects.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon W. Lovejoy

Gordon W. Lovejoy
Prof. of Human Relations

Thanked 6/9/50

GWL/ejg

RECEIVED
JUN 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

HOME OFFICE
2509 WEST WALNUT STREET
LOUISVILLE, KY.

DIRECT YOUR REPLY TO THIS
FIELD OFFICE

SAMUEL PLATO
GENERAL CONTRACTOR
AND STRUCTURAL ENGINEER
C. L. CHRISTIAN, SUPT.

June 3, 1950

Louisville Urban League
418 South Fifth Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Steele:

Answering your letter of May 31, I regret to state that I do not know of any qualified architects registered or practicing in the state of Kentucky.

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

Very truly yours,

Samuel Plato

Samuel Plato

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

June 5, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 2, 1950.

The State Nursing Association accepted colored nurses in full membership in 1949.

The Bankers' Association accepted our two colored banks in to full membership in 1947, according to Mr. J. H. Wheeler, Vice-President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

The State organization for Social Workers has had colored members on equal foot for so long until nobody seems to remember when it was done, therefore, I cannot give you a definite date.

Hoping to see you Saturday, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

Thanked 6/9/50

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

Louisville Urban League

AN INTERRACIAL AGENCY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

418 So. Fifth St. ◆ Louisville 2, Ky. ◆ Telephone: JAckson 3516

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June
Sixth
1950

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

I am sorry that I was unable to get this information to you any sooner but I did have to wait for replies from the various individuals I contacted as I wanted to have accurate information for you.

LAWYERS

Negroes were admitted to the State Bar Association in 1938. The limitations are that Negroes do not attend social events but at all other meetings there is full participation by Negroes.

DOCTORS

There are no professional groups in Kentucky among doctors which are open to Negro membership. By the very fact that Negro physicians are unable to become members of the Kentucky State Medical Association it prevents them from ever becoming members of the A. M. A.

SOCIAL WORKERS

There is full participation and has always been by Negroes in the American Association of Social Workers and the American Association of Group Workers. These are the only two professional social work organizations functioning in Kentucky.

LIBRARIANS

Negroes belong to the Kentucky Library Association and were admitted in 1946. Participation is full and complete as far as the organization is concerned. However, due to the restrictions against Negroes by some of the hotels, if a dinner meeting is held in these hotels this would exclude participation by Negroes.

The Louisville Public Library Staff Association was organized in 1905 and Negroes have always been members of this association. There are no limitations placed on Negroes and they hold offices. All meetings are held in the main Public Library so there are no limitations placed on their participation in the organization.

NURSES

The State Association of Registered Nurses, District Association of Registered Nurses, Visiting Nurses Association and School Association of Nurses are open to Negro membership. State Association of Registered Nurses and District Association of Registered Nurses were opened in 1948; Visiting Nurses Association was opened in 1911, and the School Association of Nurses was opened in 1918.

As far as we know, Negro nurses are admitted for full participation in all of these associations. They have been asked to serve on committees in these associations. The persons who hold positions in school nursing and visiting nursing are admitted fully without limitations even to the extent that they participate in most of the white social functions of the association. The only limitation is that we are not hired in numbers in comparison with the number of white serving in the different associations and different jobs.

ENGINEERS

I know of no Negro engineers in Kentucky at the present time.

ARCHITECTS

There are several architects but I have had no reply to any of my questionnaires. However, I am of the opinion that there is no participation by the Negro architects in any professional associations here.

To date I have had no reply to the questionnaires sent to the dentists and teachers.

Sincerely yours,

Charles T. Steele

Charles T. Steele
Executive Secretary

CTS/rmc

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
NORMAN BUILDING DALLAS, TEXAS

REGION VIII

June 7, 1950

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

Regional Medical Director

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Because of absence from the office, your letter of May 19, 1950, has just come to my attention. What information I have on the questions asked may be too late for the June issue of New South. However, I shall be glad to share such knowledge that I have.

Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana do admit Negro nurse members in the State Organization, but the date when first admitted is not known. Texas State Nurses Association has not yet given membership to Negro nurses, but there is a Texas Colored Graduate Nurse Association apart from the State Nurses Association.

As far as limitations to membership in the three states, I cannot say, but the impression is that Negro nurses cannot attend the district meetings.

Trust this information will be of value to you.

By direction of the Regional Medical Director.

Very truly yours,

Frances S. Buck

FRANCES S. BUCK
Regional Nursing Consultant

Thanked
6/9/50

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

We received this reply today and are forwarding it on to you.

Sincerely,

Charles T. Steele

Louisville Urban League

AN INTERRACIAL AGENCY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

418 So. Fifth St. ◆ Louisville 2, Ky. ◆ Telephone: JAckson 3516

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June 8th, 1950

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

We received replies from the dentists and teachers today which stated the following:

There are no professional groups in Kentucky among dentists nor teachers which are open to Negro membership.

Sincerely yours,

Charles T. Steele

Charles T. Steele
Executive Secretary

CTS/rmc

P. S.
We hope that the delay in receiving this material did not inconvenience you too much.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
JUN 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 2, 1950

Thanked 6/9/50

Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells
1116 Montgomery Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Lyells:

We have now received information from virtually all the Southern States on the policies of state professional associations regarding Negro membership. The issue of NEW SOUTH for which we are preparing our report will have to go to press early next week, and we were wondering if you would be able to get the Mississippi information to us by that time. This is an awfully busy time of year, I know, but we would appreciate it very much if you could manage to help us with this.

In case you have mislaid my earlier letter, the following information is what we need:

> Which of the following professional associations in Mississippi are open to Negroes -- lawyers, teachers, dentists, doctors, nurses, librarians, social workers, engineers, architects?
>
> What the the year in which those associations admitting Negroes first began to do so?
>
> In the associations which admit Negroes, is Negro membership complete, or is it limited in various ways? If so, what are the limitations or restrictions?

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped airmail envelope for your convenience. We will be grateful for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Dear Mrs. Jane P. Simpson:

As far as I have been able to ascertain the facts only two of the associations mentioned are open to Negroes.

The Miss. Nurses Association has addmitted Negroes since 1948. Attendance at state meetings have been very limited because Negro nurses refuse to invite upon themselves the humiliation of being asked to use freight elevators in hotels where meetings are held. In theory there are no restrictions on membership.

The Mississippi Chapter of the American Social Workers Association has had Negro members for at least five years. The person to whom I talked states that lack of membership previous to that time was probably do to the fact that there were no Negroes qualified professionally. There are no membership restrictions; however, Negro members have not been asked to serve on committees, etc.

I trust that this is sufficiently detailed to serve your purpose

Sincerely yours,

Ruby E. Stutts Lyell

6-4-'50

June 9, 1950

Mr. Charles T. Steele, Executive Secretary
Louisville Urban League
418 South 5th Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Steele:

We are most grateful to you for all the time and effort you have given us in rounding up the information on professional associations in Kentucky. The information is exactly what we needed, and it should be a great help to us in preparing our report for NEW SOUTH.

Thank you again for your generous help. Please let us know if we can ever be of service to you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC - Professional Ass.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
1100 Chester Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS THE
Regional Medical Director
Region No. 4

RECEIVED
JUN 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 15, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

While in Kentucky last week I learned the answers to your questions which we received on May 19. They are as follows:

1. The Kentucky State Nurses Association offers full membership to Negro members on a district and state level.

2. They were admitted in 1948.

3. The membership is full and complete except for social functions, such as banquets, and I really think that pertains more to the Kentucky State Public Health Association rather than the Graduate Nurses Association. There are also some difficulties in getting the colored nurses through the lobbies of some of the hotels to attend meetings. Some of the hotels request that they come in through the back entrances. This has nothing to do with the Nursing Association. They simply comply with the rules of the hotel. Effort is usually made to hold meetings in a location where Negro nurses are admitted without restrictions.

The above information is not only true of the Graduate Nurses Association, but is true of the Kentucky State Public Health Association. If we can be of further help to you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

By direction of the Regional Medical Director.

Sincerely yours,

Lorena Jane Murray

Lorena Jane Murray, SNO
Regional Nursing Consultant

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN[redacted]A

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June 27, 1950

Mrs. Jane Simpson
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Since I wrote you last I have received some additional information from some of the state professional organizations but none of the information is of any significance except a statement in the Constitution of the Alabama Conference of Social Workers. It is this sentence pertaining to membership in the Constitution, namely:"Any person interested in public or private social work in Alabama is eligible for membership." The executive officer of this association answered none of the questions which were asked of him. He merely sent a copy of the constitution.

I regret that I have not yet been able to give any worthwhile supplementary information.

Very truly yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion, Secretary
Alabama Division, SRC

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN[redacted]

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* FELLOWS

June 30, 1950

Mrs. Jane Simpson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

On yesterday I received from the Executive Officer of the Alabama State Nurses Association the following information: (1) That Negro nurses were first admitted to membership in 1950, (2) that there are approximately 20 Negro nurses who are now members, (3) that all city ordinances, state laws, and hotel regulations concerning segregation are adhered to. If it is not too late to use this information, you may do so. Please advise me as to whether or not it is too late to send in any further information should I receive such from other organizations.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion, Secretary
Alabama Division, S.R.C.

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 2, 1950

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

Thank you so much for the information which you obtained for us on Alabama professional associations. We appreciate greatly the time and effort you have given, particularly during what must be a particularly busy time for you.

What you have sent will be a great help to us in preparing our report, since it is exactly the kind of information we needed. We shall look forward to receiving the rest of the official information as soon as you have been able to obtain it.

Thank you again for all your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

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ALABAMA DIVISION

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* FELLOWS

June 1, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Herewith attached is a copy of the report which I have prepared in response to your request of May 10. I regret that it is incomplete, but as soon as additional information is received, it will be rushed to you.

Sincerely yours,

C Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion, Secretary
Alabama Division, Southern
Regional Council

r/

RECEIVED
JUN 2 1950
Southern Regional Council

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION
IN
SELECTED STATE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN ALABAMA

In May, 1950, the following letter was addressed to the executive officers of ten state professional organizations in Alabama:

"As a fellow of the Southern Regional Council, I am seeking answers to the following questions:

1. Are Negroes admitted to membership in the Alabama Association of Architects?

2. If they are, what restrictions are placed upon their participation, or what privileges are denied them?

3. How many Negroes are now members?

4. What year were Negroes first admitted?

With the hope that you will furnish this information within a few days, and thanking you in advance for it, I am

Very truly yours,

C. G. Gomillion, Secretary
Alabama Division
Southern Regional Council"

Thus far, no official information has been received from the following organizations:

1. Alabama Association of Librarians

✓2. Alabama Conference of Social Workers

3. Alabama Institute of Engineers

4. Alabama Press Association

✓5. Alabama State Nurses Association

✓6. Medical Association of the State of Alabama

Official data have been received from four state organizations, namely:

Alabama Society of Architects

Alabama Dental Association

Alabama Education Association

Alabama State Bar Association

According to the President of the Alabama Society of Architects,

> There is no prohibition in By-Laws of ASA-AIA against Negro membership. Sp far as I know there has not been filed an application for membership. All applications are subject to acceptance by Executive Committee, on basis of character and professional repute; all applications must have endorsement of two members in good standing.
>
> Categories of membership in the Society are: Coprorate, Associate, Jr. Associate and Student Associate. Each category has its rights and privileges described in By-Laws. This is the only restriction of participation or privilege covered in By-Laws. The Alabama Society of Architects is a professional body; its social activities are unofficial and are not subject to any rule except that of good taste.

Although "Negroes have never been excluded from the Alabama Society of Architects," there are no Negro members at the present time. Mr. Edward C. Miller, Negro Architect at Tuskegee, "was a charter member of the Alabama Architects Home Plan Service, an organization sponsored by the Alabama Society of Architects, which was founded April 1946 and expired October 1949 having at that time twenty-eight memberships, composed of firms and individuals practicing architecture in this state."

The Secretary-Treasurer of the Alabama Dental Association reports that Negro dentists "are not active members but are invited and admitted to scientific sessions, clinics and exhibits at our state meetings."

"The Alabama Dental Association acts as a clearing house for forwarding the dues of the Negro dentists to the American Dental Association."

"We have been following this plan for a long time and there are about thirty-five Negro dentists who participate in it."

The Secretary of the Alabama Education Association writes that there are no Negro members in that organization, that "membership in the Alabama Education Association is restricted to white teachers of the state. The Negro teachers of Alabama have their own organization known as the Alabama State Teachers Association. The two organizations work in a very cooperative fashion in a number of problems.

The Alabama Bar Association admits Negro members. According to the Secretary, "No restrictions are placed upon their participation, neither are any privileges denied them." There are now seven Negro members, and according to one, Negro members attend meetings, vote on all proposals, and receive Bar Association literature. The first Negro member was admitted "approximately 25 years ago."

Although no official data have been received from six of the ten state organizations, unofficial data have been secured from other rather reliable sources. The effort to secure official data will be continued, and will be presented as soon as received.

An outstanding member of the American Library Association reports that there are not yet any Negro members of the Alabama State Library Association, but that some of the recently elected officers are working for the admission of qualified Negro librarians to membership.

Negro social workers who are members of the Alabama conference of Social Work report that Negro members are permitted to attend the professional meetings, and participate on programs but have not been permitted to participate in any luncheon meetings or social events, if any were held in connection with the conferences.

Although there is not yet available any official statement from the Alabama State Nurses Association, an editorial in the Birmingham News dated December 27, 1949 reported that

> Early in November of this year in state convention the Alabama State Nurses Association voted to admit Negro nurses to professional membership in the group. The officers at the state level were, for the most part, in favor of such action. But such vote did not commit each district's membership. Thus it is possible - indeed, the condition has already come to pass - that one district may abide by the decision and another district simultaneously refuse to accept it.
>
> After the state group in convention voted to admit Negro nurses, a good deal of criticism was directed at the action. Some of it, of course, came fromwwithin the association itself. A great deal of it came from some of Alabama's physicians.

On December 14, 1949, the white nurses in district, the white nurses of district 1 of the state - there 15 districts in the state - met, and by a secret ballot of 34 to 21 voted to admit Negro nurses to membership in the district organization "on a strictly professional basis". The president of the district organization is quoted as having said, "We do not intend to violate any city ordinances pertaining to segregation. Nor do we intend to alter the social traditions of the South." District 1 includes Jefferson County, in which Birmingham is located, and four adjacent counties.

The district organization in which the city of Dothan is located is reported by the Birmingham News as having voted to keep Negro nurses out of the association in their district.

The members of the Alabama Association of Colored Nurses are reported as being willing and ready to accept the invitation of the Alabama State Nurses Association to become members of that organization, and are now considering the feasibility of dissolving their organization. Just how feasible this latter action is depends upon the extent to which the district organization will admit Negro nurses.

There are no Negro members in the Alabama Press Association nor are there any in the Medical Association of the State of Alabama. Many Negro physicians in the State are outstanding in their specialties, and are full members in several national medical organizations, but they have not been granted the opportunity to join the state organization.

July 5, 1950

Mr. George Rothman, President
International Association of Public
Employment Services
1835 N. Third Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Rothman:

I have just seen your telegram of June 13 regardingthe membership policy of the IAPES, which came during my absence from the office. We are most grateful for your prompt and helpful answer to our inquiry. The information was most helpful to us in preparing our report on professional associations.

We shall be glad to see that you receive a copy of the report when it is in published form.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane Simpson Fleming
Research Assistant

June 13, 1950

Mr. George Rothman, President
International Association of Public
Employment Services
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Rothman:

Thank you for your telegram to Mrs. Simpson regarding membership policy of the Association.

She is on vacation for the next two weeks, and will see your information on her return.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary to Executive Director

ER/r

GIVE HIM A THRILL
Telegraph YOUR FATHER'S DAY GREETINGS
Beautiful Blank Special Envelope
JUNE 18TH
MANY GREETING SUGGESTIONS
6157 (50)

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA03 PA175

P.HGA085 DL PD=HARRISBURG PENN 13 728A=

1950 JUN 13 AM 8 37

MRS JANE P SIMPSON=

ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA= TU ATLANTA

RESPONDING TO YOUR LETTER TO JAMES BRYANT SACRAMENTO CALIF THE POLICY ON MEMBERSHIP IN THE INTERNATIONAL ASSN OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES IS NON RESTRICTIVE STOP THE POLICY IN THE RESPECTIVE STATE CHAPTERS IS WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THOSE STATES STOP I PERSONALLY HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE THAT ANY CHAPTER IN THE ASSOCIATION RESTRICTS ITS MEMBERSHIP=

GEORGE ROTHMAN PRESIDENT=

1025 P Street
Sacramento, California

June 9, 1950

Mr. George Rothman
President, IAPES
1835 North Third Street
Harrisburg, Penna

Dear George:

I am referring the attached letter to you in the hopes that you may have all or part of the answer to Mrs. Simpson's question.

So far as the national policy is concerned you could probably give a definite answer, but it would seem to me that perhaps it would be up to each local chapter to set their own policies as to membership. However, you may have a more clear cut answer for her and as I understand from her letter she is in need of a prompt reply.

With kindest personal regards -

Sincerely

James G. Bryant
Past-President, IAPES

AIRMAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY June 2, 1950

Mr. James Bryant, Director
Department of Employment
State of California
1025 P Street
Sacremento, California

Dear Mr. Bryant:

We have been referred to you by Mrs. Thomasina W. Norford, Minority Groups Consultant of the U. S. Employment Service. The Southern Regional Council is preparing for the next issue of NEW SOUTH, our monthly publication, a report on the policies of state professional organizations with regard to Negro membership. Mrs. Norford has told us that you would be able to give us the information we need concerning the membership policy of the International Association of Public Employment Services in the following Southern States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

We would be most grateful if you could tell us whether or not these state associations of employment service workers admit Negroes to membership and, if so, whether or not Negro membership is full and complete or is limited in any way.

We make this request in a spirit of urgency, since this report will have to go to press next week. We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped envelope for your convenience.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

June 2, 1950

Mrs. Thomasina W. Norford
Minority Groups Consultant
U. S. Employment Service
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Norford:

Thank you so much for the information you sent us in regard to the Internation Association of Public Employment Services. It will help us greatly in preparing our report for NEW SOUTH.

At your suggestion, I have written Mr. James Bryant, International President of the Association, for official state-by-state data on membership policy and practices.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

July 5, 1950

Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gomillion:

Thank you so much for your two letters with the additional information about the Alabama State Conference of Social Workers and the Alabama State Nurses Association. The information is most helpful and we greatly appreciate your cooperation. The report on professional associations was delayed for several reasons, but we are now preparing it for the July issue of New South, so we will be able to incorporate the latest information you have sent.

I am sorry about my delay in answering your letters, but I have just returned to the office after an absence of several weeks. We would very much like to receive any further information you obtain. Even if it comes too late for use in this report, we hope to keep our information on professional associations up-to-date for future use.

Thank you again for all your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Fleming
Research Assistant

8RC - Professional Associations

July 5, 1950

Miss Lorena Jane Murray, SNC
Regional Nursing Consultant
U. S. Public Health Service, Region No. 4
1100 Chester Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Miss Murray:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 15, which I have just seen upon my return to the office after an absence of several weeks. We are most grateful to you for the careful and complete information you obtained for us about the membership policies of the various nurses' associations in Kentucky. The information is exactly what we wanted, and we are most grateful for your help and cooperation in getting it for us.

We shall be glad to see that you receive a copy of our report on professional organizations when it is available.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Fleming
Research Assistant

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
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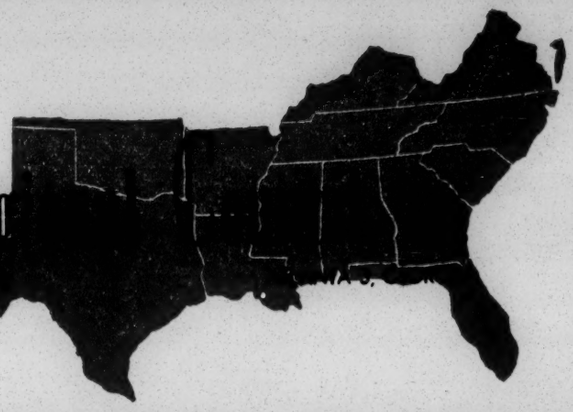
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

* C O P Y *

August 8, 1950

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
Executive Vice-President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
618 Prairie Avenue
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

We are indebted to you for your invaluable help in making this issue of NEW SOUTH possible.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Fleming
Research Assistant

Similar letter sent to everyone who furnished information for the article on professional associations in the July 1950 NEW SOUTH .

SRC - Professional Associations

4450 South Woodlawn Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois
August 29, 1950

Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I was extremely pleased to note that New South had made a study of racial barriers in state professional associations. As a Research Fellow with the Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations of the University of Chicago, I have been engaged in a study of minority group participation in national professional associations. Your findings will be most useful to me. While my research is not yet completed, I would be glad to give you further information about it if you so wish.

JP7 noted

Would it be possible for me to obtain three copies of the July, 1950 issue of New South, in which the study on professional associations is reported? I am enclosing a money order for one dollar and fifty cents ($1.50) to cover the cost of a subscription starting with that issue.

NH

WGD

Congratulations on your fine work.

Very sincerely yours,

Rhoda L. Goldstein

(Mrs.) Rhoda L. Goldstein

Sent 3 copies July NS
+ 1 copy Aug NS
9/6/50

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1950
Southern Regional Council

LETTER SENT TO ALL HEADS OF STATE MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE SOUTH , 8/31/50 -- JPF (JULY 1950 NEW SOUTH ENCLOSED)

Also to white & Negro state assocs. of:
Doctors - typed ltrs.
Dentists - typed ltr's.
Teachers - mimeo ltrs.
Lawyers - typed letters
Librarians - mimeo ltrs.
Social workers - ltrs, mimeog.
Nurses - mimeog, letters

August 31, 1950

Dr. Douglas L. Cannon, Executive Secretary
Medical Association of the State of Alabama
519 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Cannon:

The enclosed issue of NEW SOUTH, bearing on professional associations, we thought should be of special interest to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/jpf

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
F. G. CLARK, PRESIDENT
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

September 8, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thanks greatly for sending me the several copies of the New South. And most of all for your comment concerning the background for the issue in question. Moreover, your comment concerning the problem of a closer affiliation of the Southern Association and our Association will be of great value as we seek to do something about this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Felton G. Clark.

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

Return to JP7

GEORGIA CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

gsm has seen — Thanks

11 Pryor Street Building, S. W.
WAlnut 0508
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 11, 1950

letter answered — S'ville report sent — Sept 12, 1950 — JP7

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the copy of the July "New South" indicating a tendency for Professional Associations to drop the color bar.

It is both encouraging and discouraging but, as a Social Worker, I am glad to see that Social Workers are behaving like Social Workers in this regard. Too bad that other professions supposedly interested in the common welfare cannot act the part.

I am also quite interested in the Greenville Plan. How could I obtain a copy of this survey?

Very truly yours,

Florine J. Ellis

(Mrs.) Florine J. Ellis, President
Georgie Conference on Social Welfare

17 Baltimore Place, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

RECEIVED
SEP 12 1950
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN · OKLAHOMA

September 12, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate very much your sending to me the July issue of the New South. Such information as it contains is always of value.

Sincerely yours,

M. L. Wardell

M. L. Wardell

MLW:par

RECEIVED
SEP 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

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LAWRENCE L. JONES, VICE-PRES.
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Oklahoma Bar Association

OFFICE OF SECRETARY
827 AMERICAN NATIONAL BLDG.
OKLAHOMA CITY 2, OKLAHOMA

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H. T. TUMILTY, OKLAHOMA CITY
FLOYD L. RHEAM, TULSA

15 September 1950

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Sirs:

Thank you for your letter of 8 September 1950, with enclosure, the latter being a copy of the New South.

The enclosure was extremely revealing.

Yours very truly,

T. Austin Gavin

T.Austin Gavin

TAG:M

RECEIVED
SEP 18 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC — Prof. Associations

September 18, 1950

Mr. James Zech, Director
City-County Tuberculosis Control Board
128 W. Commerce Street
San Antonio 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Zech:

Dr. Mitchell, who is out of town, has asked me to thank you for your interesting letter of September 12. I have sent off a copy of the NEW SOUTH article on professional associations to Miss Nelms, as you suggested. We are happy that you found the report useful.

We were most interested in your report on "Social Services in Tuberculosis -- San Antonio Plan". San Antonio seems to have done an excellent and unique job of mobilizing community resources to meet a major local problem effectively and honestly.

We were also much interested in the information you related about Atlanta department stores. Apparently, the case you mention happened some time ago. At present, although elevators are not segregated, all the department stores we know about maintain separate -- and not always adequate -- water fountains, rest rooms, and lunch rooms. So far as we know, none of the stores operate restaurants or fountains for Negroes, but merely provide lunch rooms where Negroes may eat whatever food they bring with them or buy elsewhere.

Economic pressure has been effective in some areas, however. In recent years there has been a marked increase in the courtesy shown to Negro customers by department store salespeople. And in a few cases, white firms have employed Negro salesmen to tap the Negro market. We also know of one case, in the early 1930's, where economic boycott (over refusal to hire Negro help) resulted in the closing of an A&P store in a Negro neighborhood.

Although the Southern Regional Council's program has largely -- and naturally -- emphasized the problems of the largest minority group in the region, the Negroes, the Council is very definitely concerned

with the welfare of all groups. Wherever we have informed and active local members, they are active in behalf of all people in their communities.

We are sending you separately a few materials which will tell you more about the Council and its work. We thought that you would be especially interested in the report of the Greenville (South Carolina) Self-Survey, which shows -- as does your own report -- what effective results can be achieved when local citizens themselves learn the facts and become aroused to action.

You may perhaps know that Texas has a statewide Commission on Interracial Cooperation, of which Mrs. James S. Crate (2410 Inwood Avenue, Houston) is Chairman. The Commission is an independent affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. If you do not know Mrs. Crate and her friends, you will find them wise and helpful.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Fleming
Survey Assistant

City-County TUBERCULOSIS CONTROL BOARD . . . .

JAMES ZECK, DIRECTOR

~~CHARLES W. DUKE~~
NAT GOLDSMITH
MRS. HENRY GUERRA
MELROSE HOLMGREEN
DR. R. G. MCCORKLE
JOE S. SHELDON

620 COMMERCE BUILDING
128 W. COMMERCE STREET
SAN ANTONIO 5, TEXAS
Cathedral 1013

~~August~~ Sept 12, 1950

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1950
Southern Regional Council

JF: John has seen. Says will you answer

Pub. List
Branch
G'ville

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for sending the July copy of NEW SOUTH. The chart is most interesting for it gives a general idea of things that are happening. Before I go any further, please correct the name on your list. You have my name on the AASW list as Chairman of the South Texas Chapter, AASW, but somehow you have me listed as Miss Jane Zech. I am the Past Chairman of the Chapter and would suggest that you send another copy of NEW SOUTH to Miss Ozell Nelms, c/o YWCA, 403 Fifth Street, San Antonio, who is the new Chairman of our Chapter.

done, 9-18-50

I believe that the breakdown of the color ban will be achieved most readily through the economic route. In Texas under state law the front of a bus is reserved for white patrons. To me that seems economically unfair, for the engine of the bus is under the rear seats, and the smoother riding is either in the middle or the front of the bus, with the rear seats jolting most. It seems to me that when a Negro passenger pays his dime for a ride he is entitled to the same quality of ride as my dime buys for me.

Incidentally, about six years ago I was told by a Negro co-worker in a federal agency with which I was then connected that the economic route was used successfully in Atlanta, Georgia. He said that one by one the leading Negro professional people called the main department stores of Atlanta and asked for final statements of their accounts. According to my informant, the stores were anxious to retain the business and when they asked the reason for closing out the account, in each case they were told that the separate drinking fountains and elevators were objectionable, and my informant said that at least in some of the cases it had almost immediate effect in removing this type of segregation.

Early 1930's A&P

Since prejudices, which are instilled from childhood, are difficult to uproot in a short time, I presume that educational segregation can most readily be attacked through the means already taken: of insisting that the constitutional provisions for equal educational facilities be adhered to. It becomes pretty expensive for

states to set up completely duplicated educational systems to give the Negro people educational opportunity, so I have an idea that if the insistence is strong enough for compliance with the constitution, and if it is sustained by all organizations interested, that this will most rapidly lower the bar, if not completely drop it.

Before I came to San Antonio I was told by a Negro graduate student that of the southern cities he knew he thought San Antonio gave the Negro the best economic opportunities. That seems to be borne out by some statistics which I used in a paper about the tuberculosis problem in San Antonio. As you, of course, know there seems to be a relationship between poverty and tuberculosis, as well as between poverty and other social and health problems. The tables on pages 6 and 7 of the enclosed reprint of the article bring out some of this relationship as of the early 1940s. From observation I would say that the relative positions are still the same, although we have no study to establish this.

filed under: Health

Tex. I.C.

If the samples which produced the statistics in the tables I presented were representative of the whole population, then it would appear that in San Antonio our Latin Americans are in many respects in a much worse position than our Negroes. Does the Southern Regional Council concern itself exclusively with the position of the Negro, or is it interested in other "minority" groups as well?

Very sincerely yours,

CITY-COUNTY TUBERCULOSIS CONTROL BOARD

James Zeck

James Zeck, Director

JZ/vc
1 Encl.

CC: Mr. W. W. Gibbs
Mrs. Jane P. Fleming

Enclose:

2 copies Professional issue of New South
What Kind of South Do You Want

October 6, 1950

Mr. Cody Fowler
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Fowler:

We were pleased to see notice of your election as head of the American Bar Association. That is a distinguished honor.

Doubtless you will have seen this recent issue of our Council's small magazine. Perhaps it can be useful to you as you work with various Southern State Bar Associations.

We would be delighted if you would become a member of the Council. You will find a membership blank toward the end of the brown leaflet with the map. I am sure you will know Mr. Gibbs in Miami, who is the present Chairman of the Florida Division and of course Mr. R. P. Daniel, of Jacksonville, who was Chairman until this year. In Tampa, among many members, I recall as a particularly warm friend, Mr. G. D. Rogers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

DR. BUNCHE TO GET UN POST IN KOREA?

Atl. Jour 10-2-50

By WALTER WINCHELL

New York.

WHEN THE United Nations warriors in Korea consolidate their positions watch for an important assignment for Nobel Prize winner Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. . . . Inside tip to retailers, wholesalers, et al: Start accumulating statistics on inventories as of July 1 and Oct. 1: The Gov't will demand them in its war against hoarders who are buying up supplies and holding them to see what happens to prices. . . . The American Bar Ass'n just elected Cody Fowler of Tampa, Fla., as its president. Regarded as one of the top liberals in the Southland, he will knock down all bars in it against Negro barristers. . . . Cosmopolitan Maga

phy's best pal is New Yorker cartoonist Peter Arno. Murphy hates nobody but bigots and commies—so expect considerable cleaning up in the Dept. What's he got to lose? . . . The Stork Club had two $11,000 days last week, so shed no tears for prop. Billingsley who bet $2,000 to $1,000 on Louis. . . . Novelist Budd Schulberg has been asked to carry on the book Richard Lauterbach hadn't finished when he suddenly was taken the other day. It is Charlie Chaplin's story. . . .

POLE

De

in

Profes. [illegible]
Negro nurses in

November 1, '50

Dear Mrs. Cohn,

I had a visit this afternoon from a Miss Mae Bagwell, an officer of the American Nurses Association, attached to its New York office at 353 West 57th St., N.Y. 19. (White lady!)

She was on her way back North from a trip to Louisiana, where, among other things, she had been concerned to see what could be done toward getting theLouisiana State Nurses Association to open its doors to Negro nurses. The present situation is that the Louisiana State Nurses Association ~~xxx~~ has opened itself, but only to Negro nurses who reach it through their appropriate District Nurses Associations, and 'tis believed that neither of the two big districts (Baton Rouge and N.O.) or any of the teensy ones have as yet opened their own district doors.

Matter is complicated, or maybe eased, by the fact that in Louisiana and particularly in New Orleans the public health nurses (who operate their own association - but whose members are also members of the regular nurses association - does admit its Negro co-semurs. The public health nurses of the NO district will be meeting simultaneously with the regular nurses N.O. district (seen -about Nov. 14) and will have the oddity of shuttling back and forth from this hall to that so they can be at this point with and at that point without the Negro nurses!

The Scertary of the La. State Nurses Assn is Miss Christine Causey, address as in 'phone book. She is interested in this whole matter, but hardly likely to act vigorously, for explainable reasons. But she would almost certainly be happy to tell you what the score is, and have you start some movement.

Main oppenmnts of opening up are the "private duty" nurses, who always have a few unemployed, and fear they would have more in Negro nurses were anointed.

The head Sister at Charity Hospital is said to be willing to be helpful.

I hasten to get this off to you. Matter is confidential, but I felt sure you would ~~xxxxx~~ wish to find ways to improve matters.

Sincerely,

11/15/50 - Thanked for letter - Said GSM out of city - B.R.

SRC - Prof. Assocs.

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
CODY FOWLER
CITIZENS BUILDING
TAMPA 2, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1950

November 13, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Absence from the City has caused my delay in answering your letter of October 6th.

I appreciate your invitation to become a member of your Council. However, I belong to so many organizations now that I have made it a rule to join nothing else and if I vary the rule for one it will put me in a difficult position with others.

Yours very truly,

Cody Fowler

Cody Fowler

CF:cw

9RC - Prof. Assoc.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION
INC.

2 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

The American Nurses' Association is pleased to send for your information and use, this copy of "AN AMERICAN CHALLENGE" a pamphlet of significance to every one who is interested in race relations and social problems as they affect human health and welfare. The pamphlet outlines the aims of the fifty-five-year-old program to achieve the rights of minority group members of the American Nurses' Association.

If you can use additional copies, please let us know.

EAE:MMB
2/1/51

The National League of Nursing Education functions as the Department of Education of the American Nurses' Association
The American Journal of Nursing is the Official Magazine

I am happy to extend cordial greetings to the American Nurses' Association through the media of "AN AMERICAN CHALLENGE" and to wish it full success in its current campaign against discrimination in the nursing profession.

Attitudes of racial and religious prejudice and practices of discrimination affect every American, of whatever race or creed. They sap the strength of the society, waste its manpower and obstruct the attainment of maximum unity among its peoples, and this at a time when as never before in its history, it needs desperately its full power.

Democracy as a way of life is being severely challenged in the world today. A large part of the world -- the freedom loving world -- looks to the United States for leadership in the struggle to preserve democracy. Nothing short of a convincing demonstration by the American people of democracy at work can suffice. This can be given only if the great democratic principles of our Constitution are applied to <u>all</u> Americans, irrespective of their race, color, creed or national origin. American moral leadership in the world is jeopardized by undemocratic practices at home. Democracy, to have vitality, must be practiced and <u>lived</u>.

-- Ralph J. Bunche

SRC - profess. assocs — policies on negro membership

April 9, '51

Miss Janet Riley
Law Librarian
Loyola University
New Orleans 15, La.

Dear Miss Riley,

Thank you for writing. I do hope that things can be done.

Our July issue of New South has on p. 4 a note that gave the limitations in Louisiana.

I've checked about a bit, and can give this much of the situation elsewhere. I'm not of the profession (though my wife is!) and I'm never sure of titles of associations, and am necessarily hazy.

In North Carolina there are two associations, and the Negro one has had good membership and good program, (as of course the white one has had, too). Discussions have been under way for about three years as to putting the two together. They are finally to meet together, as the two associations, in Greensboro, this month (the 24th?). Social functions and banquets have been cut to a minimum. All sessions will be open to all members of both associations except the final business meeting of the white one, which will have before it the question of fusion of the two associations.

In Georgia the costitution of the Association was changed in 1949, and now is in print showing the new language. It opens membership to "persons employed in Library work" and other interested persons. So membership is (intentionally) open to all. But as far as I can determine few if any Negroes have as yet joined the Georgia Library Association. I expect some will before long. The Georgia Association next meets in Columbus, this Fall.

The Southeasterns Library Association did (last year?) change its rules, after a stoutish argument, to admit all, regardless of whether eligible for membership in their State associations or not.

The Southern meeting of the ALA, at Miami, early in 1950,

had everybody together, resident in the same hotel - all smooth as silk.

I haven't been able to reach friends in Virginia, but assume we were accurate in July in finding that one quite open, as with Kentuky, also.

You will find a Miss Read, Parish Librarian for Rapides, is on your side.

Best luck, and let us know what happens.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

LIBRARIAN

RECEIVED
APR 7 1951
Southern Regional Council

April 5, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This letter should have been written immediately after you spoke in New Orleans on March 19. Because I have procrastinated so long, it may be too late to ask an answer from you in time for my purposes, but if you can answer without too much trouble, it will be deeply appreciated.

I missed your talk in New Orleans, having vainly attempted to make two meetings in one evening. I arrived just before you left, and someone told me you had said something about librarians being one profession that admits Negroes to all Southern state associations. Do you remember my speaking to you about that just as you were getting into the Hornung's station wagon to rush to the airport? I was and am bothered, because I know that in Louisiana their membership is less than full, because we have consistently held annual conventions in hotels which have made them less than welcome. Actually, though Negro librarians pay dues and receive the quarterly Louisiana Library Association Bulletin, none of them have ever attended the meetings.

Last spring at the convention, the Committee on Participation of Negro Members, appointed by the president of the year before, read a report as follows: "The L.L.A. Committee on Negro Participation recommends that the Association adopt the policy of holding its meetings only in locations where any member may attend and participate in all scheduled proceedings. The committee recommends that luncheon and dinner meetings be foregone if they preclude such participation. Committee also recommends that prior to the submission of this statement an investigation be made of possibilities of places for meetings which would allow the Association to abide by the policy, if adopted."

After the reading of the report, I gave a talk on the absence of any law preventing action on the policy, and other reports were made on scarcity of meeting places available. There was lively discussion from the floor. A motion to postpone action for a year passed easily. On April 12, 13, and 14, LLA will convene again.. This time I am on the new committee on participation. We are interested in facts and strategy that will help us to get the motion of the original committee passed, but are frankly worried that it wont. The parish (county to you) librarians are afraid their public will never vote another tax, and the school librarians are bothered because their section of LLA has the same constitution as the librarians' section of the teachers' association, which has a parallel association for Negroes. The college and university and special librarians would be largely in favor of the committee's recommendations. I am hoping any information you can give us about activities in other states, or other professions, would convince our doubtful members.

Sincerely and hopefully, Janet Riley
Janet Riley
Law Librarian

April 23, 1951

Miss Janet Riley
Librarian
School of Law
Loyola University
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

Dear Miss Riley:

I do thank you for letting us know just how the Louisiana Library Association matter stands.

It seems to me it ought to crack fairly soon.

May I share into Louisiana my wife's librarian story? Twenty years ago in the children's library in Richmond they had the usual rule that if a child could write its name it could take out a book. A little tiny girl came in, maybe three and a half, and picked out the book she wanted. When it came to the name, she did a shaky but proud job of printing Elizabeth. The librarian asked her what was her last name. Nobody had ever explained to Elizabeth anything about last names. So two librarians got around her, then five librarians, all trying to get a surname out of Elizabeth, and the poor child got ready to cry. Whereupon one librarian said to Elizabeth, "What does your mother call your father?"

"Oh, she says, 'Darling, come to supper.'"

So they let her take out the book.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

LIBRARIAN

April 20, 1951

RECEIVED
APR 23 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you, thank you, for coming to the fore so quickly with all that valuable information about professional library associations. All the committee were delighted to have such ammunition. However, the way things worked out, we did not have the opportunity to use it in the meeting itself, though of course we have shown it to, or told it to individuals.

We had to back track a little bit - but we suspect we are no worse off for handling it less directly than originally planned.

At almost the last minute, the committee on Negro participation learned that Mr. George Madison of Bastrop, La., chairman of the trustees' section of the Louisiana Library Association, had written a letter to all boards of trustees of parish (county) libraries, suggesting that they call a meeting with their librarians and instruct them to vote against the motion held over from last year, which would have required conventions to be planned at places where all members could attend, with luncheon and dinner meetings to be foregone where impossible.

When we realized that the vote would not be a free expression of opinion at least by some of the membership, and considered that the school librarians seemed particularly bothered by the problem of the librarians' section of the white teachers' association, we asked the one whose motion it was last year to withdraw her motion, which she did after explaining that she had not changed her mind about its desirability, but only about the need for a vote today.

Sue Hefley, chairman of the committee, explained frankly, to a well attended meeting, that the committee, still of the same mind as last year, felt that above all things we must avoid a negative vote; first because it would disturb the status quo, and most members wanted at least a retention of the status quo; second because it would put our professional group in Louisiana on record as disapproving what we would eventually probably adopt and what many of us now wanted. In order to avoid a negative vote, then, we had asked for the withdrawal of the motion, and now ask instead that the association accept the recommendation of the committee that the executive board consider itself instructed to work unceasingly and persistently toward all-member participation, as, when, and how it shall seem to be for the best interests of all concerned.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

LIBRARIAN

We had, perhaps naively, hoped that the recommendation could be accepted without a vote, for we feared the persuasive effect of statements by trustees present if it were opened to discussion. We had had plenty discussion last year. But we had agreed that if it were once opened to discussion, I was to present your information about other states, and there would be use of every argument possible- but we hoped to avoid another open discussion.

The president stated that the recommendation of the committee could not be accepted, even as the expression of that committee, without a motion to that effect. One of our friends so moved, it was seconded, there was no answer to the call for discussion, and the vote was unanimously affirmative by a voice vote. Everyone seemed happy, for everyone had convinced himself that the solution was better than it might have been.

So - it is now a matter of getting the executive board to decide that the"as, when, and how"is soon. We are already talking about trying to have the next meeting in New Orleans and interracial. It could be done - but what the follow-up in other cities of Louisiana would be I would hesitate to forecast. We must consider whether it would be worse to open the meetings to all members for a year or two and then retreat to a hotel in a city where it would be impossible later. Or should we let two or three years from now take care of themselves.

As it stands, we have a unanimous statement of policy to strengthen an executive board who wants to move forward - and I think our personnel elected to take office in January will want to move forward. Though only a lowly parliamentarian I am on that executive board. The president-elect is Evelyn Peters, librarian at the Orleans Parish School Board Professional Library, the first vice-president and president elect for the year 1953 is Dr. Garland Taylor, librarian of Tulane University's Howard-Tilton Library, the second vice-president is Guy Lyle, Librarian of Louisiana State University, the secretary is Lucille Arceneaux, of Lafayette Parish Library, and the treasurer is somebody I don't know very well whose last name is Builtemann. I don't know all the points of view- but I know enough of them to feel sure we can do something in 1952, with that motion to back us up.

Pray that we do the wise thing. Thanks again for your interest, speed, assistance, and information. I was delighted to hear that Mrs. Mitchell is a librarian. That has influenced me to give you such full information you are probably bored with this lengthy letter - but I suspect you wanted all the innuendos.

Sincerely,

Janet Riley

Janet Riley

July 6, 1951

Mr. G. Avery Lee
First Baptist Church
Ruston, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Lee:

Fresh information on the medical society matter you raise is hard to come by. I will send you what we have.

The July, 1950, issue of New South is accurate as of about June, 1950.

The newspapers reported April 11, 1951, that Dr. Earnest G. Kelly, in accepting the presidency of the Tennessee State Medical Association, said that the association should lead out in admitting Negro doctors to the meetings of the association.

The press reported June 20, 1951, that at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, two Negro doctors had been appointed to treat Negro patients at Davis Hospital. They are Drs. Cleon A. Flowers and Clyde A. Lawlah.

We understand from a newspaper story that in 1948 limited hospital practice privileges were granted Negro doctors at Lynchburg, Virginia. Several of the Negro doctors at Columbus, Georgia, are permitted to follow their patients into hospitals there.

June 27, 1951, the press reported that the Health Council of Chattanooga and Hamilton County, Tennessee, expected to merge with the Negro Health Council of that area. That had been proposed and unanimously approved by the Health Council, and the vote of the Negro Health Council was expected to be favorable.

Several years ago the hospital staff at Grady Hospital in Atlanta (medical supervision of which is in the hands of Emory University Medical School) arranged for Negro physicians to be admitted to the weekly staff teaching clinics at Grady. We understand that this has proceeded smoothly and that Negro doctors from considerable distances regularly take advantage of it.

I heard a couple of months ago in Texas that there is a good deal of interest in the State medical society there in admitting Negro physicians.

You probably know that the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was dissolved in January, 1951, as being no longer needed. Of the 10,000 Negro nurses in the United States, only 2,000 were in the colored nurses association at the time of its voluntary dissolution. The press reported in October, 1950, that at that time Negro nurses were barred from membership in the regular local nurses associations only in Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia (which agrees with our findings in June, 1950).

In June, 1950, according to the press, the Oklahoma State Medical Association opened the doors of its scientific sessions to Negro doctors, effective in 1951. They voted to invite Negro physicians to attend any future meetings "when they are held outside of local hotels."

In October, 1950, according to the press, the new president of the Medical Society of Virginia, Dr. C. Lyman Harold, of Norfolk, recommended that Negro physicians be granted membership in local and State societies. Dr. Harold said in his address that he had conducted a poll of Virginia's Negro physicians and found their qualifications to be as high as those of the white doctors. He further said that "as a public health measure we need more Negro physicians and we need to keep them better trained after they start to practice medicine."

Do keep people interested as well as you can in a survey. Ruston would be a good place.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
200 S. TRENTON RUSTON, LOUISIANA

G. AVERY LEE, MINISTER
RALPH E. STULTS, MINISTER OF EDUCATION
THOMAS L. MILLS, MINISTER OF MUSIC
ALMA MAY SCARBOROUGH, NURSERY-KINDERGARTEN DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1951
Southern Regional Council

June 28, 1951

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

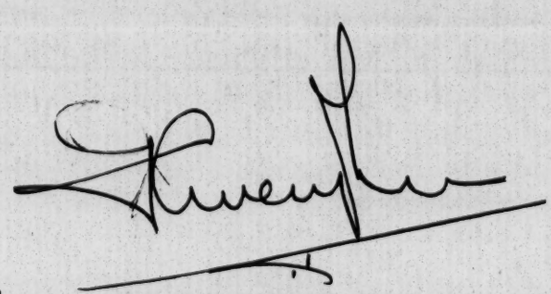
Sorry to have delayed so many months in writing to you. There's really been nothing to report, and I've been busy on other things--still not forgetting the SRC.

I talked around and did not find enough present interest to undertake the survey you suggested. Maybe later.

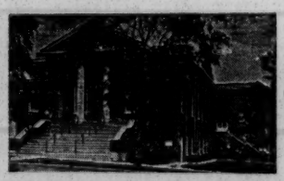
Here's my main purpose of this letter. We now have a Negro doctor, and medical clinic here in Ruston. One of the white doctors and I are very interested in getting him in the medical society. Negroes are prohibitted in the Louisiana Medical Society and any local society which takes one is then kicked out of the state organization. Can you give me information about Southern medical societies who have Negro members, or affiliates, or whatever. Also the Negro nurses information. Also about Southern hospitals admitting Negro doctors to their staff. (We're trying that, too.)

You may this Negro Dr., a Dr. Walwym, formerly at Tuskeegee Institute.

Thanks for the bother.



P.S. Do you know Mr. John Ramsey of the Atlanta CIO staff? If not, get acquainted with him.



Profess. Assoc.
Phone - 375
Negro mem. bsp

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MISS ADELE J. MINAHAN, COLUMBIA

CONFERENCE OFFICE
1930 COLLEGE STREET
COLUMBIA 1, S. C.

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MRS. HORACE SAWYER, EDGEFIELD
WEST-CENTRAL

October 8, 1951

OCT 9 1951
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr.George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue , N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr.Mitchell :

This is in answer to your recent letter . The question of membership in the State Nurses Association was not presented at the annual meeting in Sumter last week .

I understand that Negroes are permitted to attend the open session of the Association as is the general public.

Hope you can attend our annual meeting in Columbia , November 9th .

Greetings to the staff .

Yours truly,
Adele J Minahan
Treasurer, S.C. Div SRC

BULLETIN

OF

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

October, 1951

CONFERENCE CALL

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work hereby calls its members and invites other interested citizens to attend the Forty-second Annual Conference, November 7-9, 1951, at the Wade Hampton Hotel, Columbia, South Carolina.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The highest welfare of the individual human personality is of primary importance to society. Good individuals are the foundation toward good government, sturdy families and fine communities. It is basic for desiring a sound economy, preservation of our freedoms and the provision of equal justice to all. To have the highest type of individuals we must have religious opportunities, sound education and the other necessities in an adequate, well integrated program. Greatly increasing emphasis and investment must be placed upon PREVENTION and upon REHABILITATION throughout.

Let's be present for our 42nd meeting of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work and lend your support toward a sound social program.

Sincerely yours,

Alfred Scarborough.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL SOCIAL SERVICE INSTITUTE

Wednesday, November 7

No. 1 – The Importance of Food to Human Growth and Development
Leaders: Members of State Nutrition Committee

No. 2 – Importance of Work Performed by Clerical Staffs
Leader: Mrs. Clara Bell K. Shands, Training and Procedure Supervisor, South Carolina Employment Security Commission
Assisted by: Business Leaders and Social Workers

No. 3 – Case Work Services with Public Assistance Families
Leader: Miss Rhoda O'Meara, Regional Representative, Social Security Agency, Atlanta, Georgia

No. 4 – Rehabilitation Services for Juvenile and Adult Citizens in Conflict with Society
Coordinator: Mr. Heyward Hudson, President, South Carolina Probation and Parole Association

No. 5 – How to Tell the Story of Your Social Service Agency Through Publicity and Its Effective Use
Coordinator: Mr. T. Jackson Lowe, Public Relations Director, South Carolina Education Association

Wednesday, November 7 and Thursday Morning, November 8

No. 6 – Advance Social Case Work
Leader: Miss Florence Sytz, Professor, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana

No. 7 – Beginning Social Case Work
Leader: Dr. Allen Keith-Lucas, Professor, School of Social Work, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

No. 8 – Social Group Work Institute – Developing Individuals and Groups for Participation in Community Living
Leader: Miss Jean Cleveland, Professor of Social Group Work, Scarrett College and School of Social Work, University of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee

Friday, November 9

No. 9 – The Crucial Preschool Years
Leader: Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir, Chairman, Department of Child Study, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York

---

REGISTRATION in the Institutes is open to all interested persons, but enrollment in some institutes will be limited. They will meet simultaneously and it will not be possible for a person to enroll in more than one institute except the Institute on November 9.

APPLICATIONS. Until registration limit is reached, applicants will be assigned upon the receipt of Application. Staff members of each agency are asked to choose several Institutes in order that representative groups will be present in each Institute. Please make application to Miss Adele J. Minahan, 1930 College Street, Columbia 1, South Carolina.

TIME SCHEDULE. Institutes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 will hold two sessions of two and a half hours making a total of five hours, on Wednesday, November 7. Fee $1.00. Institutes 6, 7, 8 will have an additional session on Thursday, November 8. Fee $2.00. Institute 9 will have two sessions on Friday, November 9. Fee $1.00.

GENERAL INFORMATION 1951 CONFERENCE

REGISTRATION – Every one attending the Conference is expected to register. There is no registration fee for Conference members. Individuals who are not members of the Conference are requested to pay a registration fee of fifty cents. The registration desk will be in the lobby of the Wade Hampton Hotel.

HOUSING ACCOMMODATIONS – The following hotels are near the Wade Hampton Hotel: Columbia, Marmac, Jerome, DeSoto, The Jefferson, Davis, and Marion.

Accommodations may be reserved at nearby Tourist Homes: Mrs. A. F. Funderburk, 1706 Gervais Street; Gillam's, 1218 Bull Street; Byrd's, 1413 Washington Street. The management of these tourist homes request that a check be sent with reservations. Please make all reservations direct. Do this now.

EXHIBITS – Organizations desiring to arrange an exhibit please make application for space at once to the Conference Office, 1930 College Street. Exhibits will be housed in the Ballroom of the Wade Hampton Hotel.

MEMBERSHIP – Have you enrolled for 1951? Please remember that the Conference depends upon its membership for support and every membership serves to build a stronger, more effective and more valuable Conference. If you are not a member, why not join? Your financial assistance and participation will mean much to the future program of the Conference and the social welfare program in South Carolina.

SPECIAL REQUESTS – Please do not include your MEMBERSHIP DUES in the same check with INSTITUTE FEES.

RESOLUTIONS – Members of the Conference who may be planning to submit resolutions at the 1951 Conference are asked to give careful thought and consideration to the intent, purpose and effect of such resolutions. Resolutions must be presented in duplicate, typed if possible, and complete as to text. Please send resolutions to the Conference Office not later than November 3.

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS – WADE HAMPTON HOTEL

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

CONFERENCE THEME: "Conserve Human Resources by Prevention and Rehabilitation"

Wednesday Morning, November 7, 1951

9:00-12:30 – Registration, Lobby of Wade Hampton Hotel

9:30-12:00 – Institute Sessions

1:00 – Luncheon – Probation and Parole Association
Make reservations to Miss Elizabeth Hunter, State Probation and Parole Board, Calhoun Office Building, Columbia, S. C.

Afternoon Sessions

2:00- 4:30 – Institute Sessions

4:30- 5:30 – Meeting of Palmetto Council, American Camping Association

6:00- 7:45 – Dinner Conference and Annual Meeting, Alumni of the School of Social Work, University of South Carolina
Make reservations to Miss Jeraldine Wooley, Travelers Aid Society, 1514 Assembly Street, Columbia, S. C.

Evening Session

8:15 – General Session, Ballroom, Wade Hampton Hotel
President's Message – Senator Alfred Scarborough, Sumter, S. C.
Address – "The Value of a Statewide Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court System
The Honorable Elwood F. Melson, Judge of Family Court, New Castle County, Wilmington, Delaware

Thursday Morning, November 8, 1951

8:45-12:30 – Registration

8:30-11:00 – Institutes No. 6, 7, 8

9:30-11:00 – Recording, "What Is Youth's Responsibility to the White House Conference"

10:00-11:15 – Conference sponsored by the South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council Trinity Parish House, Columbia, S.C.

10:00-11:15 – Conference on Alcoholism – An Unmet Health Problem

11:30-12:45 – General Session, Ballroom, Wade Hampton Hotel
(Sponsored by South Carolina Mental and Social Hygiene Society)
Address – (topic to be announced)
Dr. Carl A. Whitaker, School of Medicine, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

1:15- 2:45 – Luncheon Sessions

No. 1 – Annual Meeting of South Carolina Mental and Social Hygiene Society
Make reservations to Miss Beulah Gardner, State Hospital, Columbia, S. C.
Price – $1.50 plus tax

No. 2 – Salvation Army
Make reservations to Major R. M. McNeiland, Salvation Army, 1110 Lady Street, Columbia, S. C.

Afternoon Sessions

3:15- 4:30 – Sectional Conferences

No. 1 – Annual Meeting. South Carolina Citizens Committee on Children and Youth

No. 2 – Conference. Community Responsibility for Good Housing

No. 3 – Conference. Unmet Needs of the Physically Handicapped

No. 4 – Salvation Army Leaders

~~Trinity Hall Columbia, S.C.~~

Evening Session

7:30- 8:15 – Registration

8:15 – General Session. Sponsored by State Department of Public Welfare
Speaker: (To be announced)

Friday Morning, November 9, 1951

8:45-11:30 – Registration

9:00-10:00 – Business Session

9:30-12:00 – Institute – The Crucial Preschool Years

10:15-11:30 – Sectional Conferences

No. 1 – Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students

No. 2 – American Association of Social Workers
Annual Business Session

No. 3 – Conference. The Chronically Ill Problem and What We Can Do About It

No. 4 – Conference. Our Responsibility to Improve Penal Conditions

11:30-12:45 – General Session, Ballroom, Wade Hampton Hotel
(Sponsored by American Association of Social Workers)
"The Response of Social Work to the Present Challenge"
Mr. Joseph P. Anderson, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City

1:00- 2:30 – Luncheon Sessions
No. 1 – Buffet Luncheon – American Association of Social Workers
(For members and visiting members of A.A.S.W.)

No. 2 – Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students
Make reservations to Miss Adele J. Minahan, 1930 College Street, Columbia, S. C.
Price $1.00 plus tax

Afternoon Sessions

2:00- 4:30 – Institute "The Crucial Preschool Years"

2:30- 5:00 – South Carolina Council on Education for Social Work

3:00- 4:00 – Meeting of Public Affairs Committee of Y.W.C.A.

Profes
Assoc
admit Hame

October 1, 1951

Miss Adele Minahan
1930 College St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Miss Minahan:

I have had some intimation that the question of admitting Negro nurses might come up this year in South Carolina with the regular (white) State nurses association. There is even a guess that the action would be in favor of letting the Negro nurses in.

I should think this is the sort of thing that you could take an effective hand in.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
cc: Miss Rebecca Reid

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

April 6, 1955

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS DROP THE COLOR BAR
Supplement to July, 1950 NEW SOUTH

State	Lawyers	Teachers	Dentists	Doctors	Nurses	Librarians	Social Workers
ALABAMA	X			X	X		X
ARKANSAS		X			X	X	X
FLORIDA	X			X	X		X
GEORGIA				Sci.*			X
KENTUCKY	X			X	X	X	X
LOUISIANA	X				X	X	X
MISSISSIPPI					X		X
N. CAROLINA				X	X		X
OKLAHOMA				Sci.	X	X	X
S. CAROLINA	X			X	X		X
TENNESSEE				X	X		X
TEXAS				~~Sci.~~ X	X	X	X
VIRGINIA	X			X	X	X	X

*"Scientific" membership extended to Negro doctors; under such an arrangement Negro doctors may attend only the scientific sessions of the association, do not have voting privileges, but may join the American Medical Association through this nominal membership in the state organization.

The Alabama Medical Association admitted its first Negro member in January, 1954. Dr. J. L. Hicks of Florence, Ala. qualified for membership in the Lauderdale County Medical Society after the state association adopted a policy of accepting Negro doctors after they were admitted by their local county medical societies.

Tennessee's State Medical Association dropped racial barriers to admission this past summer (1954) when two Negro doctors from Giles County became full members. The Tennessee Association's constitution has no provisions barring Negro doctors, but the county societies have traditionally excluded Negro doctors and hence blocked admission to the state society, which is automatic with county membership. Dr. D. M. Spotwood and Dr. William A. Lewis were the first doctors admitted to the Giles County association and hence to the Tennessee State Medical Association. Following Giles County's lead, the Lincoln County medical society admitted Dr. L. M. Donalson and Knoxville's Academy of Medicine veted to accept qualified Negro doctors.

In September, 1954 the board of directors of the Davidson County, Tenn. medical society and the Nashville Academy of Medicine recommended that their respective consititions be amended to admit Negro doctors to membership. The Memphis and Shelby County Medical Society was also considering admission of Negro d octors at the same time.

Virginia's state medical association removed radial barriers in the fall of 1954 and since that time both the Roanoke Academy of Medicine and the Norfolk County Medical Society have admitted Negroes to their membership. Four doctors were admitted to the Roanoke society March 7, 1955 and six doctors joined the Norfolk association on the same date.

The North Carolina State Medical Society discussed admission of Negro doctors to membership at its annual meeting, May, 1954. The society took no formal action on the matter, except to appoint a committee to study the "problem" of Negro membership.

Despite the failure of the North Carolina State Medical Society to act on admission of Negro doctors, both the Guilford County (Greensboro) and the Mecklenburg County (Charlotte) medical societies voted to admit Negro members in 1954. The Guilford County society took action to admit Negro doctors in April, 1954, and urged the state society to adopt broader admission policies at the May meeting where the "problem" of Negro doctors was discussed. The Mecklenburg County Medical Society voted Dr. Emery L. Rann into membership in September, 1955, after eliminating its constitutional requirement for "white" membership in May, 1954.

In March, 1954, Miss Armitta A. Nelson of Columbus, S. C. became the first Negro nurse to join the Third District Nurses Association. The South Carolina State Nurses Association dropped racial barriers to ~~xxx~~ membership in its 1953 convention, making it possible for district associations to accept qualified Negro nurses. Georgia now has ~~xxxxxxx~~ the only state nurses association in the United States which refused to accept qualified Negro nurses.

Alabama Negro MD's Ask to Join Medical Groups

Atl. Journal 6/11/56

TUSKEGEE, Ala., June 10—(AP). Negro physicians have voted to seek admittance into Alabama county and state medical societies.

They passed a resolution to that end during the closing session of a three-day meeting of the Alabama State Medical Association at Tuskegee institute Friday.

This association is composed of all qualified Negro physicians in the state. It is separate from the medical association of the state of Alabama composed of white physicians.

Sponsors of the antisegregation resolution said exclusion of Negro doctors from county and state medical societies has worked to the disadvantage of Negro patients.

At Friday's meeting proponents of the resolution asking admittance into the white medical association said the present system blocks doctors who are otherwise qualified to membership in the American Medical Association.

The AMA requires membership in county and state medical societies. AMA membership is, in turn a prerequisite to certification to any of the specialty boards.

This situation, the resolution backers said, influences many Negro doctors to transfer their practices to areas where they are admitted to all medical societies on the basis of merit.

This same situation deters many promising young doctors from setting up practice in the state, they said.

Dr. R. E. Tisdale, former professor at Tuskegee institute, and now a practicing physician in Montgomery, is president of the association. Dr. L. F. Swann, Birmingham, secretary, and Dr. E. B. Good, Mobile, president-elect.

State Assoc - belong

Nurses

Ala - both (open)

Fla - both open

Ga - separate colored grad; Ga State NA (wh.)

SC separate " , SC "

Miss - both open

Tenn - both open

Info from —

Miss Callahan

9 June 1950

Mrs. Florence Callahan
Regional Nursing Consultant
USPHS, Region VII
Atlanta, Ga.
Cy. 2804 (Mrs. Stephen - her sec.)

Ala
Miss
Tenn
SC
Ga
Fla

will send us chart on this by June 3 -
~~will have info~~ on
~~these about May~~ 26

See attached ltrs. for other states

State League of Nursing Education?

Nurses - Ga.

Miss Swan or Miss Smith
State Dept of P. Health

Miss Marguerite Stillman -
Ath. TB Asso Exec -
or Head of VNA -
ask about nurses -

USES - State Div.
Internat'l Assoc. Pub. Empl. Services
"IAPES"
Pres. -

Harold Miller, Mgr, Ga. State
Empl. Office - ask for
state + local pres.

Ga. Library Assoc. – white

SE Regional Library Assoc. have to belong to State Orgs. to belong to this. —

Mtg Oct 1950 – may allow direct membership –

Bd. of Control
N. Jackson

Lawyers —

Teachers

Dentists

Doctors

Nurses

Librarians

Social workers

Engineers

Architects

Ga. Dope

Library info.

Nurses - AORR ~~state~~ by ~~state~~

Ala - Gomillion, Turnipseed

Ark - ~~[illegible]~~ Thompson, Stephan

Fla. - Lovejoy

Ga. - ~~[illegible]~~

Ky - Atwood ~~[illegible]~~

La - Father Fichter, ~~[illegible]~~

Miss - ~~[illegible]~~, ~~[illegible]~~ Howells

N.C. - Trigg, ~~Nautbold~~, ~~[illegible]~~

ORLG - ~~[illegible]~~ (Sol Sutker), ~~[illegible]~~

S.C. - Murahan, C. Maxwell

Tenn - A. Ferris, ~~[illegible]~~, Valien

Texas - Crate, ~~[illegible]~~

Va. - Rozie

Open to Negro members?

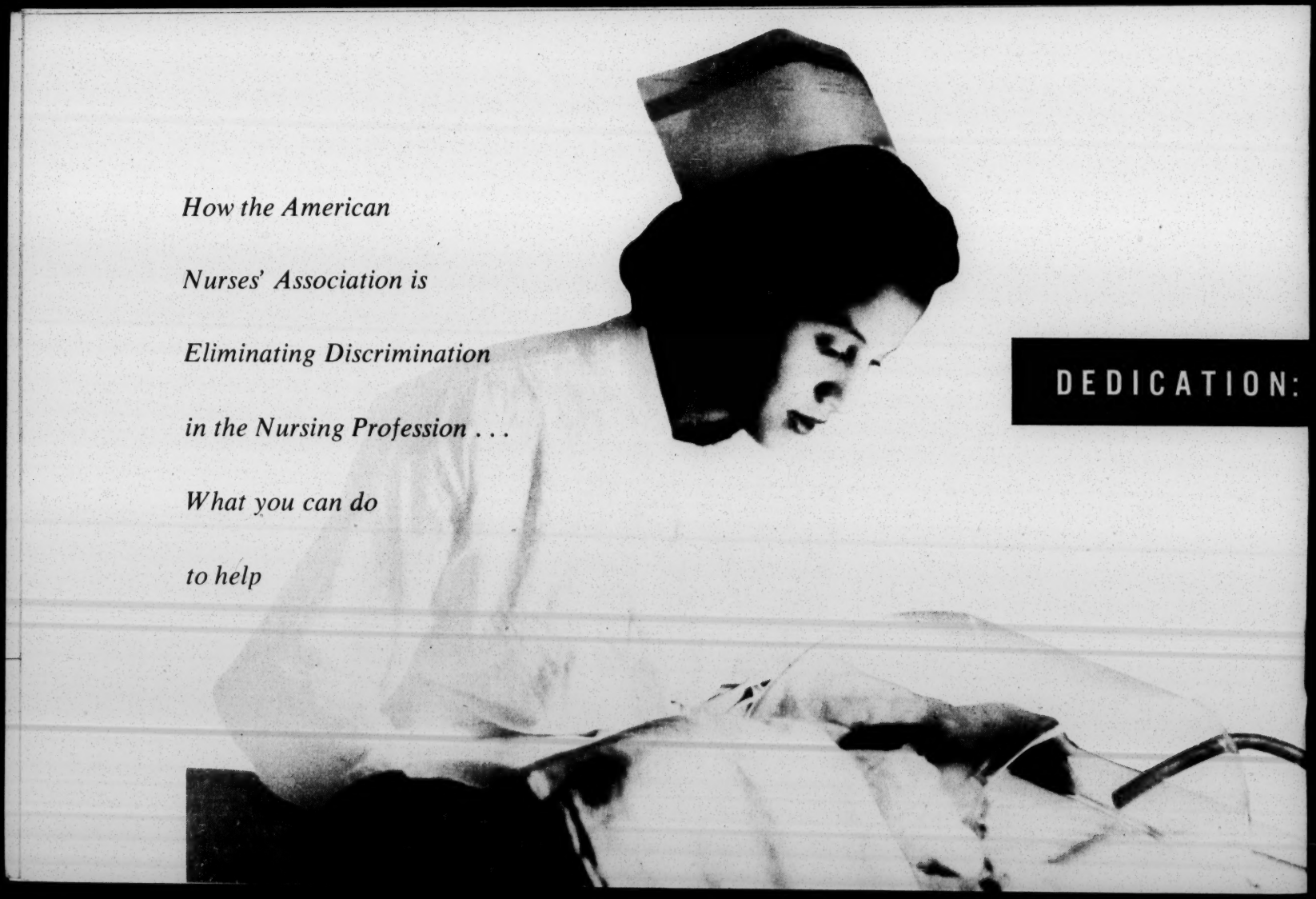
When?

What modifications?

~~Location of chapters?~~

AN AMERICAN CHALLENGE . . .

Page-8



DEDICATION:

How the American Nurses' Association is Eliminating Discrimination in the Nursing Profession . . . What you can do to help

TO THE NURSE

YOU WERE a slave in Homer's time, and washing the feet of a wandering beggar who sat in the hall of Odysseus, you were the first to recognize the returned master by his scars when his own wife doubted . . . In the harbor of Corinth on the Saronic gulf, where stood the pagan temple to Aphrodite, you were a Christian deaconess visiting the afflicted . . . You were a cloistered nun in the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris, walking for centuries through endless corridors, serving countless patients for Christ's sake . . . You were a king's daughter, and were married to a king by Anselm in Westminster Abbey, but you put a hair shirt on your queenly body and lovingly kissed the feet of lepers and dried their wounds with your hair and built a hospital for their comfort . . . You were a Béguine of Flanders, and became known for your skillful ways with the sick . . . You were a Daughter of St. Camillus, perishing with your Order when you went to the final plague in Barcelona . . . You were a Sister of Charity of Vincent de Paul, all France was your hospital, and then your white cornettes were seen abroad . . . You were a pauper in London town, heavy and filthy and drunken, and in the absence of other employment you became an asylum nurse, but as you could not read, you asked the lunatics to decipher the labels on the medicine bottles . . . In the lost abyss of Scutari, you were the Lady-with-the-Lamp, and with the background of a vast cemetery for statistics your pity and your passion created Modern Nursing . . . You were a modern girl, and you became a trained nurse for Humanity's sake . . . In the zero hour of Democracy, you landed with the American troops, and giving sulfa drugs and plasma under fire, you died on the beachhead of Anzio . . . You were a graduate of Lincoln Hospital, for your skin was colored, and in the European Theatre of Operations you cared tenderly for German prisoners of war . . . You were an Hadassah Nurse in Palestine, and refugee Jews from Poland and families of Arabs from the desert came to you for relief . . . You served at Bataan, where you had little to give the soldiers except a smile, and when the Japanese bombers blew your hospital to pieces you escaped by Clipper to Australia . . . Mother Earth, sick and hungry and tired, awaits your healing hands . . .

From WHITE CAPS, *Copyright, 1946, by Victor Robinson. Published by J. B. Lippincott Company*

- *Does the nursing profession practice the principles of democracy?*
- *Are all American women, regardless of race, color or creed, free to study and practice nursing?*
- *Do all state nurses associations accept professional registered nurses as members regardless of race, color or creed?*
- *What is ANA's policy on this issue?*
- *What can YOU do to help ANA extend membership to ALL professional registered nurses in the United States regardless of race, color or creed?*

YOU WILL FIND the answers to these questions in the following pages, which tell the story of the American Nurses' Association Intergroup Relations Program and show what you can do to aid.

These answers are vitally important to you, to every nurse in this country, and to the people of the United States. They are particularly important today when our democracy is engaged in a global war of ideas and values against totalitarian opponents of our free world.

You can help win this war of ideas by doing your share in strengthening democracy in this country and fulfilling the great American promise for all Americans.

ANA POLICY

The Declaration of Independence says "all men are created equal." Today, when women vote, hold government office, engage in busines and practice professions, this means all women, too, are created equal.

Nurses pioneered in establishing equality between the sexes. The nursing profession was among the first opened to women.

The nursing profession was also among the first opened to women of all races, colors and creeds.

The American Nurses' Association, founded in 1896, has always sought to extend its membership to all professional registered nurses regardless of race, color or background.

In its Intergroup Relations Program, it is ANA's policy:

- To make professional status the criterion of membership qualification
- To eliminate discrimination in job opportunity, salary or other working conditions where such conditions are found
- To integrate minority groups within the

framework of membership so that no professional registered nurse will be barred from national service because of color or creed, or particular desire to represent any minority group.

- To establish the integrity of every member of the ANA as a person, as a citizen and as a member of the great and honorable profession of nursing.

If you are a member of the ANA, this is YOUR policy, and the Intergroup Relations Program is YOUR program.

As a professional registered nurse and a good American you will want to help carry out this program.

TWO PROBLEMS YOU CAN HELP SOLVE

The state and district nurses associations of 43 states, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Alaska have now extended membership to all registered professional nurses, regardless of color or creed.

Until a few years ago, 15 states and one district maintained barriers.

Since ANA adopted its Intergroup Relations Program, ten of these states have removed all racial restrictions to membership. Their action has affected 23,000 nurses.

American nursing faces two questions which must be answered in the interests of our profession and of American democracy:

1. *How can those barriers which still exist be abolished?*
2. *How can intergroup relations be improved throughout the profession?*

To help the nursing profession solve these two problems, you should become acquainted with the story of your association's efforts toward achieving integration of all registered professional nurses in the framework of ANA membership.

These facts will prepare you for implementing ANA's Intergroup Relations Program in your state and district.

BACKGROUND

AMERICA'S FIRST professional nurse, Linda Richards, was graduated in 1873 from the course in nursing at the New England Hospital for Women and Children.

Six years later, the same school graduated America's first professional Negro nurse, Mary Mahoney.

The American Nurses' Association accepted registered Negro nurses as members as early as 1897.

Prior to 1916, the basis of ANA membership was the alumnae association, rather than the state nurses association. This enabled Negro nurses to join ANA through their alumnae associations, such as the Alumnae Association of Freedmen's Hospital of Washington, D. C.

As nursing schools opened their doors in most sections of the United States to competent students, regardless of color or creed, more and more Negro nurses joined ANA through their alumnae associations.

In most cases, the process of integrating Negro nurses into the ANA continued even after 1916, when the basis of ANA membership became the state and district nurses associations.

But in spite of this program, 15 states and one district continued to exclude qualified nurses from membership on a race basis. Negro nurses living in these states, who did not belong to an alumnae association, were thereby automatically barred from the ANA, since membership in a state body is required by the ANA Constitution.

WHAT ANA HAS DONE

Every nurse is important to America.

From the beginning, ANA took steps to protect the memberships of Negro professional registered nurses and nurses of other minority groups. This was done through associations like the Freedmen's Hospital Alumnae which remained constituent parts of ANA.

Where a state nurses association had no restrictions, a Negro professional registered nurse could become a member of ANA via the state association.

Where there were restrictions, a Negro nurse could become a member of ANA directly through

her affiliated alumnae association where such existed.

ANA also protected the membership of Negro nurses who moved from states without restrictions to those which had. This was done by granting such nurses state-resident membership in their alumnae associations.

COOPERATION

There is more to the story of our Intergroup Relations Program.

Because of their special problems, Negro nurses found it necessary to have their own organization.

In 1908, Martha Franklin, a brilliant professional registered Negro nurse from Connecticut, founded the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses in order to:

- achieve higher professional standards in nursing
- raise the admission requirements of nursing schools
- break down discrimination
- develop leadership from the ranks of Negro nurses.

From the beginning, ANA cooperated closely with the NACGN and assisted it financially.

For many years, ANA participated in a joint committee with the National League for Nursing Education and the National Organization of Public Health Nurses to work with NACGN. This committee worked to improve training of Negro nurses, to improve employment opportunities for Negro nurses, and to handle relations between personnel of various organizations.

Part of your Joint Committee's work with NACGN consisted of considering ways and means of opening ANA membership to all nurses on only one basis — *professional status.*

In this, ANA and the other nursing organizations recognized that nursing and the need for nursing are universal. The fight against disease and for better health protection concerns all of us as human beings and as Americans. No group can dispense with or monopolize what the nurse has to offer.

CRUMBLING BARRIERS

During World War II, America made an intense effort to eliminate discrimination in all walks of life for the sake of national unity and national defense. Millions of Negroes throughout the country were

given a chance for the first time to prove their abilities. This was a movement supported by churches, labor and other groups. Results were gratifying.

As the armed forces and hospitals opened their doors, Negro nurses responded.

In World War I, only 18 Negro nurses had served in military hospitals. At the time of Pearl Harbor there was not a single Negro nurse in any branch of the armed forces. But by the end of World War II there were 512 commissioned Negro nurses in the Army. Three units of these nurses served overseas.

In addition, more than 2,000 Negro student nurses enrolled in the U.S. Cadet Corps, a larger group than had ever before entered schools of nursing.

Further, under the Bolton Act, Negro nurses received federal scholarships for refresher and post-graduate courses. The U.S. Public Health Service, the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency and other federal agencies concerned with nursing approved Negro specialists as consultants, advisors and staff members.

The wartime period marked a crumbling of barriers in the country at large. Nursing, like some of the other professions, followed this trend and is continuing to make progress.

According to a *"Survey of the Attitudes and Policies of Accredited Catholic Schools of Nursing in the United States Toward the Education of Negro Nurses"* submitted at Catholic University in June, 1949, it was reported that of 376 Catholic schools of nursing, 48.2 per cent now admit Negro students.

This report shows that in the ten-year period, 1939-1948, 40 schools revised their admission policy to admit members of all races, and 32 of these schools made this change during the years 1947 and 1948.

Even in the so-called "border" states, the report continues, 43.5 per cent of these schools admit Negro students. This compares to 55.1 per cent in the Eastern states, 53.6 per cent in the Mid-West states and 71.7 per cent in the Western states.

In January, 1947, a survey made in New Jersey by the former Urban Colored Population Commission reported that 21 of 114 hospitals studied employed Negro nurses. Within a two-year period, hospital officials had so changed their policies and attitudes that 37 of the 85 hospitals surveyed by the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination employed Negro graduate nurses.

This trend indicates a tremendous advance in the thinking and practices of hospital administration regarding the practicability of engaging Negro nurses.

The technique of introducing professional Negro nurses was found in New Jersey no more difficult than methods employers have used in introducing minority group workers into industrial jobs, despite dire predictions to the contrary.

Opportunities for Negro girls to become registered nurses in New Jersey institutions increased 100 per cent during the two-year period from 1947-1949. The above survey indicated that 16 hospital schools of nursing, out of a total of 45, enrolled Negro students by 1949.

This encouraging trend forecasts greater employment gains for Negro professional registered nurses while opening up a vast reservoir of student and graduate nurses in a field that has experienced serious shortages.

What this trend means was commented upon by *The New York Times* in an editorial on July 19, 1950, referring to the study made by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on the concept of race. Said the *Times:*

"The conclusion that there is no basic superiority or inferiority due to race confirms the expectations of students, but, as the world learned to its cost during the Nazi era, this is a truth that needs popularization . . . To eliminate 'race' as a scientific term is a step toward ending it as a myth that dictators and movements use as political instruments to gain and exercise power."

The American people recognized this truth from the patriotic service which the Negro nurse, like all nurses, rendered to this country during World War II.

TOWARD FULL INTEGRATION

PROGRESS TOWARD the goals of full integration jumped forward in the post-war period. In the past five years, the American Nurses' Association has taken the following steps to extend membership to all professional registered nurses regardless of race, color or creed:

1946

The ANA Biennial Convention adopted a unanimous resolution recommending to all state and district nurses associations that they eliminate racial bars to membership as soon as feasible. Changes in the ANA Constitution and Bylaws paved the way for future action.

During this year Tennessee removed its barriers to Negro nurse membership.

1948

The ANA Biennial Convention inaugurated the Individual Membership Program. This offered direct membership and benefits in ANA to all qualified nurses still not accepted for membership in state or district associations.

The Individual Membership Program was conceived not as a long-term project, but as a bridge on the way from *exclusion* to *full state membership*. On this bridge, Negro nurses are becoming acquainted with ANA, and ANA with them.

At the 1948 convention, the first Negro nurse to hold office in ANA since its founding, was elected to the ANA Board of Directors.

During 1947 and 1948, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, West Virginia, Missouri and North Carolina removed their barriers to Negro nurse membership.

1949

In the summer of 1949, ANA took an extremely important step toward complete integration of minority members. It suggested that the functions and responsibilities of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses be absorbed in the program of the American Nurses' Association.

This proposal was unanimously accepted by the 35th annual convention of the NACGN. It is to be considered for ratification by a full membership meeting on January 25-26, 1951.

Transfer of NACGN functions to ANA will prevent duplication of services. On a broader level, it will give Negro professional registered nurses opportunity to play their parts and to obtain the fruits of combined action on nursing objectives.

During 1949, Arkansas and Alabama removed their barriers to Negro nurse membership.

1950

In January, 1950, the ANA Board of Directors voted to change the name of the Individual Membership Program. It is now called the INTERGROUP RELATIONS PROGRAM. The Board also voted that individual membership become one phase of the larger Intergroup Relations Program.

The platform of the ANA's 1950 Biennial Convention repeated the pledge of cooperation for full integration. Clause 11 of this platform pledges the ANA to "promote full participation of minority groups in association activities, and eliminate discrimination in job opportunities, salaries and working conditions."

During 1950, Louisiana voted to implement its 1949 resolution to remove existing barriers to Negro nurse membership.

ANA'S INTERGROUP RELATIONS PROGRAM

To carry out its Intergroup Relations Program, the ANA has taken the following steps:

- An *Intergroup Relations Unit* has been set up in the national headquarters. This unit takes care of special problems in this field pertaining to any minority group, works with state nurses associations in achieving local integration, and develops channels for reaching and servicing individual members. Other units of ANA cooperate closely in the Intergroup Relations Program.
- The *Research and Statistical Unit* of the ANA is studying problems of discrimination and integration in its questionnaires and analyses.
- The *Economic Security Unit* of the ANA is studying differences in salary and working conditions due to discrimination.
- The ANA's *Legislative Unit* interprets intergroup relations and presents intergroup problems in legislation before state nurses committees on legislation and state boards of nurse examiners.
- The ANA's *Public Relations Unit* includes among its aims a nationwide effort to educate the public in the importance of integrating all minority groups in the framework of American democracy, and the necessity for eliminating discrimination in

professional procedures and organizations.

The ANA cooperates closely with state and district nurses associations in carrying out the Intergroup Relations Program.

When the ANA is asked for help on problems of intergroup relations, and field work is indicated, staff members of the appropriate unit are sent out to participate in state and district conferences.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS AT THE STATE LEVEL

Here are but two stirring examples showing what individual states have done to meet the challenge of the times in dissolving man-made barriers.

In North Carolina, Negro nurses were first invited to serve on standing committees of the North Carolina State Nurses Association. They became members of the State Professional Counseling and Placement Service Committee, the Program Committee, and the joint committees of the state nurses association and the State League of Nursing Education.

FULL membership of Negro nurses in the North Carolina State Nurses Association was effected by July, 1949.

As a direct result of this progress, (1) a Negro nurse was appointed chairman of the State Structure Committee; (2) the N.C. SNA achieved an equal salary basis for general staff nurses at Duke Hospital; (3) the state nurses association underwrote the financing of a course for Negro nurses on ward management and supervision at North Carolina College.

The North Carolina State Nurses Association has been commended by leaders in the state for its action. The association reports that Negro nurses are joining the district nurses associations just as other nurses do. Its last meeting was held at one of the best hotels in North Carolina, with *all* nurses attending and without difficulty.

In Florida there was progressive acceptance of all graduate nurses into the district and state nurses associations.

Negro nurses actively participated in the larger plans of the Florida State Nurses Association. Integration was attained after 15 years of planned effort.

On January 1, 1950, the Florida State Association of Colored Graduate Nurses voted unanimously to dissolve and to turn over its functions to the Florida SNA.

A Negro nurse has been twice elected to the Board of Directors of the Florida SNA, first in the

capacity of state president of the Florida State Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, and the second time as a member of the Florida SNA, elected by all the nurses of the State of Florida.

Florida has found increasing interest on the part of Negro nurses themselves in participating to the fullest extent in their professional association.

Dissolution of segregated organizations has avoided duplication of effort and overlapping of functions, with resultant greater advantage to the FSNA and all professional registered nurses in the state.

YOUR ACTION PROGRAM

In states which have extended membership to minority groups . . .

EVEN THOUGH you belong to a state nurses association which already admits Negro nurses or members of other minority groups, there are still things you can do to bring about true Intergroup Relations. Other problems need your attention and action.

Here are things you can do:

- Get the cooperation of all local nursing groups in setting up a state or district Intergroup Relations Committee for carrying out ANA's Intergroup Relations Program as it applies to your state or district.
- Make sure that the members of this committee comprise some representatives of minority groups and of the various standing committees of your nurses association.
- Try to secure nurse leaders with influence in your state or district to serve as members of your Intergroup Relations Committee.

This committee should analyze the state or district to find out if nurses are excluded from membership because of race, color or creed, despite full membership rights; how widespread this practice is, where it prevails and what the causes are, should be studied.

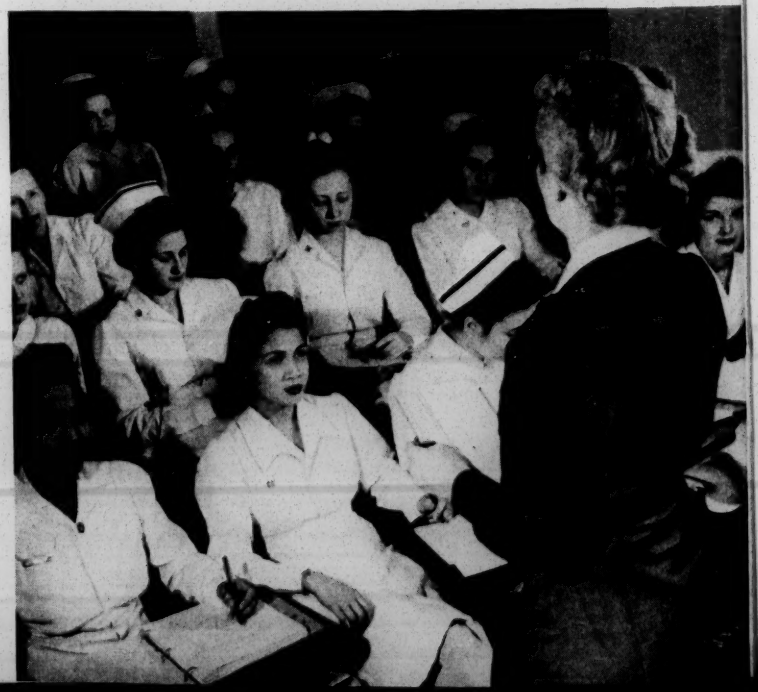
- On the basis of this research, make up a report with conclusions and recommendations for action. Send a copy to American Nurses' Association, 2 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

- Your committee should study differences in wages and working conditions, then take action to achieve equal pay and equal working conditions.
- Your committee should promote opportunities for minority participation and leadership in the nursing profession.
- Your committee should sponsor admission to nursing schools on the basis of individual merit alone, regardless of race, color or creed. Where cases of discrimination or intergroup tension are brought to your attention, have your committee investigate. Do everything to correct unfair conditions, then notify your state nurses association and the ANA.
- If your committee cannot meet at the headquarters of a nurses group, you may find that the representatives of business interests serving on your committee are generally glad to make a meeting place available.

Before scheduling meetings, workshops or other activities, determine whether the meeting place is open to *all*. If you encounter objections, you may find that rather than lose your association's patronage, the management will yield to gentle persuasion.

Non-segregated meetings may also be held in federal and public structures, such as YWCA's, churches, school buildings, particularly in university communities, hospital auditoriums, and buildings used by medical societies.

These activities should be implemented with a public relations program. For public relations suggestions, see pages 16 through 19.



YOUR ACTION PROGRAM

In states which have not yet achieved equal membership rights . . .

PERHAPS YOU BELONG to a state nurses association which still bars membership to all professional, registered nurses. There are many things you can do to hasten adoption of national policy. In addition to many of the suggestions on the preceding pages, these will apply:

- With the cooperation of local nursing groups, set up an Intergroup Relations Committee.
- The problem to be solved affects not only nurses but the whole community. It is therefore essential for your Intergroup Relations Committee to cooperate with non-nursing organizations, such as civic and religious groups, women's clubs, universities, etc. By cooperating with other organizations whose chief objective is to eliminate discrimination, your Intergroup Relations Committee can achieve its aims more easily.
- Do not hesitate to seek the aid of your local YWCA, American Friends Society, Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai Brith, the Urban League, state and city interracial committees for civic unity, and the United Nations Subcommission on Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Your Intergroup Relations Committee should:

(1) Invite representatives of minority groups to state and district meetings of your Committee on Structure. This will establish a sound basis in the future structure of national nursing. It will also make it easier for organizational programming and services to meet the needs of all nurses.

(2) Collect and analyze information on the nursing needs of your state.

(3) Collect and analyze information showing to what extent nursing service is available in your state.

(4) Find out how many Negro nurses there are in your state.

(5) Find out how your state or district nurses association would react to accepting minority groups as members.

(6) Do everything you can to persuade your district and state nurses associations to invite Negro nurses to serve as members of standing committees.

(7) Work for representative attendance of all groups at district and state nurses meetings.

(8) Keep informed about developments in your organization and profession.

(9) Keep informed on the latest scientific developments regarding groups and group relations.

(10) Remember that these suggestions apply equally to other minority group problems, e.g., Indians, Orientals, etc.

The activities of your Intergroup Relations Committee should be implemented with a public relations program. For public relations, see pages 16 through 19.

PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM

TO HELP MAKE the activities of your Intergroup Relations Committee more effective, invite your Public Relations Committee to work with you.

Your Public Relations Committee can help your Intergroup Relations Committee organize meetings, luncheons, dinners, and other functions at which the significance of ANA's efforts and your own efforts in this field can be explained to the public.

You can win public support for your work in intergroup relations by interesting group leaders in your work for better intergroup relations. You can get the help of ministers, businessmen, city and state officials, scientists, doctors, college presidents, professors, newspaper editors, authors, radio personalities, and others.

Get these leaders to address meetings of your Intergroup Relations Committee, your Committee on Structure, larger meetings of nurses, and meetings for the general public at which full integration is explained.

Whenever your Intergroup Relations Committee takes action to integrate all nurses in your state or district membership, or to educate nurses and

public in that direction, ask your Public Relations Committee to get out news releases to the newspapers and radio stations.

News releases should cover public meetings, lunches, dinners, etc., sponsored by your Intergroup Relations Committee, speeches by nurse leaders and other leaders in the community on the subpect of full integration in the nursing profession.

Wherever you think it sound policy, your Intergroup Relations Committee can cooperate with other groups in your district or state which are working for full integration in all professions.

If such an organization or group of organizations invites your Intergroup Relations Committee to address one of its meetings, this speaker should talk about the nursing profession and what it is doing to achieve full integration, as explained in these pages.

If a member of your Intergroup Relations Committee speaks at some other group meeting, ask your Public Relations Committee to prepare in advance, a news release on the basis of the talk, quoting it briefly.

Send out a news release both *before* and *after* an event sponsored by your committee. Announce in advance, what the event will be, where and when it will be held, what its purpose is, who is sponsoring it and who will speak.

If your meeting is important enough, invite the press to send reporters. Set aside a press table for them at your meeting near the platform or dais, so the reporters can follow proceedings easily.

For the convenience of the reporters, the press table should contain background material about your work, copies of the advance news release and copies of the talks that are going to be made.

PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS AND MATERIAL

For program suggestions and material to help you in your intergroup relations work, you can write to:

1. Intergroup Relations Committee
   American Nurses' Association
   2 Park Avenue
   New York 16, New York
2. Bureau for Intercultural Education
   157 West 13th Street
   New York 13, New York
3. Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
   Race Relations Department
   297 Fourth Avenue
   New York 10, New York
4. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
   20 West 40th Street
   New York 18, New York
5. National YWCA of the U. S. A.
   600 Lexington Avenue
   New York 22, New York
6. University Departments on intergroup relations.

ANA services are available for consultation at any time upon request.

ANA staff members will, wherever possible, be glad to participate in state or district nurses association conferences, workshops and meetings.

You will also find the following helpful:

BOOKS

E. Franklin Frazier
THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES
University of Chicago Press, 1939

Gunnar Myrdal
AN AMERICAN DILEMMA
Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944

Robert McIver
THE MORE PERFECT UNION
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1948

PAMPHLETS

Gordon W. Allport
THE BIGOT IN OUR MIDST
Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Ruth Benedict
Gene Weltfish
THE RACES OF MANKIND
Public Affairs Committee, 1946
22 East 38th Street, New York

Dorothy I. Height
STEP BY STEP WITH INTERRACIAL GROUPS
YWCA: The Woman's Press, 1946
600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, New York

N. Y. State Commission on Discrimination
NEWS LETTER *(Quarterly)*

State of New Jersey,
Department of Education,
Divisions Against Discrimination
Newark, New Jersey
REPORT ON A SURVEY OF GENERAL HOSPITALS IN NEW JERSEY

FILMS

(16 mm. sound, black and white unless otherwise indicated. Available through local film rental libraries, or through sources here given.)

WHOEVER YOU ARE
Actual community problem in intergroup relations and how local people organized to relieve tensions (Upper West Side, New York City). Homespun quality that gives authenticity and force; concrete results. 20 minutes. Rental $4.
Source: Columbia University Educational Films
413 West 117th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

AMERICANS ALL
Intergroup tensions in America. Organized efforts to combat prejudice by civic, religious, government and military leaders, national organizations throughout country. The Springfield (Mass.) Plan: a positive approach applicable to any community. Discussion guide available. 16 minutes. Rental $3.
Source: March of Time Forum Films
369 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN
Animated color cartoon, based on Public Affairs Committee pamphlet *Races of Mankind* by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. The scientific facts of the basic likeness of all peoples, presented with deftness and humor. Discussion guide available. 10 minutes. Rental $3.
Source: Film Alliance of America
1700 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

BOUNDARY LINES
Animated color cartoon. Experiments with the concept of division and the dangers inherent in lines drawn by possession and fear, origin and color, greed and hatred. Unique musical scoring. 10 minutes. Rental $3.
Source: International Film Foundation
1600 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

The responsibilities of the American Nurses' Association are to promote the professional and educational advancement of nurses in every proper way:

to elevate the standards of nursing education;

to establish and maintain a code of ethics among nurses;

to distribute relief among such nurses as may become ill, disabled, or destitute;

to disseminate information on the subject of nursing by publication in official periodicals or otherwise;

to bring into communication with each other various nurses and associations and federations throughout the United States

— to the end that the patient may receive better nursing care.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION
IN
SELECTED STATE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN ALABAMA

In May, 1950, the following letter was addressed to the executive officers of ten state professional organizations in Alabama:

"As a fellow of the Southern Regional Council, I am seeking answers to the following questions:

1. Are Negroes admitted to membership in the Alabama Association of Architects?

2. If they are, what restrictions are placed upon their participation, or what privileges are denied them?

3. How many Negroes are now members?

4. What year were Negroes first admitted?

With the hope that you will furnish this information within a few days, and thanking you in advance for it, I am

Very truly yours,

C. G. Gomillion, Secretary
Alabama Division
Southern Regional Council"

Thus far, no official information has been received from the following organizations:

1. Alabama Association of Librarians

2. Alabama Conference of Social Workers

3. Alabama Institute of Engineers

4. Alabama Press Association

5. Alabama State Nurses Association

6. Medical Association of the State of Alabama

Official data have been received from four state organizations, namely:

Alabama Society of Architects

Alabama Dental Association

Alabama Education Association

Alabama State Bar Association

According to the President of the Alabama Society of Architects,

> There is no prohibition in By-Laws of ASA-AIA against Negro membership. So far as I know there has not been filed an application for membership. All applications are subject to acceptance by Executive Committee, on basis of character and professional repute; all applications must have endorsement of two members in good standing.
>
> Categories of membership in the Society are: Coprorate, Associate, Jr. Associate and Student Associate. Each category has its rights and privileges described in By-Laws. This is the only restriction of participation or privilege covered in By-Laws. The Alabama Society of Architects is a professional body; its social activities are unofficial and are not subject to any rule except that of good taste.

Although "Negroes have never been excluded from the Alabama Society of Architects," there are no Negro members at the present time. Mr. Edward C. Miller, Negro Architect at Tuskegee, "was a charter member of the Alabama Architects Home Plan Service, an organization sponsored by the Alabama Society of Architects, which was founded April 1946 and expired October 1949 having at that time twenty-eight memberships, composed of firms and individuals practicing architecture in this state."

The Secretary-Treasurer of the Alabama Dental Association reports that Negro dentists "are not active members but are invited and admitted to scientific sessions, clinics and exhibits at our state meetings."

"The Alabama Dental Association acts as a clearing house for forwarding the dues of the Negro dentists to the American Dental Association."

"We have been following this plan for a long time and there are about thirty-five Negro dentists who participate in it."

The Secretary of the Alabama Education Association writes that there are no Negro members in that organization, that "membership in the Alabama Education Association is restricted to white teachers of the state. The Negro teachers of Alabama have their own organization known as the Alabama State Teachers Association. The two organizations work in a very cooperative fashion in a number of problems.

The Alabama Bar Association admits Negro members. According to the Secretary, "No restrictions are placed upon their participation, neither are any privileges denied them." There are now seven Negro members, and according to one, Negro members attend meetings, vote on all proposals, and receive Bar Association literature. The first Negro member was admitted "approximately 25 years ago."

Although no official data have been received from six of the ten state organizations, unofficial data have been secured from other rather reliable sources. The effort to secure official data will be continued, and will be presented as soon as received.

An outstanding member of the American Library Association reports that there are not yet any Negro members of the Alabama State Library Association, but that some of the recently elected officers are working for the admission of qualified Negro librarians to membership.

Negro social workers who are members of the Alabama conference of Social Work report that Negro members are permitted to attend the professional meetings, and participate on programs but have not been permitted to participate in any luncheon meetings or social events, if any were held in connection with the conferences.

Although there is not yet available any official statement from the Alabama State Nurses Association, an editorial in the Birmingham News dated December 27, 1949 reported that

> Early in November of this year in state convention the Alabama State Nurses Association voted to admit Negro nurses to professional membership in the group. The officers at the state level were, for the most part, in favor of such action. But such vote did not commit each district's membership. Thus it is possible - indeed, the condition has already come to pass - that one district may abide by the decision and another district simultaneously refuse to accept it.
>
> After the state group in convention voted to admit Negro nurses, a good deal of criticism was directed at the action. Some of it, of course, came fromwwithin the association itself. A great deal of it came from some of Alabama's physicians.

On December 14, 1949, the white nurses in district, the white nurses of district 1 of the state - there 15 districts in the state - met, and by a secret ballot of 34 to 21 voted to admit Negro nurses to membership in the district organization "on a strictly professional basis". The president of the district organization is quoted as having said, "We do not intend to violate any city ordinances pertaining to segregation. Nor do we intend to alter the social traditions of the South." District 1 includes Jefferson County, in which Birmingham is located, and four adjacent counties.

The district organization in which the city of Dothan is located is reported by the Birmingham News as having voted to keep Negro nurses out of the association in their district.

The members of the Alabama Association of Colored Nurses are reported as being willing and ready to accept the invitation of the Alabama State Nurses Association to become members of that organization, and are now considering the feasibility of dissolving their organization. Just how feasible this latter action is depends upon the extent to which the district organization will admit Negro nurses.

There are no Negro members in the Alabama Press Association nor are there any in the Medical Association of the State of Alabama. Many Negro physicians in the State are outstanding in their specialties, and are full members in several national medical organizations, but they have not been granted the opportunity to join the state organization.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
September, 1959

SELECTED FILM BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Distributor's addresses are listed on final page.)

EDUCATION

1. "The Baltimore Story." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   An account of the processes followed in desegregating the Baltimore school system, which emphasizes actions taken by school officials to meet crisis situations.

2. "A City Decides." 27½ minutes, 16mm. Rental: $7.50 per booking. Contemporary Films.

   "...the timely, true story of how desegregation was affected in the public schools of St. Louis."

3. "Clinton and the Law." 54 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films or McGraw-Hill Company.

   "A documentary based on the actual occurrences in Clinton, Tennessee, portraying the situation when desegregation was introduced and the community reactions to it," this kinescope of a "See It Now" telecast covers events through early 1957.

4. "Segregation and the South." 60 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films.

   "A documentary film study of the progress and reaction since the Supreme Court ordered integration of the nation's schools... (and) in other fields." (1954 - early 1957.)

5. "Segregation in the Schools." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $10.00. Contemporary Films, or McGraw-Hill Company.

   A kinescope of an Edward R. Murrow "See It Now" telecast which "describes and discusses desegregation and public reaction in Southern communities."

6. "Wanted - A Place to Live." 15 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

A "story of racial prejudice and discrimination against college students," this film is largely concerned with off-campus housing discrimination but is "constructed for use in psychological research in field of social perception of ethnic differences."

EMPLOYMENT

1. "Commencement." 20 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   Deals with "causes and effects of racial and religious discrimination in employment."

2. "The New Girl." 28 minutes, 16 and 35mm. Contact President's Committee on Government Contracts for loan of the film.

   "Mary is 'The New Girl'...She is a Negro, the first in the office of the company...The human elements of the break with tradition are vivid in this motion picture story."

HOUSING

1. "All the Way Home." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "...examines the confused reaction of a community when a Negro family stops in front of a 'For Sale' sign...objectively explores the contagion of unreason and the guilt and other feelings which are barriers against a solution of the integration problem."

2. "The Burden of Truth." 67 minutes, 16mm. Apply to Anti-Defamation League, National Office, for availability and rental information.

   "A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems--and prejudices--that the young Negro faced in growing up."

3. "Crisis in Levittown, Pa." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "Laced with a searching narration...these interviews...actually catch a whole community in turmoil during a moment of crisis."

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS

1. "To Live Together." 32 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

"Examines American 'race problem' through eyes of a group of children at an experimental summer interracial camp."

2. "Brotherhood of Man." 10 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price of showings in Southern Region.)

   "Animated color cartoon which presents in a humorous and entertaining way the scientific facts of how people are essentially alike." (Adult level.)

OTHER

1. "Face of the South." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $2.00. Anti-Defamation League, Southern Office or United Auto Workers Film Library, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

   A discussion, with graphic illustrations, of factors affecting the economic and social development of the South. (Based on George Mitchell's famous "map talk.")

2. "Report From Alabama." 27 minutes, 16mm. Contact Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office for rental and availability information, or AFL-CIO Film Division (rental: $3.00).

   A kinescope report, first produced on television, on denials of suffrage rights in Tuskegee and elsewhere in Alabama, culminating in the 1958 Civil Rights hearings.

3. "The Constitution and the Right to Vote." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $3.00. AFL-CIO Film Division.

   "Traces the steps by which the aggrieved party took his case into the courts and was eventually upheld by the Supreme Court of the United Stated." Based on two cases in which the "white primary" was challenged. Legalistic nature of the production is countered by a cast of "real-life" characters and sustained dramatic action.

ADDRESSES OF DISTRIBUTORS

1. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Office
   515 Madison Avenue
   New York 28, New York

2. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Southern Regional Office
   41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
   Atlanta, Georgia

3. Contemporary Films
   13 East 37th Street
   New York 16, New York

4. Dynamic Films, Inc.
   Department H
   405 Park Avenue
   New York 22, New York

5. McGraw-Hill Company
   Text Film Department
   330 West 42nd Street
   New York, New York

6. AFL-CIO Film Division
   815 - 16th Street, N. W.
   Washington 6, D. C.

7. President's Committee on Government Contracts
   Washington 25, D. C.

PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS ISSUED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL DURING 1959

PUBLICATIONS:

Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis
(Prepared by SRC, published in cooperation with the Southeastern Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee and the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.)

If The Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, by Professors Ross Green and Warren Gauerke of Emory University.

The Negro and the Ballot in the South, by Mrs. Margaret Price.

What The Supreme Court Said - The School Segregation Decisions, with an analysis by Professor Robert A. Leflar (Re-issue)

Organizing to Save Public Schools....How Virginians rallied to the defense of the public school system in the Virginia Committee for Public Schools. By William M. Lightsey, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools. (Under the imprint of The Messenger Press, Manassas, Virginia.)

The Economic Effect of School Closing, by Jim Montgomery, Business Editor, The Atlanta Constitution. (Issued under the imprint of Community Educational Service, Emory University.)

IN MANUSCRIPT:

An Analysis of Community Leadership in the Norfolk School Crisis, by Mrs. Jane Reif. (To be issued by the Virginia Council on Human Relations.)

A Study of Treatment of Racial News in Selected Newspapers Since 1954, by Walter Spearman, Professor of Journalism, University of North Carolina.

SPECIAL REPORTS:

"Housing for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia," report given by Robert A. Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League at the Civil Rights Commission Hearing in Atlanta, April 10, 1959.

"Wating Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities," a survey of practices in bus, railroad and airline terminals.

"A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60."

"Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South," re-issue updated to September 1959.

REPRINTS:

"The Importance of Public Schools," by Governor Lindsay Almond. (Under the imprint of HOPE, Atlanta)

"Financial Complications of Closing Public Schools," by Assistant Attorney-General Odum of Florida. (Under the imprint of HOPE, Atlanta)

"New Factories Think of the Past in Little Rock." From the Nashville Tennessean.

"Southerner Airs Moderate Views," by John Lofton. From the Christian Science Monitor

"A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal," by John Lofton. From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. (Excerpts from The Southern Heritage, by J. M. Dabbs, to answer the Carleton Putnam Letter.)

"L" REPORTS: (Prepared for the Southern Leadership Project)

L-1, "The Southern Regional Council-Its Origin and Aims"

L-2, "Excerpts from Speech of John P. Fishwick, Vice-President, Norfolk and Western Railway, to Rockingham Development Corporation."

L-3, "How Could Shut Schools Affect State Economy?"

L-4, "Public Schools and Southern Industrial Progress: Statements From Leaders in Business and Industry"

L-5, "Public Schools and the Economy of Virginia - Excerpts From Talk by Dr. L. T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Department, General Electric Company, Waynesboro, Va."

L-6, "The 'Davis Report' and the Truth About the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C." (Read and approved by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.)

L-7, "Governor Almond (Va.) on the Importance of Public Schools, and Assistant Attorney-General Odum (Fla.) on the Financial Complications of Closing Public Schools."

"L"Reports, continued

L-8, "Race and Intelligence"

L-8A, "If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan"

L-9, "The Private School Answer to the Desegregation Crisis-The Virginia Experience"

L-10, "Education and Income"

L-11, "Little Rock Report...What Has Happened Since the School Crisis"

NEW SOUTH ARTICLES: New South, the Council's monthly magazine, printed a number of articles during 1959 designed for program purposes. Among the more significant were:

"North Carolina at Crossroad," by North Carolina Attorney-General Malcolm Seawell.

"Virginia Education Crisis and Its Economic Aspect," by Dr. Lorin A. Thompson, Director, Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia.

"Desegregation - Or No Public Schools, An Analysis of the Federal Court Rulings in James v. Almond and Cooper v. Aaron," by the editor of New South.

"Georgians Resist Closed Schools, the Growth of the 'Public School' Movement," by the editor of New South.

"Arkansas Organize for Public Schools," by Nathaniel Griswold, Director, The Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

"Virginians Support Public Schools," by Paul Rilling, Director of Field Activities of the Southern Regional Council.

"A Fresh Look at Race Relations," by Chester Bowles.

"A Chronology of Principal Cases on Segregation, 1878-1959."

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, AND LEAFLETS AVAILABLE

CATEGORY I (Books and pamphlets in this category are available free of charge for single copies and for payment of postage for quantity copies.)

Quantity	Title
_____	THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH, by Margaret Price, Southern Regional Council, 55 pages, 1957. A major treatment of the Negro voting status in the Southern states.
_____	CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, 120 pages, Southern Regional Council. A collection of more than 40 articles from NEW SOUTH magazine, 1946-1955, tracing the far-reaching trends in Southern race relations. It contains the story of new practices in voting, law enforcement, government, the press, libraries, travel, the armed forces, education and the public schools and other topics.
_____	THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, 29 pages, 1956, Southern Regional Council. The pamphlet includes three papers presented before the 21st annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. The papers were presented by William Faulkner, noted novelist; Dr. Benjamin Mays, President, Morehouse College; and Cecil Sims, lawyer of Nashville, Tenn.
_____	NEXT STEPS IN THE SOUTH, ANSWERS TO CURRENT QUESTIONS, 16 pages, 1956, Southern Regional Council. The pamphlet is a review of the Supreme Court school segregation decisions with answers to some questions which have been asked concerning implementation of the rulings.
_____	DESEGREGATION IN THE BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS, 32 pages, The Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations and The Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. A detailed account of the Baltimore experience in school desegregation.
_____	SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, 89 pages, compiled by the Reverend John B. Morris and others. A collection of short articles concerning race relations by South Carolina "moderates."
_____	GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA, 32 pages, 1950, The Southern Regional Council. A report on a self survey in Greenville, South Carolina.
_____	WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH, 24 pages, illustrated, 1946, The Southern Regional Council. Concerning public education in the South.

Quantity	Title
_____	RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940, 26 pages, 1948, Southern Regional Council. A pamphlet concerning Negro suffrage.
_____	WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH, by Dorothy Dickens, 30 pages, illustrated, 1946, Southern Regional Council.
_____	SINGERS IN THE DAWN, compiled by Robert B. Eleazer, 25 pages, 1946, The Southern Regional Council. A brief anthology of American Negro Poetry.
_____	HOUSING IN THE SOUTH, 22 pages, 1948, Southern Regional Council. A survey of housing problems.
_____	SAFETY, SECURITY, AND THE SOUTH, by Alexander F. Miller and Mozell C. Hill, 28 pages, 1950, Southern Regional Council. Diagnosis of and prescription for Southern problems.
_____	WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION, by Rupert B. Vance, 30 pages, illustrated, 1946, Southern Regional Council. Concerning employment and economic opportunity.
_____	THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS, 46 pages, 1948, Southern Regional Council. A report on civil rights.
_____	THE NEGRO IN OUR ECONOMY, by W. Hardin Hughes, 19 pages, illustrated, 1946, Southern Regional Council. Concerning Southern economy.
_____	THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore, 6 page leaflet, reprinted from Harper's Magazine, June 1958. Concerning the story behind the Little Rock headlines.
_____	SOUTHERNERS AND SCHOOLS, by Helen Fuller, reprinted from The New Republic, 1959. A series of seven articles concerning the South and desegregation.
_____	THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, by Erwin Knoll, 22 pages, 1958, reprinted from The Washington Post and Times Herald.
_____	INDUSTRIALIZATION: ACCENT ON THE SOUTH, by Benjamin D. Segal, 37 pages, 1958, reprinted from Labor's Daily. A study of Southern industrialization and its effect on Southern economy.
_____	THE SOUTH SPEAKS OUT FOR LAW AND ORDER, 40 pages, 1958, The Anti-Defamation League and others. A roundup of Southern press opinion.

Quantity	Title
_____	THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF SCHOOL CLOSING, by Jim Montgomery, 8 pages, 1959. Reprint of a talk telling how school closings will effect the economy.
_____	WE OPEN THE GATES, 64 pages, 1958, National Labor Service. Details on labor's fight to erase color bar.
_____	THE NEGRO POTENTIAL, by Eli Ginzberg, 144 pages, 1956, Columbia University Press. Traces the gains the Negro has made since 1940 in gaining better jobs.
_____	THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, 173 pages, 1957, Simon and Schuster, Detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools.
_____	NEW FACTORIES THING OF PAST IN LITTLE ROCK, leaflet, from Nashville Tennessean. Article reveals how closing of schools in Little Rock has hurt industry.
_____	WE THE UNDERSIGNED, leaflet. Statement by Emory University professors concerning public education.

CATEGORY II (The titles listed in this category may be secured for price listed.)

_____	WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar, 12 pages, Reprinted from Southern School News. A critical analysis of the Supreme Court's school decisions. 10¢, single copy. 8¢ for quantities of 50 or more.
_____	IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke and Donald Ross Green, 40 pages, 1959, The Southern Regional Council. 25¢ per single copy.
_____	THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT, by Margaret Price, 81 pages, 1959, The Southern Regional Council. An updated report on Negro suffrage. 40¢, single copy. 35¢ for quantities of 50 or more.

"The publications of the SRC form one of the most important aspects of its work. They reveal the extent to which it is a research and educational organization. They serve to interest and inform members and non-members about problems and developments in the South and about activities of the Council. It is not necessary to list every article and pamphlet published by the Council but we might give examples of each category and characterize the publications." The Southern Regional Council, by Henry Paul Houser, thesis M.A., U. of N. C., 1950

Reprints from material first issued by the Interracial Commission:
America's Tenth Man
Singers in the Dawn

distribution of materials published by other organizations:
The Negro in America, Public Affairs Pamphlet
Color, Class, and Personality, by Robert Sutherland, Am. Youth Commission

digests, published by SRC
To Secure These Rights, digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights
The Southern Frontier, special issue of New South

Rupert B. Vance, Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation, March 1946
Dorothy Dickens, Wanted: A Healthy South, June, 1946
Arthur Raper, Machines in the Cotton Fields, September 1946
W. Hardin Hughes, Margaret Price, and James O. Slade, Wanted: An Educated South, March, 1947
By The People, (a digest of Jacksonville Looks At Its Negro Community), June, 1947
Helen Bridgman, Housing in the South, April, 1948
Luther P. Jackson, Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940, June-July, 1948
Greenville's Big Idea, (a summary of the Greenville, South Carolina survey) April-May, 1950

publications from conferences sponsored by the SRC
The South, America's Opportunity Number One - addresses delivered at SRD sponsored conference on post war economy
After the War, prepared at request of church women conference for use in aiding returned veterans

publications dealing with southern problems
Opportunities for Negro Veterans in Atlanta, Georgia, by Joseph Shabses (also surveys dealing with services extended to Negro veterans in various states in the South
Community self-surveys - Jacksonville, Fla. and Greenville, S. C.
Race in the News, manual for newspaper men

publications dealing with work of the council
The Southern Frontier and New South
Southern Regional Council, Report of the Executive Directors, 1944
The Southern Regional Council, Its Origin and Purpose

promotional material
reprints from New York Times, Herald Tribune, magazines like The Reporter

STYLE MANUAL

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Prepared June 1, 1962

With a few exceptions, the rules contained in this manual have been drawn from the Manual of Style (University of Chicago Press) which is the preferred authority for rules which have not been included herein.

The sources for the section on business letters are the Complete Secretary's Handbook (Doris and Miller) and Business Theory for Secretaries (University of Michigan). Secretaries may use this or any form acceptable to the person for whom they work. For others - typing their own correspondence - the form in this manual is mandatory.

The organization of the manual is such that additional material can be inserted as the occasion arises.

Capitalization

CAPITALIZATION

WORD:	RULE:		
Board			the board of directors
Congress	Congress (U.S.) Congressional District	but	a congressman said congressional action
Constitution	the Constitution of the United States	but	New York's constitution the constitution of Mexico
Executive	the Chief Executive an Executive Order the Executive Mansion	but	executive agreement executive branch
Federal	Federal Reserve Bank Federal Security Agency	but	the federal government federal contracts
Legislature	General Assembly of Illinois	but	the state legislature
President	the President (U.S.)	but	the president of General Motors
Seasons of the year	the Autumn 1960 issue Spring, with her arms full of flowers	but	in the autumn this coming spring
South	economy of the South Deep South	but	walk one block south
-also-	a Southerner might say		in the southern tradition

Grammar

GRAMMAR

The noun "data" usually takes a plural verb, although an author may prefer the singular verb.

The following statement is an example of an involved sentence in which care must be taken to make sure that possessive pronouns correspond in number to the original subject:

> These procedures for change, however involved they may seem at first reading, will prove <u>their</u> (not its) value.

Similarly, some involved sentences call for care to make certain that the verb agrees in number with the subject:

> Either a legal suit, as in Atlanta and Augusta, or a prolonged boycott as in Albany, Macon, Tallahassee, and Montgomery, <u>was</u> (not were) necessary before desegregation could be effected.

BOORUM & PEASE "NOTEAR" ®

BOORUM & PEAS

Fumiga-
ation

PUNCTUATION

MARK:	RULE:
Comma	Put a comma before "and," "or," and "nor" connecting the last two elements in a sequence of three or more; always place a comma before "etc." and "viz." and a comma (or a semicolon) before "namely," "i.e.," and "e.g.":

Tom, Dick, and Harry are all here.
It may be made of copper, silver, or gold.
He saw neither the owner, the agent, nor the tenant.

Put a comma after digits indicating thousands:

1,276 115,000 10,419 4,285,995

Ellipsis

Ellipsis marks are used to indicate the omission from quoted matter of one or more words not essential to the immediate purpose, and also to indicate illegible words, mutilations, etc. Mark such ellipses by using three periods separated by one space. If such omission occurs after a complete sentence, do not consider the preceding period as part of the three ellipsis marks. The same spacing should be used before the ellipsis as between other sentences:

The point...is that the same forces... are still the undercurrents of every human life.... We may never unravel the methods of the physical forces;... but...

To mark the omission of a whole paragraph of prose or of a full line of poetry, insert a full line of periods according to the length of the line. In no case, however, should such marks extend beyond the longest type line:

I think it worth giving you these details, because it is a vague thing, though a perfectly true thing, to say that it was by his genius that Alexander conquered the Eastern world.
.....
His army, you know, was a small one. To carry a vast number of men would have been disastrous.

MARK:	RULE:		
Ellipsis	An ellipsis is usually treated as a part of the citation and consequently should be inclosed in the quotation marks.		
Hyphen	cross-country cross-purpose cross-question	but	crosshatch crosswise
	fifth-grade reader	but	in the fifth grade
	inter-racial	but	biracial
	non-white non-Semitic		semiskilled
	over-rated over-ripe	but	overall
	under-rated	but	undertrained underused
	President-elect ex-President*	but	Vice President Secretary General Attorney General
	two-week leave one-half	or	two weeks' leave
	thirty one-hundredths	but	thirty-one hundredths
Quotation Marks	Quote the particular or unusual word or phrase to which attention is directed, in order to make the meaning clear: I said "and," not "or." the term "lynch law" Do not quote in matter discussing terms where the meaning is clear: The definition of the word God. The comma and period are always placed inside the quotation marks. The question mark and exclamation point should be placed inside the quotation marks only when they are a part of the quoted matter.		

*former President is preferred.

MARK:	RULE:
Semicolon	In sentences containing lists of cities and states put a semicolon after the state. in Atlanta, Georgia; Selma, Alabama; Tampa, Florida; Jackson, Mississippi; Richmond, Virginia.

Miscellaneous
Rules

MISCELLANEOUS RULES

In both manuscripts and business letters abbreviations should be kept to a minimum.

Refer to Webster's Dictionary for correct division of words at the end of a typed line.

Always spell out per cent (not percent) - 2 per cent, not 2%.

NUMERALS:

Spell out numbers under eleven.
Spell out a numeral when it begins a sentence.
Spell out round numbers - five hundred (but 550).
Spell out reference to age - twelve-year-old child.
Spell out reference to decades - in the nineties.

Put a comma after digits indicating thousands:

1,276 115,000 10,419

In expressions of money use ciphers only with numbers under $100, unless in connection with fractional sums:

Articles bought for $6.00 were sold for $6.75
The committee raised the sum of $103.

Letters

BUSINESS LETTERS

Examples of trite and undesirable expressions:

Above mentioned
At the present writing
At your earliest convenience
Attached please find
Please be advised that
Regarding your communication
Take the liberty
This is to inform you that
Trusting that we may look forward to
We wish to call your attention to the fact that

Some words often misused:

Advise	alternative is inform; tell
Apt	refers to an aptitude for something - alternative is likely.
Balance (a bookkeeping term)	remainder
Claim	maintain
Different than	different from
Directly	as soon as; (directly means in a straight line and should not be used for <u>as soon as</u>).
Due to the fact that	because; for that reason
Enclosed you will find . . .	(name the item) is enclosed
Enthused	enthusiastic
Etc.	give one or two examples and stop
Going over	letters and papers are generally not gone over; they are examined
Inasmuch	since

Misused words (cont'd)

In a position to	we can
Liable (a legal term). . . .	likely
Matter	refer to the item directly
Return mail	as soon as possible
State	tell; inform
Together with	This is a superfluous expression. Use either <u>together</u> or <u>with</u>; Your letter, with the voucher, is enclosed.
Via (a shipping term) . . .	by
Whether or not	whether

Some similar words are confused:

All right	always two words
Alright	there is no such word as this
All ready	all is prepared
Already	previously
All together	all gathered in one place
Altogether	completely or wholly
Aggravate	to increase; to intensify
Irritate	to annoy
Any one	any single person or thing; usually followed by a phrase starting with <u>of</u>
Anyone	any person, indiscriminately
Likely	probability
Liable	exposed to damage
Continuous	constantly; without interruption
Continual	often repeated but with interruption
Each other	used when speaking of two
One another	used when speaking of more than two
Farther	at a greater distance
Further	moreover; in addition

Confused words (cont'd)

Practicable	workable; usable
Practical	useful
Standpoint	not recommended for good usage
Viewpoint	not recommended for good usage
Point of view	preferred by grammarians
Therefor	In exchange for (used mostly in legal work)
Therefore	for that reason; consequently
Who	when speaking of person
Which	when referring to animals and things
That	when referring to persons, animals and things
Shall	indicates futurity ("I shall")
Will	indicates determination ("I will")

Unnecessary words and phrases (underscored words are totally unnecessary):

It came <u>at a time</u> when we were busy.
Leather depreciates <u>in value</u> slowly.
During <u>the year of</u> 1947.
It will cost <u>the sum of</u> one hundred dollars.
At a meeting <u>held</u> in Philadelphia.

<u>Positive approach</u>. Always use a positive approach in letters.

Negative - We cannot understand the last paragraph of your inquiry.

Positive - Everything in your inquiry is quite clear except the last paragraph.

Negative - Since we do not keep such records for more than two years, we cannot give you this information,

Positive - Unfortunately, we keep such records for only two years; we believe, however, that Acme Information Service (Chicago 45, Illinois) could help you.

Avoid stilted or formal endings. Here are the last two paragraphs of a letter. The job was finished with the first paragraph, but the temptation to add a conventional sentence was not resisted.

> It costs nothing to be one of us. You simply pay $15 a year, and get twelve good meals for your money. There is nothing more to spend. So fill out the application blank, and return it with your check. Do this right away, so you can be with us next Wednesday.
>
> Thanking you for your kind consideration of the advantages of membership in our organization, and trusting you will see your way clear to acceptance of this invitation, we remain . . . .

PARTS OF A LETTER

The date line. The date of a business letter should be typed about a double space below the letterhead and not closer than four lines to the inside address. It may be centered, started at the center point of the page, (which is the easiest and fastest style) or typed flush with the imaginary line a typist tries to keep as the right-hand margin of a letter. It should contain no abbreviations.

Wrong: March 31st, 1955
Right: March 31, 1955

Margins. Letter margins form the mat for the letter picture. They should be at least one and one-half inches wide.

Use the intuitive method for placing letters; that is, estimate whether a letter is short, medium, or long.

Short -	pica (40-space line) elite (50-space line)	begin inside address about four inches from the top edge
Medium -	pica (50-space line) elite (60-space line)	begin inside address about three inches from the top edge
Long -	pica (60-space line)	begin inside address about two and one-half inches from the top edge

Extra long letters should be continued to a second page. When this is done, the space left at the bottom of the first page should correspond to the vertical margins.

Parts of a Letter (cont'd)

The second page of a letter should contain at least three lines in the body. It should be written on plain white paper - not letterhead. The following heading is preferred:

Name of addressee
Date
Page 2

The address. Extra care should be taken against misspelling names or using wrong initials, of course. Some useful rules to be observed when typing addresses follow:

1. Unless an abbreviation appears in the printed name on a letterhead, none should be used in the address.

2. It is a modern trend in business letter writing not to use punctuation at the ends of lines in the address, since it is time consuming and adds nothing to the context.

3. Always give a name a title - Mr., Mrs., or Miss if none other is known. If no information is available about a woman's marital status, address her as Miss.

4. When a communication is addressed to several persons, use Messrs. If the addressees are women, use Mesdames or Mmes.

5. Leave a space after each initial of a name: Mr. J. C. Strong.

6. If a business title is long, it creates a balanced appearance to place it on the second line of the address, by itself.

7. If a letter contains confidential information and is addressed to the individual at his business address, it is desirable to type the word "Personal" on the envelope and at the top of the letter. The word "Confidential" may also be used.

Parts of a Letter (cont'd)

Attention and subject lines. The attention line is not a a part of the body of the letter. The communication should be addressed to the company, when an attention line is used, and not to the person designated in the attention line. Since it is considered part of the address, it should appear two spaces between the last line of the address and the salutation.

When a subject line is used it should appear between the salutation and the first line of the body of a letter, since it introduces the context of the message.

Do not underline either an attention line or a subject line. It is not necessary to use the word subject.

The salutation. In business letters the colon is preferred as the punctuation mark after the salutation. The comma is sometimes used after a salutation in personal correspondence.

NOTE: When a letter is addressed to a company but is for the attention of a particular person, the salutation is still Gentlemen (or Mesdames).

Sir is a formal salutation used primarily in government correspondence.

The body. Do not double space business letters. Double space between paragraphs. Proper centering of a very short letter will prevent its looking awkward.

The complimentary close. The complimentary close of a Southern Regional Council letter will consist of the following items: a closing statement, space for a pen-written signature, a typewritten signature, and the job title of the signer. The usual closing statements for business letters are Very truly yours and Yours very truly. Cordially yours or Sincerely yours are recommended when the addressee is known to the sender or when a friendly tone is desired.

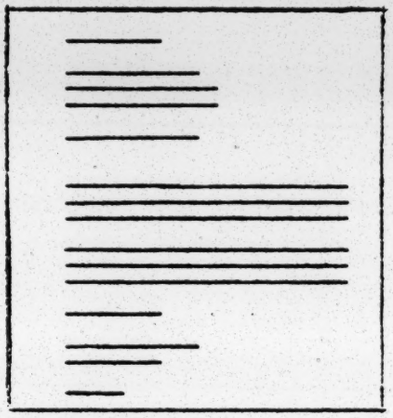
The positioning of the closing lines horizontally should conform to the positioning of the date line.

Identification marks and enclosures. Identification marks consist of the initials of the dictator and the transcriber. They appear at the left margin, a few lines below the last line of the closing, if space permits. The dictator's initials or name always comes first.

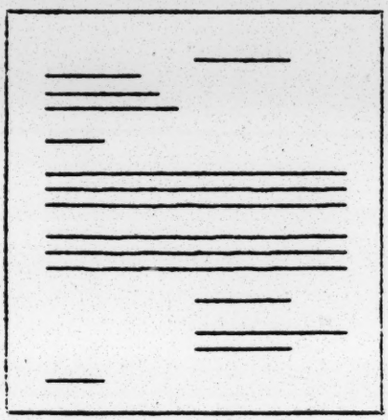
Enclosures should always be indicated below the dictation symbols - single space. If the enclosure is important, it should be identified:

RSS:ag
Encs. Check, $473.18
Bond, $100.00

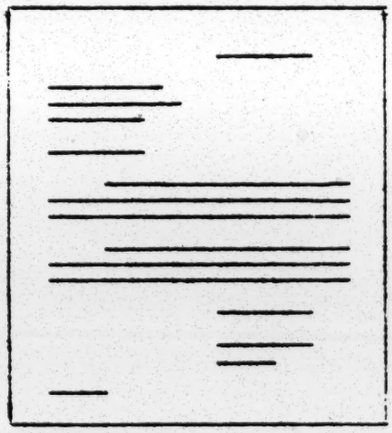
Letter formats. The following letter styles are recommended for business letters. The indented form is considered to be somewhat old-fashioned. It is time consuming to set up and is sometimes confusing to the eye.



FULL BLOCK



MODIFIED BLOCK



SEMI-BLOCK (Indented)

Envelopes. A two-line address should be avoided. Separate the city from the state and make a three-line address. When completed, the full address should be slightly to the left of the center point with the first line of typing midway between the top and bottom of the envelope.

Notations that affect the amount of postage - special delivery, air mail, registered mail - when typed on the envelope, should appear directly below the position at which the stamps are to be affixed.

Notations that affect the delivery of a letter after it has reached its destination should be typed in the lower left-hand corner of the envelope: Hold for Arrival, Personal, Attention of _____.

Address

HOW TO ADDRESS

PERSONS HOLDING HONORARY OR OFFICIAL POSITIONS*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Personage	Envelope and Inside Address	Formal Salutation	Informal Salutation	Formal Close	Informal Close
The President	The President The White House Washington 25, D.C.**	Mr. President:	My dear Mr. President:	Respectfully yours,	Faithfully yours, (official) Very respectfully yours, (private individual)
Vice President of the United States	The Vice President United States Senate Washington, D.C. or The Honorable John R. Doe Vice President of the United States Washington, D.C.	Sir:	My dear Mr. Vice President:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Chief Justice of the United States	The Chief Justice The Supreme Court Washington, D.C.	Sir:	My dear Mr. Chief Justice:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Speaker of the House of Representatives	The Honorable John R.Blank Speaker of the House of Representatives Washington, D.C.	Sir:	My dear Mr. Speaker:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Cabinet Officer	Formal The Honorable the Secretary of State Washington, D.C. Informal The Honorable John R. Blank Secretary of State Washington, D.C.	Sir: Madam:	My dear Mr. Secretary: My dear Madam Secretary:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Under Secretary of A Department	The Honorable John R. Blank Under Secretary of the Treasury Washington, D.C.	My dear Mr. Blank:	My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,

Assistant Secretary of a Department	The Honorable John R. Blank Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Washington, D.C.	My dear Mr.Blank:	My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Director of an Office, Chief of a Division or Bureau	John R. Blank, Esquire Chief, Bureau of Labor Statistics Department of Labor Washington, D.C.	My dear Mr. Blank:	My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
United States Senator	The Honorable John R. Blank United States Senate Washington, D.C.	Sir: Madam:	My dear Senator Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
United States Representative	The Honorable John R. Blank House of Representatives Washington, D.C.	Sir: Madam:	My dear Mr. Blank: My dear Mrs. (Miss) Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Secretary to the President	The Honorable John R. Blank Secretary to the President The White House Washington 25, D.C.	Sir:	My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
High Officials of the United States, in general: Comptroller General, Director of Bureau of the Budget, Librarian of Congress	<u>Formal</u> The Comptroller General of the United States Washington, D.C. <u>Informal</u> The Honorable John R. Blank Comptroller General of the United States Washington, D.C.	Sir:	My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Heads of Independent Federal Agencies, Boards, Commissions, Etc.	<u>Formal</u> The Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System Washington, D.C. <u>Informal</u> - See above	Sir:	My dear Mr. Chairman (or Mr. Director): or My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Governor of State***	Formal The Honorable the Governor of Iowa Des Moines Informal The Honorable John R. Blank Governor of Iowa Des Moines	Sir:	My dear Governor:	Respectfully yours,	Sincerely yours,
Lieutenant Governor	The Honorable John R. Blank Lieutenant Governor of Iowa Des Moines	Sir:	My dear Governor Blank:	Respectfully yours, or Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Secretary of State	The Honorable John R. Blank Secretary of State of Iowa Des Moines	Sir:	My dear Mr. Secretary:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Attorney General	The Honorable John R. Blank Attorney General of New York Albany, New York	Sir:	My dear Mr. Attorney General:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
State Representative or Assemblyman	The Honorable John R. Blank House of Representatives Nashville, Tennessee	Sir:	My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Mayor of a City	The Honorable John R. Blank Mayor of Memphis Tennessee	Sir:	My dear Mayor Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,

CATHOLIC FAITH

Cardinal in the United States	His Eminence, John Cardinal Blank Archbishop of New York New York, New York	Your Eminence:	My dear Cardinal Blank:	Respectfully yours,	Respectfully, or Sincerely yours, (permissible)

Archbishop in the United States	The Most Reverend John Blank, D.D. (S.T.D.) Archbishop of Boston	Most Reverend Sir: Your Excellency:	My dear Archbishop:	Respectfully yours,	Respectfully, or Sincerely yours, (permissible)
Bishop in the United States	The Most Reverend John R. Blank Bishop of New Orleans New Orleans, Louisiana	Your Excellency: Most Reverend Sir:	My dear Bishop:	Respectfully yours,	Respectfully, or Sincerely yours, (permissible)
Monsignor	The Right (or Very)**** Reverend Msgr. John R. Blank Baltimore, Maryland	Monsignor:	Right (Very) Reverend and dear Monsignor Blank:	Respectfully yours,	Respectfully, or Sincerely yours,
Brother	Brother Albert Francis, F.S.C. 206 Elm Street Madison, Delaware	My dear Brother:	Dear Brother Francis:	Respectfully yours,	Respectfully, or Sincerely yours, (permissible)
Superior of a Brotherhood and Priest	The Very Reverend John R. Blank, M.M. Director Maryknoll, New York	Very Reverend Father Superior:	Dear Father Superior:	Respectfully,	Respectfully,
Priest	With Scholastic Degree: The Reverend John R. Blank, Ph.D. Notre Dame University Indiana	My dear Dr. Blank:	Dear Dr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
	Without Scholastic Degree: The Reverend John R. Blank St. Patrick's Church Mobile, Alabama	Reverend Sir:	Reverend and dear Father Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
			JEWISH FAITH		
Rabbi	With scholastic degree: Rabbi John R. Blank, Ph.D. or Dr. John R. Blank	Sir:	My dear Dr. Blank: or My dear Rabbi Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
	Without scholastic degree: Rabbi John R. Blank	Sir:	My dear Rabbi Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,

PROTESTANT FAITH

Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America	The Most Reverend John R. Blank, D.D., LL.D. Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America Seabury House Greenwich, Conn.	Most Reverend Sir:	My dear Bishop Blank: or My dear Bishop:	Respectfully yours,	Sincerely yours,
Methodist Bishop	The Reverend Bishop Blank Methodist Bishop Memphis, Tennessee	Reverend Sir:	My dear Bishop Blank:	Respectfully yours,	Sincerely yours,
Protestant Episcopal Bishop	The Right Reverend the Bishop of Jacksonville or The Right Reverend John R. Blank, D.D., LL.D. Bishop of Jacksonville Jacksonville, Florida	Right Reverend Sir:	My dear Bishop: or My dear Bishop Blank:	Respectfully yours,	Sincerely yours,
Protestant Minister	With scholastic degree: The Reverend John R. Blank, D.D.,Litt.D. Starkville, Mississippi	My dear Dr. Blank:	My dear Dr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
	Without scholastic degree: The Reverend John R. Blank Brownsville, Texas	My dear Mr. Blank:	My dear Mr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Protestant Priest	With scholastic degree: The Reverend John R. Blank, D.D. St. Thomas' House Richmond, Virginia	My dear Dr. Blank:	My dear Dr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
	Without scholastic degree	My Dear Mr. Blank:	My dear Mr. Blank: or		

	The Reverend John R. Blank Richmond, Virginia	or My dear Father Blank:	My dear Father Blank:		
		COLLEGE OFFICIALS			
President of a University	John R. Blank, LL.D., Ph.D. or Dr. John R. Blank President, Wells College Aurora, New York	Sir:	My dear Dr. Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
	Catholic Priest The Very Reverend John R. Blank, S.J., D.D., Ph.D. President, Fordham University New York 10, N.Y.	Sir:	My dear Father Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,
Professor	Professor John R. Blank or (If he holds a doctor's degree) John R. Blank, Ph.D. George Washington University Washington 10, D.C.	My dear Sir: or My dear Professor (Doctor) Blank: or My dear Dr. Blank: My dear Dr. Blank:	My dear Professor (Doctor) Blank:	Very truly yours,	Sincerely yours,

* For forms not listed here see Complete Secretary's Handbook (Doris and Miller)

** On the inside address it is permissible to omit "Washington 25, D.C."

*** The form of addressing governors varies in the different states. The form given here is that used by the State Department of the United States.

****Dependent upon rank. See the Official (Roman) Catholic Directory.